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JOHN DAVIDSON BEAZLEY

δώρω τῷδ' ὀλίγῳ χάριν τίνοντες
πάντων ὧν παρὰ σεῦ μεμαθήκαμεν, εὐχόμεσθα μακρόν
εὐαίωνα σ' αἰεὶ βίον διαζῆν,
ἐσθλὰ δὲ τοῖς προτέροις εὐρήματα πολλὰ προστιθέντα,
σαυτῷ μὲν στεφάνους νέους δρέπεσθαι,
τοὺς δὲ φιλέλληνας τέρπειν θ' ἄλλα χῶς φιλεῖς διδάσκειν.

A. S. F. G.

THUCYDIDES IN BOOK I¹

WORK on Thucydides published in the last thirty years has mostly shown two tendencies, the one, to regard Thucydides as having two successive attitudes towards history; the other to revert to Eduard Meyer's view that the work as we have it, in all important points of interpretation at least, was written at one time and that time after the Fall of Athens. I should say at once that I am sceptical about both these views and also—to go rather farther back in the discussion—I would agree with Pohlenz in doubting the far-reaching activity of an 'editor' who left the end of the eighth book as we have it. Such unity of outlook as the whole work presents—such unity as Prof. Finley has stressed in his *Thucydides*—seems to me due, not to the work being written or finally shaped all at one time, but to its being written all by one man who from the first had strong and definite ideas and a clear notion of what he was trying to do. The tendencies which I have mentioned naturally lead to the conclusion that the first book has been, if not written, yet reshaped or largely added to at a later stage in Thucydides' career and may reflect a change of view about the causes or antecedents of the war. It seems worth while to examine those parts of the book in which these effects would show themselves if they exist, i.e. chiefly in the speeches and the excursus on the Pentekontaetia and its setting.²

The *archaeologia* proper, chapters 1–19, gives reasons for Thucydides' expectation that the war would be a great one and more notable than any of its predecessors, judging this from the fact that both sides entered it at the height of their preparedness and that the whole Greek world was on one side or the other or contemplating joining one side or the other (1, 1).³ The Western Greeks got no further than this contemplation when the war began and it would be natural to suppose that Thucydides wrote these words when he did not yet know that they would go no further. The main argument of the *archaeologia* seems to show how this height of preparedness and tendency to fall into two camps was reached, and the last sentence of 19 underlines the conclusion.

I would agree with those who have urged that chapters 20 and 21 are a continuation of the *archaeologia* in the same straight line of thought and the last sentence of 21 makes a transition from the *archaeologia* to the actual events of the war itself and Thucydides' treatment of them as described in chapter 22. In this chapter we have, as has been more than once observed, a natural interplay of ideas with chapters 20 and 21, e.g. χαλεπὰ ὄντα παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι (20, 1) . . . χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεύσαι (22, 1); οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας (20, 3) . . . ἐπιπόνως δὲ ἠύρισκετο (22, 3); ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκρόασει ἢ ἀληθέστερον (21, 1) . . . ἐξ μὲν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπέστερον (22, 4); ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι (21, 2) . . . ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν . . . γενομένων τὸ σαφές σκοπεῖν (22, 4). It is hard to escape the conclusion that it is the same Thucydides in the same mood who has written all these three chapters. By a natural transition he moves from the justification of his method of dealing with earlier history which establishes with sufficient credibility his belief that the war would surpass its predecessors to the justification of a different claim for his treatment of the war itself, including what each side said either on the eve of war or when engaged in it. What Thucydides claims to attain by the methods which he applies to speeches and to τὰ ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ is something for his reader's study, viz. τῶν γενομένων τὸ σαφές, a study which will be a useful guide in judging the events of the future, for he postulates that human beings will react

¹ What follows is largely based on a paper read to the Philological Society of Sir John Beazley's University in 1945. It has gained by some alterations and omissions due to helpful discussion at the time. Account has been taken of later published work, as of earlier, even when no specific reference seemed to be required. The obligations of any student of these questions are too wide and varied to be

acknowledged in the space available.

² The excursuses on Cylon, Pausanias, and Themistocles do not effect the main issue; and the narrative of actual operations can be seen in much the same light whatever general view is accepted.

³ All references to Thucydides in which the Book is not mentioned come from Book I.

in the same or similar way to the same or similar situation when it occurs. At whatever precise date Thucydides actually wrote chapter 22 I find it hard to believe that it does not reveal the goal which he set before himself from the start. In view of the difficulties of which Thucydides shows himself aware in that chapter, τὸ σαφές must, I think, mean to him the result of a process by which, sparing no pains not merely to discover but to understand what was being done and said, undiverted by partiality, untempted by the seductions of a literary artist, he sets himself to attain—not perfect ἀκρίβεια (for that is impossible) but an approximation to it near enough to justify his claim to its practical utility for those who have the mind to use it as it should be used. The statecraft of the future is to be illuminated not so much perhaps by the general education advocated by the sophists as by study in action of the statecraft of what has become the past. If one could ask Thucydides who were those to whom his work would prove useful, he would, I imagine, reply ‘men of action political and military’, for to the fifth-century Athenian there was hardly any distinction between these activities, and I would imagine that he thought of τὰ μέλλοντα as a series of political and military situations with which a man of action would be concerned. And about all the factors in such situations the future statesmen must be helped to judge by examining τὸ σαφές of all the factors in the similar situations of the past.

To take an instance: the emotional and intellectual make-up of a community—especially in those communities in which it directly affected State policy—may be an instructive study for any historian: the emotional and intellectual make-up of Athens and of Sparta, as it was or seemed to be in 432, would surely be to Thucydides a topic to be elucidated if one was to be able to examine τῶν γενομένων τὸ σαφές.⁴ It was a factor in the calculation of a statesman, and the future statesman must know what it was, or seemed to be, if he is to know if it is a like factor in the situation with which he may be faced. And the more persistent it is, the more relevant it may be. In Book VIII, Thucydides observes that, had the Spartans been τολμηρότεροι, they might have achieved great things by following up a victory with an immediate attack on the Piraeus. And then he adds that this was not the only instance in which the Athenians found the Lacedaemonians πάντων δὴ ξυμφορώτατοι προσπολεμήσαι. . . . διάφοροι γὰρ πλείστον ὄντες τὸν τρόπον, οἱ μὲν ὄξει, οἱ δὲ βραδεῖς, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπιχειρηταί, οἱ δὲ ἄτολμοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ναυτικῇ, πλείστα ὠφέλουν. ἔδειξαν δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι· μάλιστα γὰρ ὁμοιότροποι γερόμενοι ἀρίστα καὶ προσεπολέμησαν (96, 5).

To return: the character of communities as they were, or as they were reputed to be, at the time was a factor in any situation in which they were engaged, and a situation that leads to war is one in which this factor would most readily be apparent, and it was, one may suppose, very present to Thucydides' mind. And it is *a priori* probable that Thucydides realised in 432 the factors that affected 432. This does not mean that his political judgment might not ripen. It does not mean that he might not revalue some ideas⁵—he may have come to assign more effectiveness to constitutional forms, to study the effect of popular excitement as it presented itself more clearly as the war went on. All this Thucydides might do, but it seems to me that the validity of his definition of his task would not be affected by it.

The speeches in the First Book are parts of a long-drawn crisis: if the future statesman was to judge whether a similar crisis of his own day would issue in war and was to find Thucydides' history a help to him, he must be given τῶν γενομένων τὸ σαφές. To estimate the historicity of the debates at Athens and Sparta we have to reconstruct the situation as Thucydides thought it was. We must realise what were to him τὰ αἰεὶ παρόντα so as to see what were to him τὰ δέοντα περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων. Equally we have to remember that (as J. E. Powell has pointed out⁶) the rule stated in I. 22 meant that Thucydides would need to possess some know-

⁴ See H. Gundert, 'Athen und Sparta in den Reden des Thukydides', *Die Antike*, XVI (1940) 98 ff. (written, however, in the belief that at least the great speeches were not composed till after the fall of Athens); H. Herter in *Rh. Mus.* XCIII (1950) 143.

⁵ Thus Thucydides' opinions on Athenian imperialism

might develop with time and events, and on this possible development much light has been thrown by J. de Romilly, *Thucydide et l'impérialisme athénien*.

⁶ *Class. Rev.* L. (1936) 174, in a review of A. Grosskinsky, *Das Programm des Thukydides*.

ledge of τὰ ἀληθῶς λεχθέντα if he was to know how closely he was keeping to their ξύμπασα γνώμη 'to their general line'.⁷

This brings us to chapter 23. The first part of that chapter hardly concerns us at this moment. With the second part of the chapter we reach the introduction to the antecedents of the war which to Thucydides included more than the αἰτίαι of Corcyra and Potidaea. Of that more will be said presently. It has often been maintained, and it is a view to which I have adhered in print,⁸ that the famous sentence—τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν (23, 6) reflects a later phase in Thucydides' thinking and that, whereas he once found the αἰτίαι and διαφοραί, that is the grievances and disputes, a sufficient source of the war, he later detected a deeper explanation in the growing power of Athens and the fear it inspired in the Lacedaemonians. On further reflection I am now inclined not to assume two distinct phases in Thucydides' thinking about why the war happened. My own vacillations are of no interest to anyone but myself—and we remain entitled, indeed obliged, to make the best judgment we can on the facts known to us about the historical reasons for the outbreak of the war. That is not a matter to be settled by authority, even the authority of Thucydides. But what we are concerned with at the moment is Thucydides' view of the situation from which the war sprang.

On the statement of the αἰτίαι and the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις follows the narrative (24-31) of the events which led to the first debate in the book (32-43).

The speeches which appear as those of the Corcyraeans and Corinthians are doubtless based on a real debate which Thucydides may have heard (and, in any event, could have found out about), a debate which, at the time or soon after, must have seemed relevant to his theme, falling in his category of speeches by those μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν. Granted the Thucydidean style, the omission of details such as the strength of the Corcyraean fleet (which he has already given in 25, 4), the formal arrangement under the leading topics of τὸ δίκαιον and τὸ ξύμπερον, the thrust and parry of arguments between the two speeches, granted all this, how closely does Thucydides, in these two speeches, keep to ἡ ξύμπασα γνώμη τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, and how far does he confine himself to what could and would be said at the time?

In the debate, held in the spring or early summer of 433, the Corcyraeans speak of a general conflict as μέλλων καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρῶν (36, 1) and say . . . τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φόβῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμῆσειν καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους δυναμένους παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν ἐχθροὺς ὄντας (33, 3) to which the Corinthians retort τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου . . . ἐν ἀφανεί ἔτι κεῖται (42, 2). These contrasted statements are in each case τὰ δέοντα περὶ τῶν παρόντων. The apparent anxiety of the Spartans two years before to see the peace preserved in the Greek world (28, 1) does not suggest any general inceptive or desiderative attitude of Sparta towards war. But for the Corcyraeans to say only that Corinth was hostile to Athens and influential with Sparta was a dangerous line, as Athens might have merely deduced that it would then be well to remove Corinthian ill will. Thucydides in the chapter after the debate says it was thought that, in any event, it would come to war with the Peloponnesians (44, 2), which implies that, right or wrong, the Corcyraean view seemed to reflect the situation more accurately, at least to a majority of Athenians at the time. That, later on, many Athenians thought war could be averted by concessions (139, 4) would not be relevant to Athens' general attitude in 433. If we may postulate, for the moment, that Thucydides regarded it as part of τῶν γενομένων τὸ σαφές and as dictated by his intention to keep, as far as possible, to ἡ ξύμπασα γνώμη τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, to limit himself to the arguments that belonged to 433, how far does he achieve this? The Corinthians make what seems to be a veiled diplomatic offer (43): Corinth will continue a policy of leaving Athens to deal as she will with her ἀρχή if Athens will leave Corinth free to deal as she will with her odious colony of Corcyra. That argument does not

⁷ I use this translation to indicate that I am aware that γνώμη, a chameleonic word that takes its colour from its setting, may contain a 'Willensmoment'. See H. Patzer,

Das Problem der Geschichtsschreibung des Thukydides und die thukydideische Frage, 44 ff.

⁸ *CAH* V, 191 f.; 480 ff.

reflect the slogan of the ἐλευθέρωσις τῆς Ἑλλάδος. What the Corcyraeans say in 36, 2 about the position of their island between Sicily and Greece reflects something which Thucydides says the Athenians did then in fact take into account. The two possibilities envisaged—the first that the Siceliotes might wish to send a fleet to help the Peloponnesians, the other that the Athenians might wish to send a fleet into Sicilian waters, these possibilities were in fact present. There is no need to suppose that the speech foreshadows either the Athenian expedition of 427 or the greater expedition of 415, any more than the words ἀμα δὲ καὶ τῆς τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς ἡ νῆσος ἐν παράπλῳ κεῖσθαι (44, 3).⁹

Now let us consider an argument that Thucydides does not make the Corinthians use. Corcyra proved an ineffective and wavering ally of Athens, and after a time relapsed into neutrality. Her government proved not to be really stable: her foreign policy proved not to be trustworthy. In the *Phormophoroi* of Hermippus, written before 424, the poet says of the Corcyraeans 'May Poseidon destroy them in their hollow ships, for they are double-minded' (frag. 63, ll. 10–11). Here is an argument, viz. that the Corcyraeans were not allies worth securing—it is not used. It would be based on considerations not present in 433 B.C.

It must be admitted that if Thucydides' view of his task as being to present τῶν γενομένων τὸ σαφές and his endeavour to keep as close as possible to ἡ ξύμπασσα γνώμη τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων inhibit him from importing arguments that could not be used at the time, then the absence of such arguments is no proof that the speeches were not composed a good deal later than the events with which they are concerned. There are the two possible explanations, the first that Thucydides wrote these speeches quite early and the second that, whenever he wrote them, he avoided the anachronism of afterknowledge of later events, and these do not necessarily exclude each other: they may be complementary. But if we may suppose that Thucydides' purpose from the start was not merely to relate what happened in the field of action—τὰ ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων, but also to explain why it happened in the light of what could be known at the time—for this too belonged to τῶν γενομένων τὸ σαφές—then the burden of proof rests on those who would suppose that he would not think the present could supply the necessary material for interpretation on those lines. And if Eduard Meyer¹⁰ is right in regarding the speeches as the '*Lebensnerv*' of Thucydides' history, it seems hard to suppose that the historian would be content with preparing a narrative of events without adding, as soon as might be, the element that made his history *lebensfähig*. I say 'as soon as might be', for there might be good reasons for not reaching the composition of speeches for Bk VIII and good reasons for the absence of speeches in the stretch of the history between the closing chapters of Bk IV and the Melian dialogue. Also a speech like the Funeral Speech, which has a timeless quality in the sense that it is not part of a situation, may be placed in a category of its own.

And now to turn to the speeches on the first conference at Sparta in the autumn of 432.¹¹ Let us look at these speeches in the light of what was known or could reasonably be conjectured in that year by Thucydides or anybody else. First the speech of the Corinthians. They were themselves moved by anger. Athens had stood in their path over Corcyra as she had done nearly a generation earlier over Megara, when she first aroused Corinth's σφοδρὸν μῖσος (103, 4). And to the Corinthians a war did not seem a hopeless venture. They knew the superior skill of Athenian crews, but they dreamt of overcoming that handicap. They had seen an incipient revolt in the Athenian Empire, and if Potidaea was enabled to hold out this might spread. The attitude of Persia was ambiguous: at least it had been suspected by Athens at the time of the Samian revolt (115–6). Athenian influence was growing in North-West Greece and

* The idea that used to be supported by the decrees about Rhegium and Leontini passed about this time, viz. that a new or more ambitious Athenian conception of western looking policy was concerned in the Athenian alliance with Corcyra lost its support when W. Bauer (*Klio*, XV (1917) 188 f.) showed that the two decrees were nothing more than the renewal of older treaties in identical form.

¹⁰ *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, 380.

¹¹ In much of what follows about this debate and that at the second conference I am in agreement with what Pro-

fessor Gomme has written in the first volume of his *Commentary to Thucydides*. When I wrote what follows and read it at Oxford Professor Gomme's work was still unpublished, and I had no knowledge of its contents. Conversely, though Professor Gomme later read my paper, it was after his *Commentary* had been passed for press. Where our conclusions agree, they were arrived at independently (though I am naturally strengthened in my opinion by the agreement) and I have left my arguments as they then stood.

might injure Corinthian trade there and with Sicily. Moved by this anger, these hopes and fears, Corinth was ready to take the risk of war. But they had to fear the possible inertia of the Lacedaemonians. Two years before Sparta had sought to see the peace kept when she gave diplomatic support to an attempt to settle the quarrel between Corinth and Corcyra. There was now at Sparta an activist tendency dominant perhaps among the ephors if these, as τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, had given promises of intervention to the envoys from Potidaea in the previous winter (58, 1). But the Spartans were not knights errant, and nothing that Athens had done since the Thirty Years Truce directly impinged on Spartan interests. The grievances of Corinth, though real, might well not be enough to sway Sparta to bell so formidable a cat as Athens if she could safely leave it unbelled. What Sparta cared about most was her leadership in mainland Greece, and this Athens under Pericles had accepted in the Thirty Years Truce, and the Spartans were slow to anger at other men's wrongs. The Megarians and the spokesmen for Aegina too had grievances and urged them. But when the Corinthians' turn came they had to find more than grievances. They could hint at secession from Spartan leadership and Thucydides makes them do so (71, 4-6). But, with the Spartan-Argive Treaty in force, this threat was not very compelling. What remained was to arouse in the Spartans the fear that their inertia might play into the hands of Athenian initiative and restless greed for power. To make the power of Athens φόβον παρέχειν, Athens must be presented as a people that would never be content, born neither to be at peace themselves or let others remain at peace (70). The belief that they were this was also a real factor throughout the whole of the crisis, but it is not irrelevant to this debate. Granted that the *formulation* of the contrast between Athens and Sparta is Thucydides' own, with its sharp almost paradoxical phrasing, it does not seem far removed from the line of argument which it would have served the Corinthians' purpose to pursue. And it seems to contain nothing that was not implicit in the situation as it could be seen and debated in 432.

At the same time this speech, together with those that follow, helps to build up a composite picture of the character of the two chief communities concerned, which would not be irrelevant to the understanding of what was to follow.

Next the Athenian speech. It seems fantastic to suppose that there were no Athenian envoys at Sparta and that no speech was made by one of them. Whether or not Athens invented the 'other business' on which they came, so as to discover what was afoot, no one can say (though some do), but Thucydides cannot well have invented an embassy which so many people still alive would know was an invention. The attitude consistently adopted by Athens in 432 was to meet all complaints by a reference to the arbitration clause in the Thirty Years Truce and, having done so, to yield to no demand. That at least was the policy of Pericles. It is true that many Athenians thought otherwise, but Athenian envoys would not venture beyond what could be certain of approval at home. But so far they could go. Herein would lie the most actual part of their speech, and their insistence on Athens' services to Greece and justification of her empire, couched in Thucydidean almost paradoxically phrased arguments, would not go beyond their brief. While they do not say how Athens would meet a war—a topic on which they could hardly venture—they are made to point out how a Persian invasion did not cow the spirit of the Athenians or make them helpless (73-4). The speech, intransigent as is its tone, does reflect what seems to have been in fact the general spirit of Athens at the moment. It was not of the kind to make Athens appear less dangerous to her neighbours. And if we may assume for the moment that the speech of Archidamus which follows represents the kind of thing he said, it is not irrelevant that he refers to the φρόνημα of Athens (81, 6) which would prevent them from yielding to an invasion and that he refers to their readiness to abide by the arbitration clause (85, 2). Granted that Thucydides may have altered the balance of emphasis, sharpened the dialectic, and stiffened the attitude, there is nothing really improbable in the assumption that there was a general adherence to ἡ ξύμπασα γνώμη τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων.

Schwartz's observation¹² that the speech seems to intrude between the speech of the

¹² *Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides*, 105.

Corinthians and the speech of Archidamus—much of which is an answer to the speech of the Corinthians—does not mean that Schwartz was simply behaving like a Dionysius of Halicarnassus. It is true that, were the speech not there, no modern would have missed it. And it is impossible to deny that the passage (77, 6) about the unpopularity the Spartans might well incur if, having overthrown the Athenian Empire, they took the place of Athens *may* point to a date of composition later than the Fall of Athens if—as indeed it seems to be—it is an original element in the speech. But the words *καθελόντες ἡμᾶς* need not imply knowledge that Athens was overthrown, for it was, at any time in the second half of the fifth century, a necessary preliminary to a Spartan *ἀρχή*, and the implied reference to Pausanias' conduct is evidence enough for a probable unpopularity without a knowledge of Lysander's harmosts. And it may be doubted if Thucydides would have written the generalisation *ἀμεικτα γὰρ τά τε καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς νόμιμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχετε καὶ προσέτι εἰς ἕκαστος ἐξιὼν οὔτε τούτοις χρῆται οὐθ'* οἷς ἡ ἄλλη 'Ελλάς νομίζει (77, 6) without qualification, had he known of the effect of Brasidas' personality on the allies of Athens and felt himself free to use his knowledge. It may be added that, in view of Thucydides' practice elsewhere, too much can be made of the supposed desirability of *δισσοὶ λόγοι* on the formal side. And even so, it might be contended that as the debate is in two phases—one in the presence of the allies, one after their withdrawal, Thucydides might regard two speeches in each phase as desirable. My standard of what is wholly fictitious may be unduly high: I cannot say that I think the Athenian speech reaches it.

The speech of Archidamus follows. Archidamus, addressing the Spartans alone, does not concern himself to debate the justice of the allies' complaints. The Athenians have been made to say that they did not come before the Spartans as *δικασταί* (73, 1), and the King does not set up to be a *δικαστής*. He proposes sending to Athens and urging the allies' grievances and declares it is not *νόμιμον* to assume the Athenians' guilt especially as they are ready to go to arbitration (85, 2). As has often been pointed out, this seems to echo the Athenian speech and had no such speech appeared in the debate it would have been more natural for him to say 'let us send envoys to make sure of the Athenians' will to implement the arbitration clause'. It might be urged that Thucydides is here anticipating the belated bad conscience of the Spartans on this point when they had suffered reverses in the war (V, 14, 3). But Archidamus was a man of formal scruples as is seen from his behaviour at Plataea three years later (II, 74, 2). His belief that the Athenians would not be daunted by invasion, once it happens, and the tacit assumption that the Peloponnesians will not be vouchsafed the opportunity to end the war by a more decisive Tanagra, imply Pericles' control of Athenian strategy. When in 431 Archidamus warns his officers to expect an Athenian sortie (II, 11) he says what any wise general would say.¹³ The Athenian Empire is regarded as beyond the reach of anything but a fleet. The speech in fact notably fits what a general like Archidamus would think according to the evidence available in 432, as it fits its place in the debate. The defence of Spartan institutions against the strictures of the Corinthians would not seem strange to a Greek and assists the picture Thucydides presents. The remark 'I fear rather we may bequeath the war to our sons' (81, 6) fits the drastic phrasing of the speech, and affords no indication of the date of composition. That Archidamus, king and general, made a speech on this occasion may be regarded as practically certain, and the proverbial secrecy of Lacedaemon would not prevent it being known abroad what kind of thing he said. A part of the argument about this belongs to the discussion of the second speech of the Corinthians and the first speech of Pericles, so any conclusion must be provisional: my own provisional conclusion would be that Thucydides has adhered pretty closely to *ἡ ξύμπασα γνώμη τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων*.

The brief allocation of the ephor Sthenelaidas (86) marks the due contrast, and the best answer to the *σωφρόνως ἐκλογίζεσθαι* of the King, as it does to the speech assigned to the Athenians. It gives not so much argument as motive, and is a kind of echo of the *ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις*. That Sthenelaidas put the vote as ephor no one doubts, and the fact that after a

¹³ See II, 12 and II, 18 and M. Pohlenz, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1936 (1936) 285, n. 3.

change of ephors the Spartans went more hesitatingly to work does not make his γνώμη less probable. So much for this debate.

The decision of the Lacedaemonian Assembly is given as λελύσθαι αἱ σπονδαὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀδικεῖν (87, 2), or, apparently less precisely, τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι καὶ πολεμητέα (88). This incidentally means that Sparta can no longer appeal to the arbitration clause in the Thirty Years Truce, though Athens can, as indeed she did with notable dialectical force under the adroit guidance of Pericles. That an acceptable arbitrator could hardly be found is true enough, but it would have suited the temporising policy of Archidamus to explore every avenue, even if every avenue was a *cul de sac*.

We may pass over, for the moment, the consulting of Apollo and the setting of the excursus on the Pentekontaetia and go at once to the speech of the Corinthians at the second conference, this time of the Peloponnesian League as such. Sparta had given a lead, but it is clear that if a majority of the League members voted against going to war, the League would not be involved. The feverish activity of the Corinthians which Thucydides, no doubt truly, describes suggests that the Corinthians thought an adverse vote possible. When Thucydides contented himself with one speech, that of the Corinthians, he presumably regarded them as exceptionally important, as he regards their grievances as more worth retailing at length than those of the Megarians or Aeginetans.

The speech of the Corinthians, after referring to the fact that their criticism of Sparta had been met by the decision of the Spartan assembly, goes on to urge that inland states are threatened by Athenian navalism. This notion was not anachronistic in 432, quite apart from the implications of the Megarian Decree. At least the general idea is found in the Pseudo-Xenophontic *Constitution of Athens* (II. 3-4), a work which few will put later than the Archidamian war. So far as can be seen, the pressure of Athenian navalism proved not so effective as is suggested in the Corinthian speech or in the *Constitution of Athens*, and, in so far, this argument is not likely to be an argument later imported by Thucydides.

After what seems to be a parry to a point in the speech of Archidamus, comes the plea that Corinth is not asking for a war *à outrance* (120, 3). Nothing is imported to reflect either the Corinthian disillusionment with the Peace of Nicias or the mood of the closing stages of the whole 27 years war. Then comes a partial answer to points made in the Archidamus speech about the prospects of the war and the potential resources of the Peloponnesians and an optimistic estimate of their chances (121-2).¹⁴ The notion that in naval matters courage would prevail once a degree of skill was reached is reflected in the speech of the Peloponnesian commanders (II, 87), which does not seem anachronistic. There is a reference to *συμμάχων ἀπόστασις*, but a moment when there was in fact a revolt is not a moment at which the reference would be inappropriate. *Ἐπιτειχισμός*, which is also mentioned, was not first thought of at the time of Decelea. Something of the kind was tried again and again by Athens in the Archidamian war.¹⁵ So the speech passes through an *αὔξησις* to a peroration, with the slogan of the *ἐλευθέρωσις τῆς Ἑλλάδος* which was undoubtedly being voiced at the time. The whole speech, so it seems to me, is not merely well suited to the occasion in the light of the earlier debate but also reflects what we can suppose to have been in people's minds at the time. The Corinthians speak 'aus der Situation in die Situation hinein'. With these words we may pass to the first speech of Pericles, for Nesselhauf¹⁶ has used these words, truly I think, of that speech so far as the diplomatic situation is concerned. And Pohlenz,¹⁷ in discussing the able dissertation of R. Zahn on this speech,¹⁸ has pointed out that the Periclean strategy is that implicit in the Pseudo-Xenophontic *Constitution of Athens*.

¹⁴ The notion of a loan from Olympia or Delphi may have made shipwreck of Spartan scruples, but it was not, as has been suggested, something which could only have been advanced by the rationalistic Thucydides. Pericles, who after all did not rule out borrowing Athena's golden robes, is later made to use the slightly opprobrious word *κιστὴν* of this proposed transaction, but after all he is not made to

speak impartially.

¹⁵ See *Class. Rev.* LXI (1947), 6.

¹⁶ *Hermes* LXIX (1934), 295.

¹⁷ *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 198 (1936) 285.

¹⁸ *Die erste Periklesrede*, Diss. Kiel, 1934. As is well known, this dissertation is strengthened by what it contains from the pen of Professor Jacoby.

The notion of ἐπιτειχισμός belonging to the strategical technique of Pericles' time, the treatment of military and naval problems in all these speeches does not import the lessons of the Sicilian expedition or of the Decelean-Ionian war. Pericles, like the Corinthians, is made to regard the Athenian supremacy at sea as exposed to one danger, the attraction away of oarsmen or the training of Peloponnesian crews to manoeuvre with Athenian skill (142-3). The naval defeats of Athens at Syracuse, which reduced her fleet to a strength that could be challenged, were due to an improvement of naval construction rather than to acquired skill in handling the ships, and this improvement was effective against an Athenian fleet fighting on the scene of Phormion's triumph (VII, 34). The revolts of allies are regarded by the Corinthians as a way of reducing Athenian revenues (122, 1) rather than as a factor in operations.

To return to Pericles. His speech may include points made in an earlier debate in which the Megarian Decree was the chief topic, but though Athens had already rejected the Spartan demand, those who hoped to avoid war would not hesitate to revive the topic and urge that concessions should be made. At least Thucydides says that at the final debate some did declare ὡς μὴ ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰρήνης (139, 4), and Pericles would hardly have neglected the topic when speaking πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μεταβόλους. In any event, the conflation of two speeches would not violate Thucydidean principles. The manner of the speech reflects an authoritative attitude in Pericles for which the evidence is not confined to Thucydides alone. The speech seems to give what Pericles thought in 432, and there is no good reason to suppose that he did not say what he thought.

A passage which has often been adduced as evidence for the late composition of the speech or part of it, is ch. 144, 1. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔχω ἐς ἐλπίδα τοῦ περιέσεσθαι ἣν ἐθέλητε ἀρχὴν τε μὴ ἐπικτᾶσθαι ἅμα πολεμοῦντες καὶ κινδύνους αὐθαιρέτους μὴ προστίθεσθαι· μᾶλλον γὰρ πεφόβημαι τὰς οἰκείας ἡμῶν ὁμαρτίας ἢ τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων διανοίας. It has been argued that these words were written with knowledge of the great Sicilian Expedition. In chapter ii. 65, 7, in the passage in which Pericles is contrasted with his successors, we read ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχάζοντάς τε καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν θεραπεύοντας καὶ ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐπικτωμένους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μηδὲ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντας ἔφη περιέσεσθαι. Granted that this part of ii. 65 was written late, there is no reason to doubt the truth of Thucydides' statement that Pericles did in fact urge this policy and that what we have in 144, 1 and in the latter part of 143, which reflects the notion of ἡσυχάζειν καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν θεραπεύειν, is in fact what Pericles said while he was alive to say it. It did not need the Sicilian Expedition to illuminate the logic of Periclean strategy. At the end of the first section of chapter 144, Thucydides goes on to say καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις (i.e. when the time for action comes, ἔργα having, as so often in Thucydides, the meaning of military operations) δηλωθήσεται. The carrying out of Pericles' promise is reflected in the last sentence of ii, 13 when Pericles on the very eve of the Peloponnesian invasion not only reviewed the resources of Athens but ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἷάπερ εἰώθει Περικλῆς ἐς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ. We have then, it seems, in chapter 144, 1, advice which Pericles more than once gave the Athenians, advice which Thucydides is naturally content to put in his mouth once and for all¹⁹ but which he, equally naturally, recalls when, in II. 65, he contrasts Pericles' strategy with the adventures of his successors. That Pericles distrusted the judgment of the Athenians when he did not guide it, is not to be doubted: it may, indeed, have been one reason why he was reluctant to see the issue of war postponed by concessions.

It may be granted that as Thucydides looked back over the course of the whole war he saw Pericles as a shrewder judge, a firmer handler of events than his successors, but I cannot myself detect in the First Book signs of a later rewriting *ad maiorem Periclis gloriam*, but rather the presentation of political and military problems as they in fact presented themselves to any clear-sighted observer at the time.

The military calculations of Archidamus, the Corinthians and Pericles are interlocked, but they seem to be real contemporary calculations which had to be made and had to be stated, which in fact did interlock. The hypothesis that much of the second Corinthian speech was

¹⁹ E. Meyer, *op. cit.* II, 385; M. Pohlenz, *Gött. Nachr.* 1919, 121.

invented in order to set up Aunt Sallies for Pericles to knock down, appears to approach the unrealistic. It is hard to suppose that Thucydides, who was presumably aware that States seek to avoid wars which they believe they will lose, did not set himself to give his readers a view of what these States did in fact believe, or what their leaders believed and urged on their allies and fellow-citizens. But most communities before they pass from peace to war, granted they have any choice in the matter, need more than the conviction that they are likely to win or that their cause is in itself just, or that the cause of their opponents is in itself other than just. Motives not wholly composed of either conviction come into play, and with these too Thucydides was bound from the start to be concerned.

This leads on to the setting of the excursus on the Pentekontaetia in chapters 89-118.

It is generally assumed that the excursus was written to give the evidence for the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις. This assumption needs to be examined more closely. In chapter 88 Thucydides says that the Spartans voted that the Truce was ended and that they must go to war, not so much because they were persuaded by what their allies said as because they feared that the Athenians might become more powerful, observing that most of the Greek world was already under their control. He then continues—οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ἡϋξήθησαν (89, 1). The purpose of the excursus is then further given in 97, 2. It is to fill up a gap in his readers' knowledge and to show how the Athenian ἀρχή was established. The excursus ends with the Thirty Years Truce, followed by an account of the Athenian suppression of the Samian revolt. So far it may be said to explain how the Athenians founded their power and how the Spartans could observe that most of the Greek world was already under Athenian control, but it does not show why the Spartans should fear that the power of Athens would increase to Sparta's disadvantage. Now the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις is not only the greatness or power of Athens but also the fear which it inspired in the Lacedaemonians.²⁰

In 118, 1 when Thucydides has ended the excursus with the reduction of Samos and the submission of Byzantium he proceeds—μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη γίνεταί οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὰ προειρημένα, τὰ τε Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὰ Ποτειδεατικὰ καὶ ὅσα πρόφασις τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that when Thucydides says πρόφασις he is referring back to the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις of chapter 23, and, if so, then this is to be found, or at least partly found, in what happened a few years after the events he has described in the excursus. The πρόφασις then includes what Thucydides has been concerned with in the chapters that lie between the end of τὰ Ποτειδεατικὰ and the beginning of the excursus. For the πρόφασις is more than what the excursus has described, it is more than the establishment of Athenian power or of the ἀρχή—it is the combination of power and apparent dangerousness which was the truest explanation why Sparta felt bound to go to war.

In saying 'felt bound to go to war' I may have given too little force to the word ἀναγκάσαι in ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν (cf. also 118, 2). I did so to remind myself that one need not always assign to a word in Thucydides its most trenchant meaning. In his *Paideia* ²¹ W. Jacger pointed out that there is a passage in V, 25, 3 which shows a certain parallelism to the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις. Thucydides has said that for 6 years and 10 months the Athenians and Lacedaemonians did not march against each other, but under cover of an unstable truce injured each other and then continues ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ ἀναγκασθέντες λῦσαι τὰς μετὰ τὰ δέκα ἔτη σπονδὰς αὐτῆς ἐς πόλεμον φανερόν κατέστησαν. But if one examines what happened at that time it can hardly be said that the two States were enforced by an inexorable logic of events, and I would hesitate to suppose that in I, 23, 6 Thucydides need mean that, in his view, the Peloponnesian war was precisely what moderns call 'inevitable', a word which often conceals a certain economy of thought. But it may be suggested that Thucydides did intend his account of the debates at Sparta to suggest a kind of addition to his account of the establishment of the

²⁰ It is not difficult to forget that it has this double character. When Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*de Thuc. iud.* 10) cites I, 23, 6 with the text of Thucydides before him, he quotes it correctly, but in another work (*Ep. II ad Ammae*, 6) this is what he gives us: τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀληθεστάτην αἰτίαν,

λόγῳ δὲ ἀφανιστάτην, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἰομαι μεγάλους γινομένους ἀναγκάσαι εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν, and it may be that Dionysius was not the last writer to be unprecise in this matter.

²¹ I, 497.

Athenian Empire that was the source of Athens' strength, namely reasons for the fear which that strength inspired in Sparta or rather the half reasoning, half emotional and not explicitly declared atmosphere, in which the αἰτία precipitated a crisis that ended in war—a part of that atmosphere being precisely the unwillingness of Athenians to behave like Spartans, their *τολμηρὸν καὶ νεωτεροποιεῖν* which, however groundlessly, had alarmed the Spartans once before at the time of the Helot revolt (102, 3).

But if the excursus in chapters 89–118 is not the whole of the justification of the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις, it seems to imply its existence in the mind of Thucydides. And if one was sure that the excursus was not written until the end of the war, this would certainly suggest that the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις may describe something which Thucydides did not realise until about the end of the whole period of 27 years. The passage that matters is, of course, 97, 2. If K. Ziegler is right,²² as I think he is, in urging that this passage originally said simply *ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην διὰ τόδε, ὅτι τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἄπασιν ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἡ τὰ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἑλληνικὰ ξυνετίθεσαν ἢ αὐτὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν οἷῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη* and that then Thucydides, on the publication of Hellanicus' *Atthis* after 406, added a remark *τούτων δὲ ὅσπερ καὶ ἦψατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ συγγραφῇ Ἑλλάνικος, βραχεῶς τε καὶ χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη*—if Ziegler is right, then the reference to Hellanicus' work supplies not a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the whole excursus but a *terminus ante quem*, which is a very different matter. The excursus is to Thucydides an ἐκβολή τοῦ λόγου which needs justifying, and Ziegler²³ has urged that the excursus is derived from a work on the history of Greece in which Thucydides had been learning his trade as a historian before ever the war began. But it seems too selectively relevant not to be written, or at least rewritten, for purposes concerned with the causes of the war. But granted that, the excursus itself has, so it seems to me, characteristics which tend to place it early in Thucydides' career when indeed, I now think, Thucydides was evaluating all the motives that caused the war to break out.

It is common ground that the excursus shows a lack of chronological precision about the intervals between military events. Thucydides may have supposed a chronology in archon years to be misleading, but it remains true that what he has given us rarely shows the spacing of events, and it is hard to escape the conclusion that this was because he could not discover the truth about it. On the other hand he does give indications of the length of certain enterprises: Thasos' surrender in the third year of the siege, the expedition to Egypt lasts six years. These facts, as W. Kolbe has pointed out,²⁴ might be gathered from the Athenian casualty lists preserved in inscriptions. If for the moment we accept Kolbe's suggestion that Thucydides turned to this source for information, did these inscriptions also give indications of the intervals between wars by giving the absolute dates of the wars concerned? The only heading that has survived, that of the Erechtheid decree, does not settle the point, for the words τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ 'In [or of] the same year' may either be, as it were, absolute or may refer back to chronological indications given in another list for what I will call that casualty year. The limits of a casualty year if, as most scholars now agree, Wilamowitz was right in making these the times of the public commemorations²⁵ are not readily to be defined by ordinary Attic chronological formulae. But an indication might be given of the archon under whom the particular commemoration was held, and this would sufficiently define the period to those who know what the ἐνιαυτός meant. If on the other hand no such indication was given, Thucydides could deduce by putting lists together roughly how long wars lasted but not the intervals between them. One day this matter may be cleared up beyond doubt.

Thucydides also knows that there is an interval of about 12 days between two Corinthian defeats in Megara, that the battle of Oenophyta is on the sixty-second day after Tanagra, that the Greeks and Egyptians were besieged for eighteen months before the collapse of the Egyptian expedition, that Samos surrendered in the ninth month of the siege. These details may well be

²² *Rh. Mus.* LXXVIII (1929) 66, n. 2.

²³ *loc. cit.* 62 ff.

²⁴ *Hermes* LXXII (1937) 246 ff., 266.

²⁵ *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, 292.

derived from those who were engaged in these operations. From the same source would probably come information about the numbers of ships, for the size of fleets would be known to those who served on them but are not likely to figure in inscriptions. The first of these sources of information, that of the inscriptions, if in fact Thucydides used it, would be at his disposal either before his exile in the winter of 424/3 or after the Fall of Athens. The second, the recollection of the combatants, would hardly be available more than 40 years or so after the events. Schwartz, who was too honest a scholar to refuse to see difficulties that might beset his conclusions, writes:

‘Daraus, dass er die Pentekontaetie erst nach 404 schrieb, folgt mit nichten, dass er erst damals das Material sammelte. Von etwa 450 an verfügt er ausserdem über seine persönliche Erinnerung; sein historisches Interesse wird auch nicht erst mit 431 begonnen haben.’²⁶

It seems most economical of hypothesis to suppose that Thucydides saw reason to find out what he could about the Pentekontaetia and to write the excursus at latest before his exile in 424/3 and probably in connection with the outbreak of the war. The greater detail of the account of the Samian Revolt would be explained by the fact that for this he would have access to the most recent knowledge and it has been suggested that he was drawing on a family tradition.²⁷ Now this is admittedly hypothetical, but it can fairly be said that the excursus on the Pentekontaetia shows characteristics that are most easily explained by supposing that it was written at a time not far removed from the outbreak of the war. If this is so, then Thucydides may have been conscious at that time that the establishment of the Athenian Empire and the general growth of Athenian power in that period was relevant to the question why the war happened and that he did quite early come to believe that the αἰτίαι—the immediate grievances, were not the whole story.

This does not mean that he ever regarded the αἰτίαι as immaterial, as just ripples on the surface of a tide towards war. The greatness of Athens, the existence and maintenance of the Athenian Empire, did not in themselves violate the Thirty Years Truce, and if Sparta could acquiesce in these in 446 why not do so in 432? To this there was the answer that Athens had crossed the path of Corinth and had aroused in her headstrong hatred. The Megarian Decree had revealed the drastic application of Athenian control of half the Greek world. But there was more than this. The known or supposed Athenian character (and the supposition did Athens little injustice) made the potential danger from Athens greater than the actual. At Sparta there were those who had regretted the compromise of the Thirty Years Truce, who might be goaded to act by a picture of Spartan inertia, those who had perhaps outlived the old σωφροσύνη with its inhibitions. The very mixture of Athenian formal correctness and unyielding refusal to mitigate the use of her power, attested *inter alia* by the Megarian Decree, had a formidable quality which might either daunt her neighbours into keeping the peace or terrify them into war. And to war, in the end, it came.

This is, so I venture to think, the Thucydidean analysis reached in the light of what he could discern as the outbreak of war was reached. If this is so, then in the First Book we have a view of the antecedents of the war which is all of a piece, and which does not need to be explained by the importation into it of Thucydidean δευτεροὶ φροντίδες, a view which explains what we find in these parts of the book, written to elucidate, for the benefit of the future man of action, τῶν γενομένων τὸ σαφές.

F. E. ADCOCK.

²⁶ *Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides*, 166, n. 2.

²⁷ See E. Harrison, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* (1912) 9.

DEMETER OF CNIDUS

[PLATES I-XVI]

THE headless statue of a seated woman swathed in a himation was first seen at Cnidus by the expedition of the Society of Dilettanti in 1812.¹ Nearly fifty years later C. T. Newton excavated the site—identified by inscriptions as sacred to the chthonic deities—rediscovered the body, and, after shipping it off, found the head also.² There is no ground for doubting the identification as Demeter. Brunn interpreted the head with understanding in 1874, and in 1900 A. H. Smith described the statue briefly but carefully:³ what can be added to this, mainly on the technical side, will be found in Appendix I. Other comment has been desultory, and although the date of the statue has been generally accepted as somewhere in the fourth century B.C., there has been no satisfactory attribution to a sculptor.⁴ Doubt has gradually arisen about the substance of which it is made,⁵ even about the position of the limbs and the kind of seat on which it rests⁶: and finally, Carpenter, quietly losing one of his ample stock of haes, has suggested that it was made in the first century B.C.⁷ Clearly, then, it is time to study the whole problem afresh, and to see whether evidence exists for more definite conclusions. That evidence does exist, and most of it has been set down in print before—though by various writers, and piecemeal: my argument is new in its pattern only, not in its components.⁸

First, a word on the statue and its setting. The himation is wrapped closely round the body and drawn up over the head to form a veil (pl. I, V, VI)⁹: one end rests on the throne

¹ *Ionian Antiquities* III 22.

² Newton's excavations at Halicarnassus and Cnidus are published in his 'Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae' (1862-3: vol. 1, plates, folio: vol. 2, text, cr. octavo), of which 'Travels and Discoveries in the Levant' (1865) is a popular abridged account. They are also described in a series of despatches written by Newton on the spot, and addressed to the Foreign Office. These were printed and presented to both Houses of Parliament thus:

1858 'Papers respecting the excavations at Budrum.'

1859 'Further Papers respecting the excavations at Budrum and Cnidus'.

The despatches sometimes give useful information which does not appear in the *Discoveries*.

³ Brunn *Gr. Götterideale* 42. A. H. Smith *B. M. Catalogue of Sculpture* II no. 1300.

⁴ Most opinions have been vague, and have ranged from Scopas on the one side (E. A. Gardner *Six Gr. Sculptors* 191) to Praxiteles on the other (Klein *Praxiteles* 371). As late as 1938 Süsserott (*Gr. Plastik* 178 n. 181) described the statue as the work 'eines Praxitelikers,' which is much what Collignon (*Hist.* II 362) said in 1897 ('contemporain de Praxitèle') and Waldmann (*Gr. Orig.* 155) in 1914 ('Kunstschule: Praxitelisch'). These are sure signs that the sculptor has not yet been correctly identified. See also Ruhland *Eleusin, Göttingen* 89; Löwy *Gr. Plastik* 84, and—for those who can enjoy the aesthete of 1903—Gurdon in *Weekly Critical Review* Aug. 27th, 1903, 136 f.

⁵ Although A. H. Smith (*l. c.* note 3) rightly described the whole statue as of Parian, and Collignon (*Histoire* 362) merely remarked that the head was 'sculptée dans un bloc de Paros différent du marbre employé pour le reste de la statue', this did not satisfy E. Gardner (*Handbook* (1905) 414), who said that the body was of inferior local marble, or Lawrence (*Cl. Sculp.* 266), who degraded it to 'a local stone of poor quality'. I cannot detect any difference in the kind of marble, which is Parian of very fine grain in both head and body. The block used for the head may be of slightly better quality, but the grain is of the same size, and although the colour seems rather warmer, this is due to an accident of preservation, for the protected parts of the statue, e.g. under the sides of the throne, are equally warm in tone. The colder tone is not confined to the clothing, and thus cannot be the remains of a dark paint, appropriate

though this would have been. The body has had a severe battering, and has split where the marble was weakest; streaks of schist are almost impossible to find: there is a faint trace of a weak stratum in the middle of the thighs, hardly visible traces of others behind it at intervals along the left edge of the throne, and also a grey streak in the back leg of the throne: but otherwise the block is, to the naked eye, remarkably uniform in structure. Nor is there any need to infer, from the supposed differences of marble and workmanship, that the body is by a different sculptor: it must have been conceived by one man, but the differing states of preservation make it difficult to decide whether it was carved entirely by him. It is perhaps not easy to imagine the creator, if he were present when the statue was assembled, leaving the folds of the himation at the back of the head so inorganically connected with those on the shoulder (pl. IX, b, c). This raises the question whether the statue is, perhaps, a contemporary replica of an original set up somewhere else, presumably in Attica.

⁶ F. Poulsen *From the Collections of Ny. C. Glypt.* II 179, 'sits on a simple backless stool, as does the Knidian Demeter'; so Klein (*Praxit.* 368) 'Marmorsitz ohne Lehne'. See Appendix I B.

⁷ *Memoirs* XVIII (1941) 71 'the Demeter from Knidos in the British Museum must (because of the classicising head and shallow linear drapery) be very-late (c. 100 B.C.?)'.

⁸ The material for this essay was mostly collected in 1929: the substance of it was delivered as a lecture to the Hellenic Society in May 1946.

I thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish pl. I, V, X, e, XIII, XIV: Mr. C. O. Waterhouse for his patience with a difficult subject; pl. III, IV, VII, VIII, IX, a, X, a-d are his photographs: the remainder are mine. Mr. Waterhouse also drew the text-figures 1-4: and Mr. D. W. Akehurst pl. VIII, d.

⁹ The hair is also confined by a ribbon, which shows in front of the fold of the himation on the top of the head (pl. IV, r). In Caylus *Recueil* VI pl. XLVI 1, 2 is published an engraving of a veiled marble head at that time (1764) in the possession of M. Peyssonel, consul of Candia, and said to have been found shortly before in Rhodes. Though not a replica it bears in the engraving a remarkable though probably accidental resemblance to the head of Demeter. I cannot discover its present whereabouts. Cf. also *Einzelaufl.* 1190, which looks false.

at her left side,¹⁰ the other is flung over the left shoulder, where it lies in a rich mass of folds¹¹ (Plate VI, b). Of course there is a chiton too, but it appears only round the ankles, outside the left elbow, on the front of the right upper arm, and above the right breast. The right arm was lowered, but the elbow must have been slightly bent; the left bent at the elbow, with the forearm raised and extended somewhat to the left.

The composition of the lower part of the statue is not clear at first sight, because the breaking away of the knees has given undue emphasis to the transverse folds of the himation between the left knee and the right shin. The feet are not crossed¹² but the left foot is slightly drawn back (the remains of the toes, resting on the footstool, can be clearly seen in Plate I, vertically below the left knee) whilst the right foot is thrust forward over the front edge of the footstool, dragging the chiton with it: a perfectly natural, if slightly restless attitude.

Commentators have remarked the contrast between the calm of the head and the restlessness of the body and drapery. As regards emotion, the remark is just: but of physical movement in the head and neck, Plates II and III show that there is more than commonly supposed.¹³

Nor is this all: it will be noticed that the finish of the hair on the right side of the head, where it waves back from the temple, is more detailed than that on the left (pls. III, IV), and it might be thought that this higher finish was due to the turn of the head on the body, which exposes this side more fully: but further study shows that the edge of the cushion on the left is also treated in more summary fashion than that on the right, and a similar reason cannot here be valid (pl. VI). Furthermore, the top of the front throne-leg on the left side was half covered by drapery, whereas that on the right was completely exposed: and the structure of the seat also differs on one side from the other.¹⁴ The inferences that may be drawn from these observations are, first, that the statue is not likely to have been set in one of the niches to which the expedition of Dilettanti and, more tentatively, Newton himself at first assigned it,¹⁵ since both sides alike would have been hidden, the difference in treat-

¹⁰ Throughout this article, even when the throne is being discussed, 'right' and 'left' refer to Demeter's right and left, not the spectator's.

¹¹ Compare the vase in Leningrad (Schefold *Kertsch. Vas.* 19b, figure on r.).

¹² Curious that the breaking away of the knees should convey so false an idea of the composition as to deceive F. Poulsen, who (*From the Coll. Ny. C.* II p. 178) says that the feet are crossed. The relief in Athens (Walter *Rel. kl. Akrop.* 68, no. 117) preserves the transverse fold between the legs of a similar statue and explains how the error can arise.

¹³ A startling demonstration of the amount of movement in the whole design is provided by E. A. Gardner's quaint device (*Handbook* (1896) fig. 99, and subsequent editions) also adopted by Klein (*Praxit.* (1898) fig. 74) of illustrating the statue in looking-glass fashion.

¹⁴ See Appendix I B. Optical corrections, calculated for an oblique view from the right, are apparent in the left cheek, left eye, and in the hair on the left. A further difference, which is apt to be obscured because imagination tends, wrongly, to restore the broken edge of the veil on the right level with that on the left, is that the right side of the face was more exposed, and this is a reason to be added to those given above and below, for a three-quarter view of the statue being intended.

Another feature which escapes notice because of the broken veil is the skill with which the carving of the ears and the sides of the neck has been executed from the front, the marble of the veil having prevented access from the sides.

¹⁵ There are some doubtful points about these niches, of which a view is given in *Disc.* pl. LIV. Newton (*id.* p. 376) gives the width of that on the (spectator's) right as 2 ft. 5½ ins. and its height as 4 ft. 4 ins. This would be both too narrow and too low for the statue of Demeter, which is 2 ft. 9½ ins. wide and 4 ft. 11 ins. high. In the plan on pl. LIII of *Disc.*, the scale shows this niche as 3 ft. 6 ins. wide: the discrepancy may be due to the inclusion of the frame. The left-hand niche is taller, though its height 'could not be ascertained, as the upper part is broken away' (*Disc.* 717), and slightly

wider. There is further confusion in the speculations on the possibility of the statue having fallen from one of the niches. It was not the seated Demeter that was found immediately below the cliff-face and almost under the niches (at 7 on Newton's plan in *Disc.* Pl. LIII), but the standing statue dedicated by Nicocleia (*B.M. Cat. Sculpt.* II no. 1301), at first identified as Demeter. Base, statue, and fragments of its limbs were found together, so that it would seem that they were near its original position. Moreover, the base is roughly rounded behind, it is dressed only so far back on the sides as a spectator can see from a three-quarter view; even the statue itself—and especially the head—is very roughly finished at sides and back. All the evidence points to its having stood in a niche: yet the left-hand niche seems too low to accommodate both statue and base, which together are just over 8 ft. high.

The seated statue, which we now commonly call the Demeter of Cnidus, was found at 2 on Newton's plan, and if it fell from the left-hand niche, which alone is large enough (though—from a photograph—probably not deep enough) would have had to roll uphill to reach the spot where it was found. Near it was the inscribed base *Inscr. in B.M.* DCCCXIII. The marble statuette of Kore (see pl. X and Appendix II, p. 25) was also found near (at 1 on Newton's plan), and so were the fourth-century terracottas (at 3 on the plan). Naturally some of the sculptures may have been moved in later times, but to move uphill a statue weighing just a ton is no easy task. Lime-burners commonly prefer to burn sculptures on the spot or break them up into readily portable fragments. The balance of the evidence, then, is against the seated statue having been in the left-hand niche. It may have been on one of the two square bases in the centre of the temenos (*Disc.* 392, pl. LIII), or, more probably, near where it was found, namely in the building towards its western end. It should be added that, in addition to the objects enumerated above, the thin sheets of lead inscribed with curses were also found at this spot, which would thus seem to be the focus of the sanctuary and a likely position for the cult-statues.

ment would have been purposeless, and the asymmetry of the drapery when seen from the front disturbing; second, that the statue may have been set at an angle to the spectator; third, that it may have been grouped with another statue. That the statue was set sideways or three-quarters to the spectator is not impossible,¹⁶ whilst it is extremely probable, since the *temenos* was a *temenos* not of Demeter only but of Demeter and Kore, and most of the dedications mention both the goddesses, that it contained a cult-statue of the daughter in addition to one of the mother. Is there any evidence what this statue of Kore was? The answer to that question, given in Appendix II, is that it was of an Attic type well-known about the mid fourth century B.C., and if the answer is correct it implies an Attic origin for the statue that stood beside it. Instead of relying on this argument, I prefer to assume outright that the statue of Demeter is by an Athenian. This may seem to beg the question—if we are blind to what a thousand grave-reliefs show us of Attic style in the fourth century. It is, moreover, by a sculptor in whom the classical Athenian tradition—that of Pheidias—seems particularly strong. The monumental oval of the face, the broad yet subtle modelling of the forehead,¹⁷ the deep but unostentatious emotional content derive directly from the masterpieces of the fifth century: here is a man who has often walked on the Acropolis, has stood before the Lemnian, and has looked up at the Parthenos.¹⁸ He is a sculptor of great ability, and therefore one whose name is likely to be known to us from literary records: he must have carved other sculptures in Athens and elsewhere: fragments of them may have survived, and if so, may give a clue to his identity.

The most obvious of these fragments is the head of Alexander from the Acropolis (pll. XI, XII),¹⁹ and a comparison both of the general forms and of the details leaves little doubt that, despite the great difference of subject, the same mind and the same hands are at work. In particular, it is not easy to imagine that different artists designed and carved the mouths and put the finishing touches to the lips (pl. XI, c, d). Who, then, was this sculptor? Although one name, that of Leochares, has several times been mentioned in discussions of this portrait of Alexander, the issue has been confused partly because most writers have preferred to pass judgement on and to argue from, not the head of the Acropolis, which is an original, but the Erbach head, which is a Roman copy of it,²⁰ and partly because the attribution has been supported by stylistic comparison with other Roman copies, of lost works whose identification is often doubtful—a kind of argument that can never be conclusive and is not often convincing,²¹ with the result that what is in fact a strong case has not been properly appreciated. Let us approach the problem from a different direction.

What would have been the essential conditions in choosing a sculptor for this commission—a statue of Alexander the Macedonian to be set up on the Acropolis at Athens in the fourth century B.C.? For reasons of external policy it would have been important to employ one of eminence; of internal, an Athenian; and it must have been desirable that this Athenian should not be hostile to the Macedonians. The claims of Leochares, as I see them, are these. He had already made a statue of Isocrates, the ablest advocate of the Macedonian policy that Athens produced.²² He had worked for Philip just after Chaeronea on the gold-and-ivory

¹⁶ For example, two of the three cult-images of about this date which are reproduced in the relief in Athens (Walter, *Rel. kl. Akrop.* 68, no. 117) were apparently turned at an angle to the spectator, and several of the Attic reliefs of the Eleusinian goddesses (e.g. Kern *AM* XVII, 125 ff.) for other reff. sec n. 4 p. 13) imply groups of which some of the statues were set thus.

¹⁷ The horizontal section is given by Caskey *Boston Cat.* 66.

¹⁸ If, as suggested below, he was also a worker in gold and ivory, he may well have needed to study the Parthenos closely.

¹⁹ Casson *Acrop. Cat.* II 232 no. 1331: to the reff. there given add Suhr, *Sc. portr. of Greek Statesmen* 121 ff., Gebauer *Alexanderbildnis* (*AM* 63/4 (1938/9) 101, K.67; Buschor, *Hellenist. Bildnis* 9; Bieber, *Proc. Am. Philosoph. Soc.* 93, 5 (1949) 380. This head is of course an original. The

emphasis is necessary, for opinion has been wavering, confused, and even perverse. There are two copies, one at Erbach (Stark, *Zwei Alexanderköpfe* (1897) 12), the other, from Madytus, in Berlin (Blümel *Cat. K.* 203).

It is just possible that two originals of similar type, one in marble and one in bronze, were produced by the fourth-century sculptor, and that the Erbach head, which has more meticulous detail in the hair than the head from the Acropolis, is copied from the lost bronze.

Amelung long ago observed the identity of style between Demeter and Alexander (*Ausonia* III, 1908, 127 ff.).

²⁰ See, for example, the confused discussion in Suhr *op. cit.* 121 f.

²¹ Cf. Klein *AE* 1900 1: Neugebauer *AA* 1946-7 1.

²² Not later than 338, for it was dedicated by Timotheos, who died in that year, as did Isocrates himself (Plut. *Vit. X Orat. Isocr.* 27).

group of the Macedonian royal family—including Alexander and his mother Olympias—in the Philippeion at Olympia.²³ This fact was doubtless widely known in Athens and elsewhere. It is likely that he preserved some record, in the form of studies, if nothing more, of his sitters' features, especially Alexander's (for Alexander completed the dedication after Philip's death, as is proved by the inclusion of Olympias); and that when the question arose of commissioning a sculptor for the statue in Athens, this too was known: tradition is clear that not many artists had direct access to Alexander, and he was apt to be in some remote part of the world when sittings were needed, so the point is important. Leochares was later to work with Lysippus—pre-eminently the sculptor of Alexander's court—on the bronze group at Delphi of Alexander hunting, which was commissioned by Craterus and, some years after his death in 321, dedicated by his son.²⁴ It is unlikely, then, that with this sculptor at hand, any other would have been employed for the making of a marble statue of this importance in Athens, his native city.²⁵ Finally, no less than seven signatures of Leochares have been found in Athens, one not a great distance from the find-spot of the head of Alexander.²⁶

Is it possible to determine the most likely date for the dedication? After Chaeronea in 338 Philip sent Alexander to Athens bearing the ashes of the Athenians who had been killed in the battle. The Athenians are thought to have conferred their citizenship on both Philip and Alexander in gratitude, and to have set up a statue of Philip in the agora.²⁷ Were this certain, then it would be reasonable to argue that they did not at the same time set up one of Alexander on the Acropolis, because a statue on the Acropolis has different implications. Thus 338 and, from historical circumstances, the year or two following, are improbable. Immediately after Alexander's death the state of feeling in Athens, and, indeed, her political moves, rule out such a dedication: accordingly 323 is a fairly certain lower limit. Within the period 336 to 323 there are several occasions which might have prompted the dedication, but it is not easy to find a decisive factor: 334, after the battle of the Granicus, when Alexander sent three hundred Persian panoplies to Athens: 331, when he released the Athenian prisoners taken in that battle and was awarded a crown by the Athenians. Lastly, there is 324, when he claimed divine honours from the Greeks, and was in fact deified, though grudgingly, by the Athenians; it must be admitted that the Acropolis would be an appropriate place for a statue erected with that purpose: true, there is no external sign of deification, and no diadema, but their absence tells us nothing. Nor can anything certain be inferred from the apparent youth of the subject, although this is a promising line of approach used by Bieber (*l.c.* n. 19 above). Age is difficult to guess in an ideal portrait, and her estimate of only fifteen or sixteen seems too low: if correct, it would fix near 340 the date when the sittings were given and the type created, but it would not necessarily establish that date for the dedication, though increasing the probability that it too was early. In short, 330 remains a convenient central date, but Bieber's argument tilts the balance to the period before it.

What then of the statue of Demeter? Before attempting to fix its date either in relation to the head of Alexander, or absolutely, it is worth glancing at a problem which has some bearing on both date and authorship, for if these two works represent the style of Leochares, that style should be recognisable among the remains of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, where he

²³ Paus. V 20, 9. Gebauer's theory (Blümel, *Berlin Cat.* V x 203: cf. Buschor, *Mauss. u. Alex.* 48) that the Erbach head may be copied from the chryselephantine statue at Olympia, is not irreconcilable with my own. I suspect that the so-called Alcibiades type, identified as Philip by Arndt (*Strena Helbig*, 11, *Arndt-Br.* 467–70), may reproduce the portrait of Philip from this group at Olympia.

²⁴ See Johnson *Lysippos* 67 (with *reffi.*). Waldhauer (*Über einige Porträts Alexanders* 51) argues that the animals were by Lysippus, the portraits by Leochares.

²⁵ It is customary to assume that Leochares was a native Athenian, but for this there is no direct evidence. Lippold in *RE* XII 2, 1994 *s.v.* 'Leochares', cites one piece of indirect evidence, an inscription of Roman date.

²⁶ Loewy *Inscr. Gr. Bildh.* 62 no. 80 ('cast of Propylaea');

the head of Alexander was found 'near the Erechtheum' (Klein *AE* 1900, 1). I regret not having had an opportunity since 1937 of again studying this head at first hand; it is just possible that a fresh examination might give a hint of the kind of body to which it belonged, and thus of the purpose and date of the dedication.

²⁷ This is usually stated as an established fact, e.g. by Geyer in *RE* XIX 2, *s.v.* Philippos 2295, but it is no more than an inference from the authorities there cited, among whom only Pausanias (I ix 4) mentions a statue of Philip, saying that it, and one of Alexander, stood in front of the Odeion, but giving no date for either. I thank Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge and Professor A. W. Gomme for help in clearing up this point.

was one of the four chief sculptors. The facts—or rather the alleged facts—are familiar. Pliny's story, usually accepted, is that the reliefs on the east were by Scopas, those on the north by Bryaxis, those on the south by Timotheus, and those on the west by Leochares. Vitruvius has a rather different and—because less fairy-tale-like in pattern—slightly more plausible account.²⁸ Pliny's words have sometimes been taken to imply more than they say, as, for instance, that any piece of sculpture, whether in relief or in the round, found on the north of the building, must be by Bryaxis, any piece on the south by Timotheus, and so on:²⁹ this is certainly unjustified; but even what they say must not be taken literally. To prove this, only four slabs, from the Amazonomachy, need be examined closely. They alone reflect the style we are seeking, and the very fact that they are supposed to have been found *in situ*³⁰ forces us to face the problem with common sense.³¹ They are slabs 1013, 1014, 1015, and 1016 (pl. XIII, XIV). They were found by Newton on the eastern side, and therefore if Pliny's account is to be accepted literally, ought to display the style of Scopas.³² If the sculptures of Tegea are a criterion of his style, they certainly do not: given that the subject is similar, nothing could be further from the rugged forms and wild expressions of Tegea than these smooth muscles, calm features, and rhythmic poses. But that is by the way. We need only go so far, at present, as to remark that the slabs are not homogeneous, and it thus becomes clear that whatever the statements of Pliny and Vitruvius may imply, they do not mean that four artists took one side each and designed and executed all the relief-work upon it. For slabs 1013, 1014, and 1015 are clearly the design of a single mind (pl. XIII): they may also have been executed by a single pair of hands; but slab 1016 (pl. XIV), which was found with them and seems to belong to the same allegedly eastern series, clearly differs from them in execution. Perhaps more deeply: the horse, for instance, hardly comes from the same stable.

At the least, we are forced to distinguish design from execution, and to assume that each main sculptor had a number of assistants, of unequal ability, working under him. This is but natural, since the physical labour necessary in this amount of carving demands some such system, and sculptors inevitably differ in merit. The design may well have been entirely by the master, even if broadly sketched: he probably supervised the carving, either closely or loosely, and he may have assisted any of his subordinates in the early, intermediate, or final stage: or he may, of course, have done parts entirely himself. This hypothesis, and this only, will permit us to accept the broad truth of the statements by Pliny and Vitruvius; yet will account for the differences of touch within the same general approach, and will explain why some

²⁸ Plin. N.H. XXXVI. 30: Scopas habuit aemulos eadem aetate Bryaxim et Timotheum et Leocharen, de quibus simul dicendum est, quoniam pariter caelavere Mausoleum 31: ab oriente caelavit Scopas, a septentrione Bryaxis, a meridie Timotheus, ab occasu Leochares. . . .

Vitr. VII, praefat. 12: namque singulis frontibus singuli artifices sumserunt certatim partes ad ornandum et probandum Leochares Bryaxis Scopas Praxiteles, nonnulli etiam putant Timotheum.

²⁹ Cf. Amelung, *Aus. III* 103. Zschietzschmann *Welt als Geschichte I* (1935) 435 goes to the other extreme, and maintains that there was one designer only for the whole frieze.

³⁰ *In situ* is a phrase to be used with caution. Newton did not imagine that the slabs were still in position on the building, but wrote (*Disc. II* 100) 'They were found lying in a row, and appear to form one continuous composition. They are in very fine condition, and, notwithstanding the extreme salience of the relief, are but little mutilated. It may be inferred from these circumstances that the spot where I discovered them is not far from their original position on the edifice, as, from the great weight of the slabs, one of which is 5 ft. 8 ins. in length, by 1 ft. in thickness, they could hardly have undergone much shifting about without presenting more signs of bad usage on their surface.' Nothing can be added to this statement (except that *Disc. I* pl. IV shows that the slabs were not lying parallel with either the eastern or northern wall of the building):

each must decide for himself what the probabilities are.

³¹ As did Neugebauer in *Studien über Skopas* ch. III. See also the ref. in n. 29 above, Lawrence, *Cl. Sculpt.* 264, and Wace's article on the whole question of design and execution (*Ann. XXIV-VI*, 109), which appeared when my own was already at the printer's. The weakness of that article is its failure to suggest how designs were transmitted from the 'master' to the carver. Was it by drawing on papyrus, by models in clay or wax, or by some other method? And in what degree of detail? There is of course no ground for assuming that the procedure in decorating a building with sculpture was identical everywhere and at every period, but sculptors commonly find it easier to give expression to their ideas by carving or even by drawing, rather than by modelling, and on full scale rather than in miniature: that is why I think it likely that in the friezes of the Mausoleum the master or masters set out the design full-scale on the surface of the marble, and then supervised the execution, actually taking part in the carving where it was necessary to instruct, correct, or give the final subtlety of emphasis. How otherwise can one account not only for the variety but also for the excellence of the styles? The majority of fourth-century grave-reliefs and votive reliefs are much inferior, both in style and in execution.

³² Repeated attempts, inspired by Pliny's statement, have been made to connect these with Scopas (see Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors* 270): the latest is by Buschor (*Maus. u. Alex.* 46).

figures display the superficial elements of certain styles, without the fire and life which it is reasonable to expect from the greatest sculptors of the fourth century.

To return to slabs 1013, 1014, and 1015 (pl. XIII). They make a balanced composition which runs on from slab to slab, and the figures exhibit the same or similar style throughout. The same artist designed them, either carved or most closely supervised their carving at every stage, and, at a guess, put the finishing touches. This style, if allowance be made for the difference in the size, the kind of subject, and for the possible difference of date, agrees reasonably well with that of the statue of Demeter and the head of Alexander. I have chosen for illustration (pills. XV, XVI) the three female heads that are tolerably well preserved, for comparison with that of Demeter. The male beardless head (pl. XIII, a) is severely weathered, and the bearded heads (pl. XIII, b) naturally cannot be compared in every detail with that of Alexander, but despite this they agree in general remarkably well. However, the resemblance is not in the heads alone: there are the same stocky proportions that we see in Demeter, whilst the drapery, with its bold arrangement but unsensational detail, is characteristic. A particular comparison can be made between the cloak of the Amazon on foot (pl. XIII, c) and the himation of Demeter; the chitons of the mounted Amazons (pl. XIII, a, c), in accordance with the difference of material, show a more careful and detailed treatment and a tender understanding of the subtleties of fine folds: I do not know if this reflects another mind or another facet of the same mind.

There is one more piece of sculpture from the Mausoleum that certainly exhibits a similar style, and to avoid confusing the particular issue by citing others less certain, let us confine ourselves to that. It is the best-preserved fragment from the frieze of chariots, the charioteer no. 1037, found on the western side of the building (pl. XIV, b).³³ On pl. XVI are set the heads of this figure and of Alexander side by side. The face of the charioteer is perhaps a little more rounded, but there is the same stress on the forms of the forehead, the same excitement in the lips and nostrils; nor is it irrelevant to remark the resemblance of the charioteer's down-flowing drapery to that of the Amazon on the right of slab 1013 (pl. XIII, a).

To be brief, we find among the remains of the Mausoleum the style of the sculptor we have been discussing. He ought to be one of the four whose names we know—Scopas, Bryaxis, Timotheus, and Leochares. The criteria for the style of the first three are familiar from the text-books: it would need evidence stronger than any hitherto brought forward to connect with any one of these the style we have isolated, which may thus, on the evidence set out above, be assumed to be that of Leochares.

To resume the question of the relative dates of the several sculptures—Demeter, Alexander, and the friezes of the Mausoleum. The head of Alexander we have put between 336 and 323, with a bias to the earlier part of that period,³⁴ the friezes of the Mausoleum were carved about 350³⁵; and the slabs we have cited do not show to any marked degree that feeling for volume evident in the statue of Demeter, which has been compared in this respect with the copy in the Lateran of a statue of Sophocles probably set up in 330.³⁶ It seems to me equally close to that of Aeschines (the copy in Naples) the original of which on historical grounds is also not likely to have been earlier than 340–330.³⁷ 315 is approximately the lowest limit for the career of Leochares, on the assumption that he did not work as a sculptor after the age of seventy.³⁸ Although I favour a date round 330 for the statue of Demeter, there is nothing to disprove its being ten years or so earlier, even ten years or so—but hardly

³³ Newton *Disc.* II 99 (cf. 90). He stresses the fact that the find-spots of most of the marbles have little value in determining their original positions.

³⁴ The eyes and lips of Alexander show a slightly freer, more impressionistic treatment than do those of Demeter, and this, unless it be due to the difference of subject, seems to argue a later date.

³⁵ Buschor, in *Mauss. u. Alex.*, *passim*, argues for two main periods of work on the Mausoleum, the first from a little before 353 to 351, the second round 333.

³⁶ Süsserott, *Gr. Plastik* 178 f.

³⁷ Before his banishment in 330 B.C. Lippold (*Gr. Porträtst.* 95: *Kopien* 210) puts it at the beginning of the third century, 'perhaps 280 B.C.'. This seems too late. Among Panathenaic vases one in London (Süsserott *op. cit.* pl. 6r) dated 332 B.C., with its multiplicity of small folds, has something in common with the statue of Aeschines (though even more with that of Demeter) but looks earlier; whilst one in the Louvre dated 313 (Süsserott pl. 10r) looks later.

³⁸ For a summary of the evidence for his date see Richter *Sculpture and Sculptors* 282.

two hundred—later. Instead of trying to fix it within a decade, especially when the evidence does not permit such precision, better perhaps at the moment to be content with bringing Leochares—by repute one of the three great Athenian sculptors of the century, yet of whose style we know up to now nothing certain—a step out of the shadows.³⁹

APPENDIX I

A. THE STATUE (Figs. 1-4, and plates I-IX).

Measurements (in centimetres)

Height (<i>with head</i>)	153	
Height (<i>without head</i>)	120	(A to Q, fig. 1)
Width (<i>greatest, at level of elbows</i>)	69	(D to E, fig. 1)
Width (<i>greatest, at back of throne</i>)	84.5	(F to K, fig. 1)
Depth (<i>front to back</i>)	70.4	(K to M, fig. 2)
Height of head (<i>from bottom of inset to top of veil</i>)	45.4	
Height of face (<i>from point of chin to top of forehead at lowest point of hair-parting</i>) (pl. II)	20.5	
Breadth of face (<i>immediately below ears</i>) (pl. II)	14.5	
Breadth across eyes (<i>from outer corners, including lids</i>) (pl. II)	10.1	
Length of upper lip (pll. II, and XI, c)	4.8	

The head was made separately, with deep rounded inset (pl. IV), of which the maximum breadth, from side to side, is 27.3.

No dowel was used for fixing the head on to the body, but the inset must have been held by stucco, a key being provided by the rough surface of the inset and the more roughly picked surface of the socket into which it fitted: both surfaces were produced by claw-tooling and punching. A flattened but furrowed surface inside the top edge of the socket, at the back and a little to the left (pl. IX, a), corresponding to a flattening on the inset (pll. IV, b, IX, b), must have allowed the stucco to form a thicker layer at this point, which would act as a wedge and prevent the rotation of the inset in the socket. There is no doubt of the correct setting, for there is a horizontal setting-line at the back (pl. IX, b), and the long locks at the sides of the head in front fit their ends on the body (pl. I).

Both arms were made separately.

L. arm. In the stump is an oblong dowel-hole, 2.2 long, 0.8 high, with remains of an iron dowel. 1.5 above this is a cluster of four or five drill-holes forming a hollow 1.8 square—probably the remains of the pour-hole for the lead of the dowel. The section of the stump shows that the forearm was raised fairly high, and it seems to have been extended towards the left.

R. arm. In the stump there is an oblong dowel-hole 2.4 long, 0.7 high, stained with iron. The forearm was apparently lowered; the hand may have rested beside or on the thigh, or on the arm of the throne.

The use of flat bars for dowelling is noteworthy, and may prove to be a useful criterion of date and even of workshop, when more information has been collected on the piecing together of sculpture.⁴⁰

³⁹ Richter *op. cit.* 284 'we must admit that Leochares still remains a shadowy figure'.

⁴⁰ Carpenter's remark in *Memoirs* XVIII 71, 'I cannot recall any pertinent instance of an undoubted original so pieced together as early as 300 B.C.' is baffling, unless the word 'so' applies only to the *Girl from Anzio*. Original statues of the fourth century are not numerous, and few are so complete as to show whether the arms or other parts

were made separately. But when a sculptor was making the head separately—and we have a number of fourth-century heads that are so made—there was no law to prevent him dealing similarly with the arms or other projecting parts, if it happened to prove convenient. As early as about 400 B.C., in a statue in Eleusis (*Br.-Br.* 536), one foot was made separately although the head seems not to have been. If there is one undoubted original of the fourth

I have suggested elsewhere (*BSA* XLVI 4) the main reasons for carving head and body from separate blocks of marble—there was less risk of a flaw developing in a vital place at a late stage in the work and, if it did develop, not all the statue was ruined. Additional reasons are that in this way a finer block can be used for the head, and more than one sculptor can work on the statue at the same time, if necessary in different workshops.

B. THE THRONE (see especially figs. 1-4 and plates VI-VIII).

The throne is worth discussing in some detail, since it does not seem to have been thoroughly studied before. The general type is familiar, and the evidence for a complete reconstruction is there. It measured 63.5 cm. high, excluding the back (S-Q, fig. 1); 84.5 cm. wide (F-K, fig. 1); and approximately 53 cm. from front to back (A-B1 fig. 2). This can be checked on the left side, where the length of the cushion (P-Q, fig. 4) 44, plus the thickness of the back leg, 4.4, plus the conjectured thickness of the front leg, 4.4, totals 52.8.

Back. It had a back, the height of which (46-47 cm.) is determined by the top of the pour-hole for the lead of the upper dowel (B, fig. 1) which fixed it to the figure: part of the dowel itself (2.3 wide, 0.7 high) and of the lead filling remain (C, fig. 1, and pl. VII). The back extended the full width of the throne, and was fixed to it by two tongues of iron (about 2.7 wide and about 0.8 thick) which were probably leaded into the lower edge of the back, but inserted without lead into slots (3.3 deep) on the upper edge of the throne itself (G, J, fig. 1). In addition, the back of the throne was fixed by stucco to the back of the figure and to the upper edge of the throne: this is proved by the rough picking of these two surfaces as a key for the stucco (between C and H, and from F to K, fig. 1). What the shape of the back was we have no means of discovering, except that from the details just mentioned it must have been solid along its lower edge and down the middle of the back of the figure—probably therefore completely solid.⁴¹

Legs. The front legs are missing—they were cut almost free of the drapery and the central block along their inner edges (pl. VI), but their form can be inferred without much difficulty from the remains of the back legs (which are incised on the marble where they are not carved in the round) and from analogy, especially the almost contemporary thrones from a tomb in Eretria, and on the Persae vase.⁴² Each evidently finished at the top in a pair of evolute spirals resembling an Aeolic capital, from the centre of which sprang a pair of involute spirals (pl. VIII, d, e, g).

Arm-rails. That the throne had arm-rails is shown by a slot in the drapery at the left side of the figure (N, fig. 4, and pl. VI, r), where the left rail ran: its lower edge was 11.7 cm.⁴³ above the upper surface of the seat of the throne. To judge from the slot, these arm-rails must have been let into the back of the throne with their centres 4 cm. in from its outer edges. They

century in existence it is Berlin K.10 (Blümel *Cat.* III pl. 14: from Athens) which is a head made for in-setting. Then there is the head of Asklepios from Melos (*B.M. Cat. Sculpt.* no. 550), the head of Zeus in Boston (Caskey *Cat.* 59 no. 25), and the female head there no. 27 (28 and 29—like the patchwork B.M. 1301 from the Cnidian temenos itself—have sometimes been thought later than 300 B.C.). In the statue of Dionysus (*B.M. Cat. Sculpt.* no. 432), of uncertain date but later set up on the monument of Thrasyllos (Welter *AA* 1938, 33 ff.), the head is let into a rounded socket and held at the bottom by a substantial dowel (present hole 8 cm. wide by 5 cm., but this has been enlarged to extract the metal); the pour-channel runs from the front. The left arm, from the shoulder, was also made separately, being fixed into a mortice of which the remains are 15 cm. high by 13 wide. From the Mausoleum there is the colossal statue no. 1000, which, despite contrary opinion (*e.g.* Buschor *Mausol. u. Alex.* 10), should from the coin-evidence be Mausolus (Hill in *Anatolian Studies* (Ramsay) p. 207) and must anyhow be of the fourth century: head and arms were all made separately. There is the rider 1045, the upper part of whose body was made separately; the colossal head 1052; the large head of Apollo 1058 (with its fragment of

socketed neck 1061); and the smaller heads 1055 (which is life-size, not colossal as stated by Jongkees (*JHS* LXVIII 37)), and 1056; finally 1065 (socket to receive inset head) and the necks numbered in the British Museum as MRC 51 A B and C (made for insertion into sockets in statues, and now broken from their heads). Admittedly some of the sculptures found on the site of the Mausoleum may be later than the original building, but scarcely all these. I exclude the head in Berlin from a relief (Blümel *Cat.* III K.43), the separately-made parts among the sculptures of the Parthenon, and the statue attributed to the Hephaisteion (*Hesp.* XVIII pl. 51-2), as being architectural sculpture; and I omit all archaic examples of the practice.

⁴¹ As in that shown on the relief in Berlin (Blümel *Cat.* III K.106 pl. 84), or in the statue in Leningrad (Waldhauer *op. cit.* III 248 pl. XV (our pl. VIII, f)). It is possible that the back of the throne was gable-shaped or rounded at the top, and not horizontal; there is a faint groove on the back of the left shoulder of the statue which may indicate its slope: this is not a convincing explanation, but I am at a loss to account for the groove on any other hypothesis.

⁴² *AM* XXVI 333, pl. XIV: FR pl. 88.

⁴³ If it was fitted exactly into the slot.

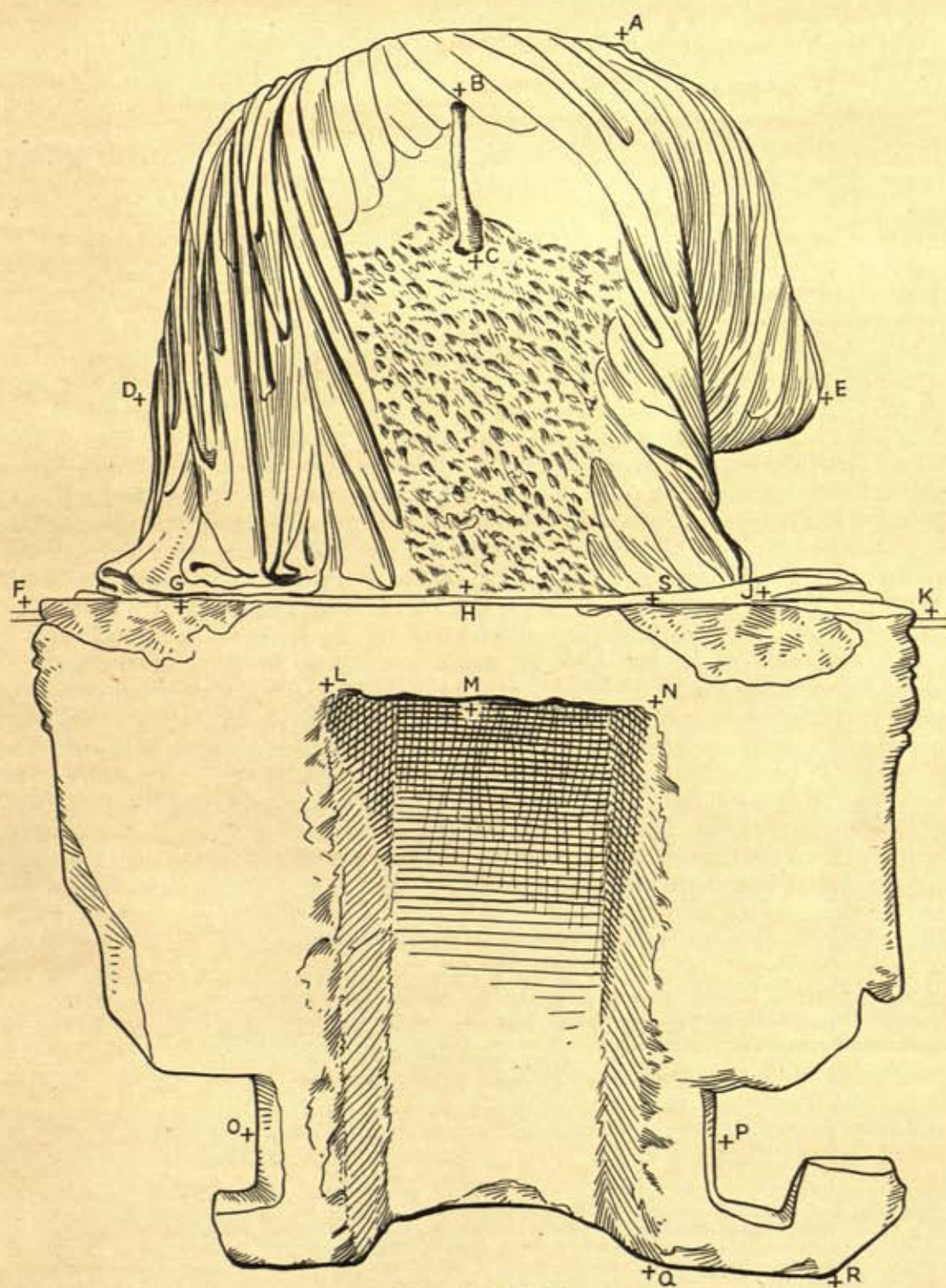


FIG. 1.—(Cf. PL. VII).

must also have been supported at their front ends: where were the supports attached to the throne? The evidence of reliefs and vase-paintings for similar thrones show that they were normally set in the centre of the crowning members of the front legs.⁴⁴ On the left front leg of our throne this crowning member was covered by drapery except towards its left side (pl. I). It is broken away at this point, but the front edge of the cushion, which partly survives (P, fig. 4, and pl. VI, b), establishes the position of the back face of the leg against which the cushion rested. The cushion itself measures 44 cm. from front to back (P-Q, fig. 4). On the top of the front left corner of the cushion is an oval cutting into the cushion itself (O, fig. 4), its longer axis (originally about 5 cm. long) running from back to front; it is broken away on the outside, and in front. Its shorter axis must have been about 4 cm. in diameter, and on its floor, in the centre of its short axis and 3.5 cm. from its back wall, is the trace of a slender iron dowel. An arm-rail running parallel with the left edge of the throne, and having its inner face and lower edge bedded in the slot of the drapery (N, fig. 4), would pass over the cutting. This precludes the possibility of the cutting having been made for the purpose of holding the butt-end of an attribute grasped in the statue's left hand, and we can assume that it held the support for the lost arm-rail. The central axis of an arm-rail 4.5 cm. wide would pass exactly over the slender dowel: we can assume then that this was in fact the width of the rail. Now among the remains found by Newton in the temenos there was a ram's head of Parian marble (pl. VIII, a-c): it is able work, in style evidently not later than the fourth century B.C., and it is clearly the terminal ornament of a square shaft, the shape of which it is just beginning to take at the back: this square had a side of 4.4 cm., and the measurement is so close to that postulated above for the left arm-rail that it is reasonable to assume that the ram's head is actually the end of it or of its companion.⁴⁵ The ram's left horn is rather less carefully finished than its right; this would indicate that the right side was to be in fuller view, and therefore that this was the right arm of the throne. The head is also asymmetrical, its left cheek and eye being in front of its right and the front of its left horn as much as 7 mm. in front of the right, a substantial difference in a head only 9 cm. long (pl. VIII, a). The asymmetry is, in fact, so strong as to suggest that an actual three-quarter view was intended, which in turn would imply that the statue to which it belonged was also to be seen in a three-quarter view, thus confirming what has already been deduced from other evidence (see above, p. 14 f.). To return to the arm-rail—we are given its height, and also its approximate length (53 cm. over all), for beneath the throat of the animal there is a lightly tooled hollow as if to accommodate something below: this must have been the top of the support, in front of which the ram's head terminal commonly starts. The material of the support was probably of marble, since it was fixed with an iron pin and there are no traces of discoloration by bronze. What was its form? It can hardly have been a little column or similar member, for this would naturally be fixed exactly in the centre of the throne-leg itself and not impinge, in rather unhappy fashion, on the cushion. Moreover, the cutting in which it was set is not circular. Now a seated sphinx is the commonest support for an arm-rail, and the cutting would be of the appropriate shape to accommodate it. But the lower edge of the arm-rail (provided that the slot in the drapery gives the exact level of the lower edge) would have been only 4 cm. above the floor of the cutting, leaving what seems insufficient room for a seated sphinx of the scale demanded by the size of the arm-rail in particular

⁴⁴ See Richter *Anc. Furnit.* 13 ff.

⁴⁵ *B.M. Cat. Sculpt.* II no. 1308. Total length 10 cm.: of head only, 9 cm.

For rams in general see Richter *Animals* 27, and for late archaic and early classical rams Jacobsthal *Mel. Rel.* 135. The features which distinguish our ram's-head from those made earlier, for instance the clay ram's-head cups of Sotades and his followers (Beazley *ARV* 451-3) are the differentiation between bone and flesh (which involves deeper and more detailed modelling), increased feeling for the elasticity of the skin, and greater interest in the surroundings of the eye, the shape of the eye-ball and the way it lies in and projects from its socket. But it is sometimes not easy to determine date and style in a subject

where Nature has already done so much for the sculptor, whatever his period: some comparisons are possible with fourth-century coins of Salamis in Cyprus, as Mr. E. S. G. Robinson has shown me, and with bracelet-ends, e.g. that in the Ashmolean Museum, from a fourth-century tomb in the Crimea (*JHS* V (1884) 68 pl. XLVII—misleading), but I have found nothing conclusive. One relief almost contemporary with Demeter should be cited, that of Demetria and Pamphile (Conze pl. XL, Diepolder *Att. Grabr.* 53 pl. 51), but it is disappointing: the ram's-head is far less vigorous than ours and it lacks the bold aquiline nose (said to be more pronounced in the male animal (Sandars *Beast Book* 208)).

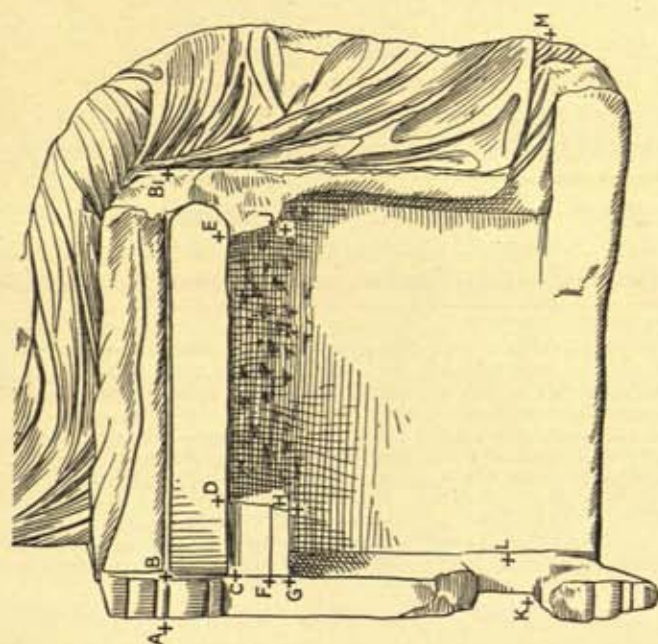


FIG. 2.—(Cf. Pl. VI, a).

A-B 4'4
B-G 14'3
C-F 4'9
F-G 2'2



FIG. 3.—SIDE-PANEL (conjectural, not to scale, and angles exaggerated).

Right side.		Left side.	
a-b	31'5	a-b	30'5
c-d	32(?)	c-d	31'8
b-c	5'4	b-c	7
c-f	31(?)	c-f	30(?)
c-e	7	c-e	9

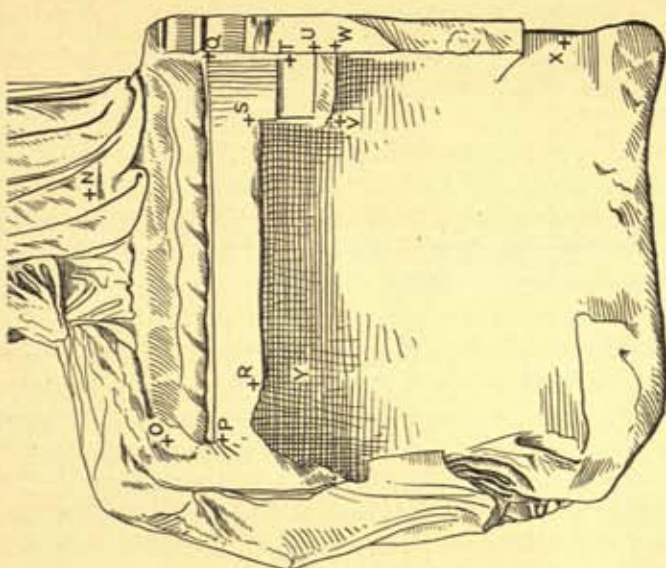


FIG. 4.—(Cf. Pl. VI, b).

Q-W 15
Q-T 8
T-U 4'8
U-W 2'2

Note.—None of these measurements can be considered accurate to within two millimetres, since the edges of the marble are weathered; whilst those under Fig. 3 are conjectural, being inferred from the sockets, now broken at their front ends, into which the panels fitted.

and by the throne in general. Nevertheless, a seated sphinx does seem the most likely form of support: alternatively—if animal at all—it might have been a recumbent animal. Pl. VIII, f, from a statue in Leningrad,⁴⁶ shows what the general appearance of the arms and their supports probably was.

Seat and side-rails. The sides of the throne are carved in such a way as to imitate a wooden throne (pl. VI). In the wooden prototype the front legs were joined to the back legs by two rails on each side: the upper, broader, one also forms the seat (B, B₁, fig. 2: P, Q, fig. 4), the lower, narrower, is simply a strut (F, G, H, fig. 2: U, W, V, fig. 4). Below the rails, the marble has been tooled away into a concave surface by a honeycombing process;⁴⁷ this surface has a claw-tooled finish, in which some of the deeper drill-marks still appear, not having been obliterated by the subsequent claw-tooling: these concave surfaces would have been in partial shadow, originally more than now, since panels set in below the top rails have fallen away (D, E, J, H, fig. 2: R, S, V, Y, fig. 4). This solid central block (on each side of which the footstool, originally about 10 cm. high, by 29 cm. from front to back, and 46 from side to side, is shown as a low relief) corresponds to nothing in the wooden prototype, but is necessary here to support the main weight of the statue: it is hollowed behind to lighten the total weight (below L, M, N, fig. 1).⁴⁸ Although the inset panels were not identical, each was held in the same way, keystone-fashion, for the edges of the frame in which they rested converge downwards: they also diverge outwards, in order to permit the insertion of the panel (fig. 3). What were the panels? On the analogy of other thrones (e.g. pl. VIII, g)⁴⁹ I assume that they were ornamented with designs in relief or painting, and that they were made separately in order that this small and delicate work might be more easily executed. The panel on the left included part of the upper rail of the throne (below R-S, fig. 4): this panel would thus have a frame at the top, though this frame presumably ran flush with the rail forming the seat; the lower frame continued the line of the narrow rail which is now cut short 7.3 from its junction with the back (V, fig. 4): the panel on the right would have had a frame at the bottom only. The measurements of the rails and the approximate measurements of the missing panels are given beneath figs. 2, 3, and 4. This differing structure of the throne on the two sides seems to imply that the two sides were not equally visible. Another possible but unlikely explanation of the difference is that the panel on the left was the second to be carved, and that the provision of a frame at the top was a safeguard—learnt from experience with the first panel—against the breaking away of the delicate upper edge.

Tilt of back legs and seat. The ancient lower bed of the statue remains, and when this is set on a horizontal flat surface the back legs of the throne have a tilt backwards of about two degrees out of the vertical: the missing back of the throne had a corresponding tilt, and so has the surface of the statue to which the back was attached (between B and H, fig. 1).

In addition, the side-rails are not set at right angles to the back legs, but run upwards from them towards the front at a slope of about two degrees from the horizontal: this is more clearly seen on the right side where the rail is not only better preserved, but also seems more accurately reproduced—additional evidence that greater care was taken with the right side of the statue. The result is that the seat of the throne has a total slope downward towards the back of four degrees out of the horizontal: this must have been a feature of the actual wooden throne, devised for comfort. The dimensions of the front legs may thus not have been identical with

⁴⁶ Roman copy of a statue of Cybele of the fifth century B.C. (Waldhauer *Ant. Skulpt. Ermit.* III 20 no. 248). Arm-rails with sphinx-support and ram's-head finial, especially in reliefs and on vases, are too common to enumerate. For a sphinx-support projecting backwards over the cushion of the throne see Walter *Rel. kl. Akrop.* 60 no. 104; and for a low arm-rail *ibid.* 87 no. 182. The general arrangement is usually the same, though the projection of the ram's-head may vary; for an abnormal arrangement see the rough archaic statue in Leningrad (Waldhauer *op. cit.* I no. 9 pl. VII).

⁴⁷ This process consisted in drilling a number of holes with a large drill straight down into the block and then

breaking away the walls between them. I previously thought that the hollows visible were the remains of punch-marks, but Mr. J. Brennan, whose help on various technical points I gratefully acknowledge, has convinced me that they are drill-holes.

⁴⁸ As in the statue of Dionysus no. 432 in the British Museum: for its association with the monument of Thrasyllos see Welter *AA* 1938 33 ff.

⁴⁹ See pl. VIII, g, and Richter *Anc. Furnit.* 20 f. Two archaic panels from Sardis in the British Museum (Pryce *Cat. Sculpt.* I 1 (1928) B. 269-70) may have come from reproductions of furniture, but neither is identical in form with the panels missing here.

those of the back: nor is it possible to ascertain whether they were vertical, which seems likely on general grounds and from the traces on the statue where they were broken away, or whether they shared the backward tilt of the back legs. The footstool is level.⁵⁰

C. FURTHER TECHNICAL DETAILS.

The statue is face-bedded, but whether the block lay on its face or its back in the quarry cannot now be determined. The present lower bed of the block is produced by drilling (see note 47, p. 24), followed by claw-tooling. The surface at the back has been similarly produced, and probably also the original surface at the top of the block (almost all removed by the subsequent carving), for there are remains of large drill-holes round the back edge of the socket for the neck that cannot be otherwise explained. In general the sculptor is sparing in his use of the punch for this purpose: he reserves it for finer work and for making a key for stucco.

The back having been reduced to a level, finely claw-chiselled surface, the sculptor divided it in half with a fine vertical guide-line, part of which still survives (between H and M, fig. 1), and then approximately in half the other way by two parallel horizontal lines which run the whole width of the throne: they are 7 mm. apart and the upper is 4 mm. below the top edge of the throne (F to K, fig. 1). There are also traces of other vertical guide-lines below the breaks under G and J (fig. 1). In addition to punches of various sizes which it is not possible to measure, the kinds of tool used and their approximate sizes were:

(a) *Drill*. A drill 1 cm. in diameter especially for the heavy drilling work under the seat of the throne at the sides. A drill about 6 mm. and another about 3 mm. in diameter, freely used in the drapery. A drill 4 mm. in diameter for the hair and one slightly smaller—3.5–3 mm., for the nostrils.

(b) *Claw-chisels*. An 8-pronged claw-chisel 2.8 cm. wide, used for the bottom bed. A 6-pronged claw-chisel 2 cm. wide, used especially at the back, and under the sides of the throne.

(c) *Flat chisels*. A flat chisel 1 cm. wide used for cutting out the back legs towards the bottom (O, P, fig. 1; L, fig. 2; X, fig. 4): the process was begun and abandoned: the flat chisel may have been used partly because it was less violent than a punch, but the character of the work is different from anything else on the statue, making one wonder if the cutting was done for some practical purpose such as the insertion of wooden poles for easier handling. Flat chiselling also appears on the surface of the drapery, but it is not possible to measure the size of the tools used.

(d) *Rounded chisels*. Used on the surface of the drapery: size cannot be ascertained.

(e) *Rasp*. Especially clear on the drapery outside right thigh and on left shoulder.

APPENDIX II

THE LOST STATUE OF KORE.

The evidence for the statue of Kore is as follows. Not many terracottas of fourth-century type were found in the temenos, and among them are certainly two, probably three and possibly four (the last two are fragmentary)⁵¹ which reproduce a statue of Kore known to us not only

⁵⁰ It was Mr. J. Brennan who observed that the seat was not level. He points out that there is similar tilting in some of the archaic statues from Branchidae e.g. that of Chares in the British Museum (Pryce *Cat.* I 110, B.278: pl. XIII). Both front and back legs of the throne of Aiakes *AM* XXXI 151 have a strong tilt backwards. Possibly the tilt was sometimes produced by the insertion of an extra member under the front legs: in the marble throne from Eretria cited in n. 42 above and illustrated on pl. VIII, d, the lowest members are of a different colour (perhaps intended to represent metal): the back legs, unfortunately, were not shown.

The hollowing-out behind (L, N fig. 1) is so different in character—it is not even cut level at the top—that I find it hard to believe it was done by or under the eye of the maker of the statue: more probably by a contractor lightening it for transport. It certainly implies that the back was not intended to be seen.

⁵¹ Newton *Disc.* pl. LIX nos. 3 and 4: Walters *B.M. Terrac.* C.427, 507A. For Newton's no. 4 (my pl. X, d) cf. Neutsch and others *Die Welt der Griechen* (Heidelberg 1948) 21, no. 19, fig. 10).

from Roman copies but from contemporary votive reliefs.⁵² I illustrate (pl. X, d) one of these terracottas which is itself probably of fourth-century date but which, after the manner of terracottas, simplifies the design and softens the forms. More important is the terracotta illustrated on pl. IX, d, again probably of fourth-century date,⁵³ of the same technique—with a small circular safety-vent at the back—and the same clay, but strongly sculptural both in design and in execution; it is mould-made, but has been thoroughly retouched by the maker after removal from the mould and before firing, so that it possesses the sharpness and crisp detail of a carving in marble; it is in fact that rare thing in terracotta—a direct, careful copy of a particular statue. And if it is the copy of a particular statue, what more likely, since we know from other evidence that it is Kore, than that it reproduces the cult-statue of the sanctuary in which it was dedicated? ⁵⁴ Moreover, the general feeling for form—and, where close comparison with a seated figure, namely the upper part of the body, is alone possible, the detail resembles so closely the marble statue of Demeter that this can hardly be due to chance (pl. IX, a, d).

Another find made in the temenos appears at first sight to corroborate the evidence of the terracottas, although its testimony is in fact equivocal. It is a marble statuette of Kore (pl. X, e) ⁵⁵ apparently of the fourth century B.C. which in general design resembles the two terracottas cited above; but the feet are close together; the himation, which reaches the ankles, wraps the figure very closely without giving much expression to the forms of the body beneath, and is drawn up over the back of the high polos on the head: the face is smiling. It might be thought simply an archaizing version of the same type. But the problem is not so simple as this, for an archaizing version of the type—not identical, it is true, with this marble statuette, but similar—is known from Roman copies, and this can hardly be a coincidence.⁵⁶ There must, one would think, be some connection between the two archaistic versions: but what is it? Was there an archaistic original of the fourth century, on which both are based?

The problem cannot be solved without reference to the earlier history of the normal, non-archaistic type. This seems to have originated early in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C. when this fashion of wearing the dress was common, and the original statue, in which the himation reached the ankles, may have been set up in Eleusis: it is reproduced on Attic votive-reliefs of the time. But the type seems to have been remodelled at least once later in the century: in the modified type—among other differences—the himation does not reach the ankles; this modified type is best seen in the relief from Mondragone.⁵⁷ I suspect that the hypothetical statue of Kore in the temenos at Cnidus was a further modification, which gave the body greater volume within the drapery: this feeling for volume is as notable a feature of the terracotta from Cnidus (pl. IX, d) as it is of the statue of Demeter herself. Here too are the beginnings of those studied contrasts between drapery which is tightly stretched though often richly folded, and that which is gently draped or hanging free, contrasts which were to be fully exploited by sculptors of the next two centuries.

To return to the archaistic marble statuette from Cnidus. It seems that there was carved, early in the fourth century B.C., a statue clothed in a fashion of dress that was coming to be associated with Kore, and that this was given a slightly archaic form, or at least one less free than would be normal for the period, in order that it might serve, with companion figures, as an architectural support: a high headdress, in the shape of a kalathos, assisted the transition to the architectural member above. This was an attempt,

⁵² This type has been frequently studied, notably by Amelung in *Basis des Praxiteles* 50: a convenient summary of the literature up to 1932 is given in Rizzo *Praxiteles* 100, 118.

⁵³ Mr. Reynold Higgins, who has a wide knowledge of terracottas of all periods, has kindly examined these two, and agrees with a date in the late fourth or early third century B.C.

⁵⁴ In Cos, which was as close to Cnidus by race and tradition as it was geographically, have been found three votive statues which reflect, though with variations due to

the fancies of Hellenistic sculptors, this same type (*Cl. Rhodos* V2, 169–85). It was evidently the favourite type of Kore in those parts, and Cnidus has some claim to be the shrine which housed the statue from which all these versions derive.

⁵⁵ *B.M. Cat. Sculpt.* II no. 1362. Parian marble. Ht. (excl. base) 42 cm.

⁵⁶ In the Vatican and the Villa Albani. *RM* IX 142.

⁵⁷ Mingazzini NS 1927 309. In *AM* LIII 48 Buschor has shown how this relief differs from ordinary votives.

parallel with that of the Korai of the Erechtheum, but in more traditional vein, to revive or perpetuate the old convention of which the most familiar examples are the Korai of the Siphnian and Cnidian treasuries at Delphi. These figures would not have represented the goddess herself but—by a familiar process—her ministrant assimilated to her. The maker of the Cnidian statuette knew of these figures and produced a free version of one of them, whilst the makers of the Roman statues produced a faithful copy: the Cnidian marble statuette would thus be not, like the terracottas, copied from the fourth-century statue of Kore set up in the temenos at Cnidus, but derived from a predecessor of that statue. Alternatively, it may be that the sculptor, with the fourth-century Cnidian statue as his model, gave his statuette an archaistic touch and a head-dress which resembled those of the archaistic figures elsewhere with which he was familiar. But where were they? Eleusis would seem to be the obvious place: there is, however, a faint possibility that the archaistic as well as the fourth-century original was at Cnidus itself. The evidence is this. The archaistic statues of the Vatican and the Villa Albani mentioned above were found near Rome in an elaborate building on the Appian Way, and this may well have been the 'Triopian' shrine dedicated by Herodes Atticus.⁵⁸ Why Triopian? Because it was inspired by the sanctuary of Demeter on the Triopian promontory, in other words the sanctuary of Demeter at Cnidus. It was natural to seek to identify this Triopian sanctuary with the temenos in which the statue of the British Museum was found, but, as Newton himself was the first to point out, in his excavations nothing earlier than the fourth century came to light.⁵⁹ Of course, it is conceivable that somewhere in the temenos were the remains of an earlier shrine he did not reach, or that the Triopian sanctuary was nearby.

One further point calls for discussion. What was the type of head borne by the statue of Kore which by hypothesis was grouped with the statue of Demeter at Cnidus? The general appearance of the head of the earliest version of this type of Kore is known from the votive reliefs and from the statue in Vienna.⁶⁰ It had the hair drawn up on the top of the head. A small marble head with the hair done in this way, but looking later in type than the Vienna Kore,⁶¹ was found in the temenos of Demeter at Cnidus: it seems to be of the third century B.C. and may have belonged to a votive statue which reflected the cult-image (pl. X, a, b). On the other hand each of the two terracottas cited above has traces of a long lock on the front of each shoulder, and these locks do not appear on either the earliest votive reliefs depicting the type or on that from Mondragone,⁵⁷ where Kore unfortunately—like all the figures on this relief—lacks a head. The possibility must thus be borne in mind that the Cnidian type differed from its prototypes in the head, that it had long locks on the shoulders and that it may even also have been veiled. In this connection an unpublished bronze coin of Cnidus should be mentioned: from the fabric it seems to be of about 100 A.D. (pl. X, c). One side bears a veiled female head wearing a stephane, and in front, faint but certain, are two ears of corn.⁶² This is

⁵⁸ *RM IX* 134 ff.

⁵⁹ *Disc.* 423 ff. Mr. John Cook's current research into the topography of Cnidus will, I believe, illuminate this problem, and may fix the date of the temenos.

⁶⁰ See notes 52 and 61.

⁶¹ *B.M. Cat. Sculpt.* II no. 1315. Parian marble. Ht. 22 cm.

The date at the end of the fourth century proposed by Süsserott (*Gr. Plastik* 194) for the Vienna type is surely too late. I agree with Waldhauer (*Ant. Skulpt. Ermit.* III 38) that it is very early (though perhaps not the earliest) in the series. Even the late version on the Mantinean basis preserves the same general arrangement of the hair.

A case has been made out by Arndt (*Festschr. Overbeck* 96; cf. also Ruhland and Löwy *ll. cc. n.* 4 p. 13) for a head in Munich being the original head of Kore from the statue which stood beside Demeter at Cnidus; there is evidence that it may actually have been found at Cnidus. Though recognising the high quality of this head I cannot see that it is of the same style as Demeter; there is no evidence that it came from the temenos. Rizzo (*Prassit.* 92 pl. 138) gives

Ostia as its provenience (the first publications—for which see Furtw. *Beschreib.* (1900) 182—describe it as of unknown provenience, bought in Naples) and says that it is of the same type as the 'maiden from Herculaneum', which it certainly resembles but does not seem to reproduce exactly.

⁶² The head has the appearance of being on a seated figure. The reverse bears a Victory to l., r. hand outstretched and a palm-branch in her l.: inscr. ΚΝΙΔ ΑΠΟΛΑ ΔΩΡ. Not in *B.M.C. Caria*, but cf. the series p. 96 nos. 90–2.

Some of the copies of a type of Kore related to the types we are discussing (though none of them identical with the Cnidian terracotta pl. IX, d) seem to have had the head veiled. Examples are *Einzelaufr.* 357, 2284 (head restored but end of veil left), *id.* 2902, and Waldhauer *Ermitage* III no. 279 (where there is doubt whether the head belongs). A similar type, so far as can be seen from what remains of the relief, was used on one of the columns of the later Artemision at Ephesus (*B.M. Cat. Sculpt.* II no. 1211) and also seems to have been veiled. There is no evidence that it was Kore.

Demeter or Kore, then. Does it, like many Imperial bronze coins of Cnidus, reproduce the head of a statue, and, if so, what statue? These questions cannot be answered with certainty. It can hardly be the statue of Demeter now in the British Museum, which has no stephane. It might be that of Kore which, on my hypothesis, stood by her. It might be that of a statue in another sanctuary, and if so presumably the famous Triopian. Or, finally, it might be the head of an Empress deified.

Before leaving the subject, mention must be made of the grey marble basis found by Newton in the temenos and believed by him to belong to one of the earliest dedications there.⁶³ It is inscribed to Kore and Demeter, in that order, and this seems to indicate that if it supported a statue (and despite suggestions to the contrary I think it did, for the cutting on the top is of a suitable shape), the statue should have been one of Kore. The only doubt is whether the cutting would be large enough to receive the base of a statue over life-size. If it was not over life-size it could hardly have had a direct connection with the statue of Demeter, which is. This question, too, must remain open.

BERNARD ASHMOLE.

⁶³ Newton *Disc.* pl. LXXXIX no. 15; *Gr. Inscr. in B.M.* no. 813.

STOUT AND SLENDER IN THE LATE ARCHAIC PERIOD

[PLATES XVII-XIX]

In his work *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens* Sir John Beazley proposes a more detailed study of the shapes of vases in order to obtain a better knowledge of the relations between potters and painters. By this article, written in honour of his sixty-sixth birthday, I hope to contribute to the discussion of the problem.¹

It is well known that the development of Greek vase-shapes follows a regular course, from heavy and plump forms to slender and more elegant ones. The illustrations in Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, will confirm this opinion, and Miss G. Richter maintained it lately in her *Attic Red-figured Vases* 1946, 18. The chronology of vases of the fourth century B.C. depends mainly upon this development (Buschor, *FR* III, 152; Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, passim), R. Zahn calls it a rule (*FR* III, 204), and W. Technau used this rule as a firm starting-point when dealing with the chronology of the works of Exekias.²

Old rules tend to lose their efficacy if they are not periodically endowed with new vigour, and thus enabled to keep their activity throughout the next stage of development. In the field of Attic vase-shapes one of the most decisive renewals of this kind took place about 510 B.C. at the time of the fall of the tyranny and the institution of the Kleisthenic democracy. A new impetus revealed itself not only in the invention of new shapes, such as the stamnos, the pelike, and the kalpis (Beazley, *ABS* 24), but also in the modification of long-established forms.³

The essential features of the new style have been made clear by Buschor (*FR* III, 125; *Griechische Vasen* 141) and Langlotz (*Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* 18 ff.). The vases become more full-bodied, with a more coherent outline. Langlotz pointed out that this phenomenon is not merely a reaction or retrogression, but serves as a starting point for further development.

It is not possible here to discuss all the problems of the new style of about 510 B.C., for such a discussion would have to include sculpture as well as vases. In the following pages I shall deal only with certain groups of vases which will show some typical stages of the development.

AMPHORAE

The amphora with flanged handles and a foot in two degrees (type A) is one of the most refined shapes of the late archaic period. It would be easy to make an arbitrary selection of amphorae from different workshops, taking early and late specimens, and so to produce a series beginning with very stout vases and ending with slender ones, which would illustrate the rule of development mentioned above. Where possible, however, it is a sounder method to trace the development of a shape as reflected in the work of a single potter, and the series of amphorae by Andokides is excellent for this purpose.

¹ Thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum, of the Louvre, the Museum für antike Kleinkunst in Munich, and the Martin von Wagner Museum in Würzburg for their kind permission to publish vases of their respective collections. I am also very much indebted for information and invaluable help to P. Corbett, who kindly revised the manuscript, to B. Ashmole, P. Devambez, H. Diepolder, S. Heinemann, R. Lullies, and A. Scrinzi.

² The chronology of Exekias is far from being certain. Among the amphorae Faina 78 is early, judging by the great breadth of body (compare London B 197; *CV* 3, III He, pl. 38, 1), and by the handle, which is a prototype of the usual form. Faina 77 and the great amphora in the Vatican are more slender, though still ample in outline (the published photographs of the latter are misleading). Faina

187 has a foot similar to those of the two preceding amphorae, but is perceptibly more slender and leads on to late works such as Louvre F 206. This may be contemporary with the Andokidean amphora London B 193.

Distorted photographs are always misleading in comparing the shapes of vases. Usable pictures are obtained if: (a) the lens is on the same level as the greatest diameter of the vase (as suggested by E. Homann-Wedeking), and (b) the distance measures six times the largest dimension (height or width).

³ Compare the tall krater by Exekias (*Hesp.* VI, 1937, 468 and 471, figs. 1-2; *AJA* XLII, 1938, pl. 26a) with the broader Euphronian version (Berlin 2180; Blümel, *Sport der Hellenen*, 77).

Andokides

1. Louvre G 1. A, fight. B, citharode. $\Lambda\Delta\text{OKID}\epsilon\varsigma \text{E}\rho\text{O}\epsilon\varsigma\text{EN}$. Beazley, *ARV* 2, 2: Andokides painter. B, Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* 124 fig. 141. Pl. XVII. a and fig. 1.
2. Berlin F 2159. A, struggle for the Tripod. B, wrestlers. $\Lambda\Delta\text{OKID}\epsilon\varsigma \text{E}\rho\text{O}\epsilon\varsigma\text{EN}$.⁴ *ARV* 1, 1: Andokides painter.
3. London B 193. A, Herakles and the Lion. B, b.f., Achilles and Ajax playing. *ARV* 2, 7: Andokides painter. One handle and a part of the mouth are modern.
4. Louvre F 203. White figures. A, Amazons. B, women bathing. $\Lambda\Delta\text{OKID}\epsilon\varsigma \text{E}\rho\text{O}\epsilon\varsigma\text{EN}$. *ARV* 2, 11: Andokides painter.
5. Munich 2301. A, r.f. and B, b.f., Herakles resting. *ARV* 2, 8: Andokides painter. Schnitzler, *Griechische Vasen* pl. 30. A, and details of A and B, Lullies, *Die Kunst* XLVIII (1950) 366 ff. Pl. XVII. b and fig. 2.
6. Bologna 151. A, Dionysos. B, b.f., Herakles and the Lion. *ARV* 2, 9: Andokides painter.
7. Louvre F 204. A, Kerberos. B, b.f., Dionysos. *ARV* 2, 6: Andokides painter.
8. Orvieto, Faina 64. A, Herakles and the Amazons. B, Dionysos. *ARV* 2, 4: Andokides painter. Mouth, foot, and one handle are missing. *Corolla Curtius* pl. 44 gives a good reproduction of the shape.
9. Madrid 11008. A, Apollo with Leto and Artemis, Ares. B, b.f., Dionysos. $\Lambda\Delta\text{OKID}\epsilon\varsigma \text{E}\rho\text{O}\epsilon\varsigma\text{EN}$. *ARV* 8, 2: Psiax.

The amphorae of Andokides are characterised by their refined proportions and by a technical perfection which concentrates on essentials, not on petty detail. There is a tendency to stress the individual parts; the neck is well distinguished from the body; so is the foot, with its pronounced fillet and sloping outline; so also are the slim handles, which stand well out from the shoulder; the foot keeps its tenseness throughout the whole development despite some changes in its shape. The small lip is sharply cut and has a sloping under-side.

The three earlier signed amphorae show that for a time Andokides concentrated on making the feet of his vases more and more compact. He began to reduce the thickness of the disc-like upper member, which looks as if it were pressed down into the underlying torus. Then he obtained a still more coherent outline by introducing a sloping profile for the disc. From the shape of its foot the unsigned amphora London B 193 clearly belongs to this group, and the Munich amphora continues the development of the series. Both must be of Andokides' own make. The Munich amphora shows the last stage of the development; the two parts of its foot are separated only by a small furrow.

The amphora in Bologna might almost be a twin of the Munich amphora if the foot were not surprisingly different. Its two components are sharply contrasted, and the thickness of the disc, which rises high above the torus, has no parallel on Andokides' earlier works. This is no argument against the attribution, for the signed amphora in Madrid has the same foot. The foot of the Kerberos-amphora in the Louvre has this characteristic though less markedly, whilst its body is nearest in shape to the body of the Madrid amphora. The amphora in Orvieto cannot be far off, if the attribution of this fragmentary piece is right.

With the exception of the three latest vases the series of amphorae made by Andokides conforms, in change of shape, with the tendencies indicated above. The potter gradually reduced the volume and the broad appearance of his vases. First he pulled up the shoulder, then he diminished the diameter of the vase, and tightened the outline, thus increasing its tension. This is the usual development, which has been called a rule. It is worth noting that among the works of Andokides the end of this development is marked already by the two vases in Munich and Bologna, the latter being particularly slender.⁵

⁴ Furtwängler describes the vase as perfectly preserved. There is a large hole in the interior of the foot, round, and carefully pierced through. This is no rarity; other vases with similar holes are listed below, and there are certainly many more examples. The diameter of the holes varies from 1 to 4 cm.: Amphora by Lydos, Berlin F 1685; Timagora-hydria Louvre F 38 (the hole less carefully made); an amphora in Cassel: A, chariot. B, battle (the hole has been closed inside by a large round bronze plaque, outside by a small irregular plaque, fastened by a rivet); amphora Würzburg 264 (the hole also closed); hydriae Berlin F 1901 and F 1907 (the hole of the latter closed by a—modern?—scrap of burnt clay); neck-amphora Berlin F 1850; amphora

Berlin F 2160; Sisyphos krater Munich 3268. As far as the proveniences are known these vases come from Italian tomb-finds. They may have been used for libations at the burial, and restored immediately afterwards in order to keep the food for the deceased.

⁵ Other workshops, too, produced amphorae of a similar slender shape: Northwick Park (*ARV* 3, 15: Andokides painter); Würzburg 267 (*ARV* 5, 5: manner of the Andokides painter); Würzburg 268; Vatican (Albizzati 345); Orvieto, Museo Civico 578; Market (*Coll. Hirsch*, 1921, pl. 5, no. 143. *ABS* 42: Antimenes painter); Munich 1412 (Beazley, *JHS* LIV (1934) 91: painter of the Würzburg neck-amphora 182. *CV* 1, pl. 41, 4, pl. 44 and 47, 2).

No further refinement was possible unless it could spring from a new starting-point. Now the latest amphorae of Andokides, the Kerberos-amphora in the Louvre, the amphora in Orvieto, and the signed amphora in Madrid, clearly show a new style. It is true that Andokides kept his preference for tall and elegant forms, yet in his latest works the volume of body and neck is increased, the silhouette fills out and becomes more rounded, and the whole vase looks firmer and more substantial. The ratio between the upper part and the remainder of the vase is quite new, the neck being shorter and broader, and joining the shoulder in a subtle curve. The angular outline of the earlier vases has been replaced by a system of related curves which implies new possibilities.

This sudden change is surprising after the steady development of the preceding vases. It is only to be explained if Andokides' activity reached down right into the epoch of the renewal of shapes about 510 B.C. Here, with the amphorae of Euthymides, of Phintias, and of the early Kleophrades painter, sturdy forms with stout necks and rounded contours predominate. Here, too, the foot in two very distinct degrees, as used by Andokides for his late amphorae, is extremely common.⁶ The style of the figures⁷ on the Madrid amphora supports this dating of the late works of Andokides. Moreover, the two amphorae in Munich and Bologna go with the series of slender amphorae (cf. n. 5), several of which must be dated by the drawing to the years around and after 510.

The start of Andokides' activity is represented by the amphora Louvre G 1, which is dated by its style (Langlotz *Zeitbestimmung*, 20 f.) and shape to the decade 530-520. The amphora in Berlin cannot be much later. After an interval, there follow the amphorae in London, the Louvre, Munich, and Bologna, the latter probably having been made about 510 B.C. Finally, the three latest amphorae find a place early in the last decade.⁸

Whether Andokides kept his leading position among his colleagues in the Kerameikos or not, is difficult to say. In any case in the early Leagros-period there was another generation at work giving a new aspect to the old forms, and strongly influencing the development of shapes.

* * *

It would be interesting to know which potter was responsible for the renewal of shapes about 510. Unfortunately the signatures cease,⁹ and it is difficult to identify the works of individual potters among unsigned vases. Only one group of potters stands out fairly clearly, the Eukleo-group, named after the two chief painters associated with them—Euthymides and the Kleophrades painter.¹⁰

The Eukleo-group

A

Louvre G 44. A, warrior mounting chariot. B, woman putting a wreath upon the head of a youth. ARV 25, 2: Euthymides.

Munich 2309. Theseus and Korone. ARV 25, 3: Euthymides. A, Lane, *Greek pottery* pl. 65.

London E 255. A, struggle for the Tripod. B, warrior leaving home. ARV 28 below, 2: Dikaios painter.

Fig. 3.

London E 254. A, warrior leaving home. B, citharode. ARV 28, 3: Dikaios painter. Foot modern.

Louvre G 45. A, youths in the palaestra. B, warriors setting out. ARV 28, 4: Dikaios painter.¹¹

B

Louvre G 42. A, rape of Leto. B, athletes. ARV 22, 1: Phintias. Pl. XVII, c and fig. 4.

C

Munich 2307. A, Hector arming. B, komos. ARV 24, 1: Euthymides. A, Schnitzler, *Griechische Vasen* pl. 50. Fig. 5.

⁶ We must go back to the Exekias-amphora in the Vatican to find a similar foot.

⁷ Cf. Buschor, *Vasenmalerei* 152.

⁸ I do not know how to reconcile this chronology with the chronology proposed by A. W. Byvanck, *Mnemosyne* 4th ser. I, 1948, 164-67. Cf. Trendall, *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum* (1948) 286.

⁹ The question whether Menon has to be named here

uncertain, and cannot be decided without a thorough knowledge of the big amphora in Philadelphia.

¹⁰ For the knowledge of the following vases I owe much to discussion with Prof. Diepolder.

¹¹ The two b.f. amphorae of the Dikaios painter in Bologna and Agrigento (ARV 29, 8 and 9) do not belong to the Eukleo-group.

AMPHORAE.



FIG. 1.—LOUVRE G1.



FIG. 2.—MUNICH 2301.



FIG. 3.—LONDON E255.



FIG. 4.—LOUVRE G42.



FIG. 5.—MUNICH 2307.



FIG. 6.—MUNICH 2305.

HYDRIAE.



FIG. 7.—LONDON B339.



FIG. 8.—MUNICH 2421.



FIG. 9.—MUNICH 2423.

London B 199. B.f., A, Athena and Herakles in chariot. Lip: Herakles and the Lion. B, fight. *CV* 3, III He pl. 39, 2.
Munich 2308. A, Thorykion arming. B, athletes. *ARV* 25, 4: Euthymides. B, Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* 144, fig. 163.

D

Vatican. A, Herakles and Athena. B, komos. *ARV* 120, 2: Kleophrades painter.
Munich 1416. B.f., A, Herakles and Iolaos in chariot. B, komos. *CV* 1, pll. 50-51, pl. 52, 1 and 7.
Würzburg 507. A, warrior leaving home. B, komos. *ARV* 120, 1: Kleophrades painter.
Ferrara, from Spina, tomb 125. Black, with a r.f. palmette under each handle. Aurigemma² 59 pl. 27.
Munich 2305. A, warrior leaving home. B, boxers. Lip: b.f., A, chariot, horsemen, and youths. B, deer-hunt. The lid (b.f., chariot-race) belongs. It is not figured on our plate for the sake of comparison with the other vases. *ARV* 121, 3: Kleophrades painter. *Pl.* XVII, d and fig. 6.

The most remarkable differences which help to separate the individual potters of the Eukleo-group appear in the shape of the foot.¹² Potter A seems to be influenced by Andokides. The feet of his amphorae, like those made by Andokides, show a strong tension acting against the weight of the body. Another link is given by the variety of foot seen on Louvre G 44 and Munich 2309, where disc and torus fit closely together as in the penultimate phase of Ando-

¹² Careful observation of the foot is no less important for amphorae than it is for cups.

HYDRIAE.



FIG. 10.—MUNICH 1720.

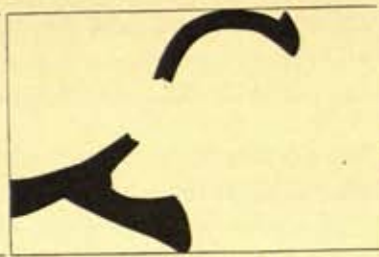


FIG. 11.—LONDON B314.

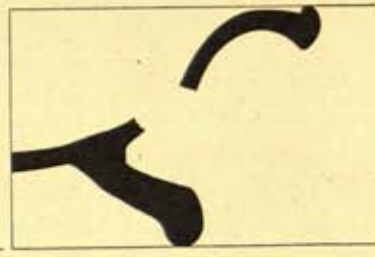


FIG. 12.—MUNICH 1700.

NECK-AMPHORAE.



FIG. 13.—MUNICH 1480A.

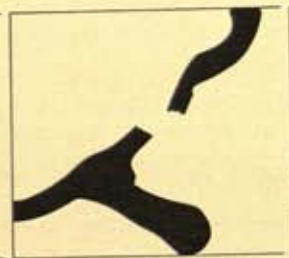


FIG. 14.—LONDON B226.

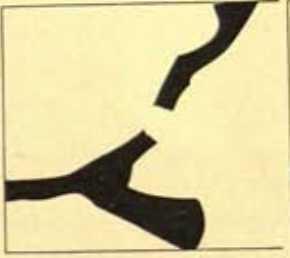


FIG. 15.—MUNICH 1486.



FIG. 16.—WÜRZBURG 204.



FIG. 17.—MUNICH 1531.



FIG. 18.—LONDON B220.



FIG. 19.—LOUVRE N1020.



FIG. 20.—MUNICH 1541.

kides' work. Afterwards Potter A preferred a distinct division of the foot into two, at the same time increasing the overall height of his amphorae.

The beginning of this stage of development is marked by the Phintias-amphora of Potter B; its foot, stiff and clumsy in outline, has no parallel within the Eukleo-group.

Potter C may easily be distinguished from the remainder by the shape of the large and widely spread foot of the amphorae, which he divides into two sharply contrasted parts, the disc with a high vertical profile, and the torus swelling out beneath it like an inflated tyre. This shape, already familiar from the amphorae of Andokides in Bologna and Madrid, is very common in the last decade of the sixth century.

Potter D, to judge from the feet of his amphorae, must have been a companion or pupil of Potter A. The great difference is that Potter A increased the diameter of the foot when increasing the total height in order to give his vases greater stability, while the tall amphorae of Potter D stand on a remarkably small foot. In spite of this peculiarity the general aspect of his amphorae is harmonious, thanks to the finished proportions of the body.

Although each of these potters has his own recognisable traits, it is better to treat all four as a group, for the following reasons. In the first place it proves impossible to separate the four potters by the shape of the lip; they all produce the same sharp outline, with a sloping under-side, a narrow bevel at the edge of the mouth, and a slight curve on the inside where neck

D

and rim join. Variants of the usual shape (*fig. 3*) as shown in *figs. 5* and *6* occur with several potters of the group. Furthermore, there are no differences in the shape or attachment of the handles. They are broad and double-curved, and are gradually brought nearer to the neck and body of the vase.¹³ Finally, the several stages of development in the shape of body and neck are so uniform within the Eukleo-group that they must have been reached by close co-operation between the four potters.

The beginning of this development is indeed surprising. Amongst a great many amphorae of the refined and slender type represented by the vases of Andokides in Munich and Bologna there suddenly appear new vigorous forms, full of vitality. Those who like to explain the proportions of Greek vases mathematically could speak of a reversion to an earlier formula when comparing the amphora by Phintias with the earliest Andokidean (*pl. XVII, a* and *c*). The basic proportions of the two vases are almost identical, the ratio of diameter to height being two to three, but the shape and the importance of the various parts of the vase have greatly changed. The body is increased in volume by the widening of the lower part and of the shoulder.¹⁴ Consequently the neck is made broad and heavy, and this requires a larger mouth and a correspondingly large foot.¹⁵ At the same time the handles are made stronger and more compact.

So far the changes are clearly visible and measureable, but the shape undergoes other modifications which, though less tangible, are no less decisive for the general look of the vase and endow its outline with a coherence which it retains during the succeeding phases of its development. These modifications cannot be put into words; the best way to appreciate their subtlety is to try to correlate the concavity of the vase's neck and mouth with the convexity of its body. One finds a far closer correspondence on a vase of the Eukleo-group than on any amphora of the preceding decade.

In its turn this new version of the amphora underwent changes, and within the Eukleo-group a definite sequence of development can be perceived. The first change affected the lower body, which on the Phintias-amphora and the earliest works of Potter A had a comparatively full curve. In the next stage its profile straightened out, so that the vase appeared lighter in build and sat more easily upon its base. Potters A and B emphasised this effect by raising the centre of gravity to the level of the shoulder. This stage of development is represented by the amphorae London E 255 and Munich 2307, the amphora by the Kleophrades painter in the Vatican, and by Munich 1416.

The amphorae London E 254, B 199, and Würzburg 507 illustrate the next step. Compared with their predecessors they are more slender, especially in the shoulder, and also in the neck. The whole vase is higher, and looks more elegant and dainty, but less vigorous and less solid. To correct this fault the subsequent amphorae were made a little more full-bodied and were given a more regularly rounded outline, with a steeper shoulder, and more thickset neck. Potter D, especially, succeeded in giving his amphorae in Ferrara and Munich a harmonious balance of vigour and elegance. The latest works of Potters A and C show the same tendencies, the amphora with Thorykion less distinctly than the Palaestra-amphora in the Louvre. This, the last degree of development reached by the potters of the Eukleo-group, was also the nearest to perfection.

Later amphorae like that of the Kleophrades painter in Würzburg,¹⁶ or the great amphora of the Berlin painter (Berlin F 2160) reveal the spirit of a new epoch which does not concern us here.

The development of the Eukleo-group more or less covers the last decade of the sixth century. Examined as a whole it shows the same principle as the development of the amphorae of Andokides: from stout to slender and from heaviness to elegance. There is a minor differ-

¹³ The lip of amphorae of the Eukleo-group shows strongly the influence of Andokides. The handles, on the contrary, are of quite a different make.

¹⁴ The painters thus gained a panel of considerable height.

¹⁵ At the very beginning of the development the right proportions were not yet established.

¹⁶ Würzburg 508; the whole upper part and the handles are modern (Beazley, *der Kleophradesmaler* 23).

ence; the slightly increased volume of the latest amphorae of Andokides is due to the influence of the new style of the last decade, while the same feature in the Eukleo-group represents a last refinement of the group's own canons.

So far our investigation has established two points; it confirms the generally accepted 'rule' of development, and also shows that the rhythm of development was that, not of the wave, but of the pulse.

The question arises whether our amphorae are representative of the development of their time. If so, then other vase-shapes ought to show the same tendencies. A short survey of the hydriae and the neck-amphorae reveals not only the parallelism of the general development, but also individual differences from potter to potter, and from one shape to the next.

HYDRIAE

The hydria reproduced on *Pl. XVII*,¹ is a good example of the usual proportions of hydriae in the decade 520-510 B.C. It belongs to a series of vases which were most probably made by Andokides.¹⁷

1. Würzburg 304. Women at the fountain. On the shoulder, Herakles and the Lion. Langlotz pll. 94 and 97.
2. Louvre F 285. Athena mounting chariot. On the shoulder, fight. *ARV* 6, 12: manner of the Andokides painter. Both side-handles are alien and belong to a much later hydria.
3. London B 339. Peleus and Thetis in chariot. On the shoulder, fight. *ARV* 6, 15: manner of the Andokides painter. *Pl. XVIII*, a, and fig. 7.
4. Louvre F 294. Athena mounting chariot, and Herakles. On the shoulder, frontal chariot. *ARV* 4, 25: Andokides painter.

The methods used to date the slender amphorae by Andokides may also be applied to the latest of these four hydriae; its proportions are very near those of certain extremely slender hydriae which are typical of the last decade of the sixth century;¹⁸ it cannot be much earlier, and may belong to the years immediately before 510. Links between the Andokidean hydriae and their predecessors are harder to find; they have nothing in common with the ovoid hydriae of the Swinger (*cf.* Louvre F 47, *CV* 6, III He, pl. 66, 3 and 5) and there is a puzzling gap between the round-bodied Timagora-hydriae (*CV* Louvre 6, III He, pl. 63, 1-4; 5-6, and pl. 64, 1-3) and Würzburg 304, which, though broad in the shoulder, has a much straighter outline. For the present, however, it is enough to know that Würzburg 304 approximates to the early rounded shape and therefore must be at the head of the Andokidean series. Thus, in the period before 510 the development of the hydriae is seen to resemble that of the contemporary Andokidean amphorae, running from sturdy forms to elegant ones. Where the activities of other potters of the time can be traced, their hydriae show a similar progression.

* * *

In the years about 510 the new system of proportions which we observed in the amphora was also adopted for the hydria. This is made evident by the works of the three following potters.

Two of them are very near each other, the Ring-foot potter, and the potter of the Hysis-hydria.

The Ring-foot Potter

1. Munich 2421. Music-lesson. On the shoulder, symposium. *ARV* 22, 5: Phintias. *Pl. XVIII*, b and fig. 8.
2. Munich 2420. Athletes. On the shoulder, harnessing. Right handle modern. *ARV* 81, 3: Chelis group.
3. London E 159. Youths at the fountain. On the shoulder, symposium. *ARV* 22, 7: Phintias.

The Potter of the Hysis Hydria

1. Munich 2423. Amazons. On the shoulder, chariot, and jockeys. *ARV* 30, middle 1: Hysis. Fig. 9.
2. Munich 2422. Komos. On the shoulder, satyrs and fawn. *ARV* 22, 6: Phintias.
3. London B 335. Women at the fountain. On the shoulder, two chariots. *CV* 6, III He pll. 90, 3 and 93, 1.

¹⁷ I hope to discuss the question in another article.

¹⁸ This is evident not only from the figures, but also from details of shape, e.g. the foot (Munich 1694, Beazley, *JHS* XLVII (1927) 88 no. 56: Antimenes painter); foot and back handle (London B 343, *CV* 6, III He pll. 94, 3 and

95, 3—by the same potter Louvre F 290, Beazley, *JHS* LIV (1934) 91; Painter of Munich 1703. Id., *JHS* XLVII (1927) 86 n. 54. Lower part of the body and fillet modern; the foot from a skyphos); the mouth (Frankfurt, Beazley, *ABS* 42: Antimenes painter).

The hydriae of the Ring-foot potter and of the potter of the Hysis hydria differ in the shape of the foot; with the first, the foot is fairly horizontal and stands upon a small ring which is visible only from below; with the second, it has no ring, and is more tense and elegant. There are other small differences in mouth and handles, but these are far outweighed by the features common to both groups of hydriae. The body is massive and capacious; its lower part is stout, while from the shoulder upward the vase is built on a larger scale. The curve of mouth and neck corresponds in a very marked manner with the curve of the body (*cf.* the amphorae of the Eukleo-group) and serves to connect the two portions of the vase particularly closely.

The straight side handles of earlier hydriae had to be adapted to the new form and were tilted upwards in a slight curve. At the same time the back handle was put nearer to the mouth and raised above the lip, which emphasised its practical and aesthetic importance.

The Potter of the Heavy Hydriae

1. London B 329. Women at the fountain. On the shoulder, Herakles and Kyknos (?). CV 6, III He pll. 88, 1 and 89, 3, whence Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* 131, fig. 150. New, Lanc, *Greek Pottery* pl. 46.
2. Munich 1720. Harnessing. On the shoulder, battle. Beazley, *JHS* LIV (1934) 91: Rycroft painter. Fig. 10.
3. London B 332. Women at the fountain between Dionysos and Hermes. On the shoulder, bigae. Beazley, *CV Oxford* 2, III H pl. 8, 5-6: Painter of London B 332. CV 6, III He pll. 88, 4 and 91, 2.
4. Boulogne 406. Herakles and the Dragon. On the shoulder, symposion. Beazley, *ibid.*: Painter of London B 332.
5. Louvre F 286. Herakles and Triton. On the shoulder, chariot. Beazley, *ibid.*: Painter of London B 332. CV 6, III He pll. 68, 3-5 and 69, 1.
6. Berlin F 1906. Herakles and Triton. On the shoulder, Dionysos. von Lücken, *Griechische Vasenbilder* pl. 2.

In addition to the innovations described above, the potter of the heavy hydriae introduced two more: the mouth of his vases lacks the hollow on the under side and runs evenly through from the neck to the lip; and the back handle, which was formerly round or oval in section has a marked ridge. In general the heavy hydriae are very capacious, and the details show a predilection for thick and massive forms. The more delicate problems of balanced rhythm and related outlines were not much appreciated by our potter.

Lea-Hydriae

The vases of the potter of the heavy hydriae were succeeded by the very numerous family of the Lea-hydriae (the name alludes to the fact that most of these hydriae are to be found in Beazley's list of the Leagros Group). Nearly all of them are of slender and elegant shape and represent an advanced stage of development compared with the hydriae of the three preceding potters.

Instead of a long list it may suffice to mention the following two representative examples:

1. London B 337. Women at the fountain. On the shoulder, chariot. Beazley, *ABS* 45 no. 56: Leagros group. CV 6, III He pll. 92, 1 and 93, 3.
2. London B 314. Herakles and Alkyoneus. On the shoulder, chariot. Beazley, *ABS* 43 no. 2: Leagros group. CV 6, III He pll. 79, 3 and 81, 4. Pl. XVIII c and fig. 11.

The two hydriae vary in one small detail: the profile of the lip of the first hydria is tilted slightly forward (*cf.* the similar lip of the heavy hydria, fig. 10), whereas the profile of the second is tilted back. It may be that the second variation is the later one, the forms of foot and mouth being refined, and the shape of the lip being nearly identical with the lip of a hydria of the early fifth century (London E 163, *ARV* 194, 17). But this remains a mere guess until the problem of the individual style of each potter within the Lea workshops finds its solution.

The development of hydriae from stout to slender shapes in the last decade of the sixth century is illustrated in its extremes by contrasting the heavy hydriae with the Lea-hydriae. Intermediate stages may be found in the works of the following potter:

The Club-foot Potter

1. Munich 1700. Death of Troilos. On the shoulder, the walls of Troy. Beazley, *ABS* 44 no. 20: Leagros group. Fig. 12.
2. Munich 1702. (J.60). Struggle for the Tripod. On the shoulder, Dionysos.
3. London B 328. The daughters of Pelias. On the shoulder, man and wild goat. Beazley, *ABS* 45 no. 53: Leagros group. CV 6, III He pll. 86, 4 and 89, 2.

4. Munich 1718. (J.112). Chariot with deities. On the shoulder, battle.
5. Munich 1701. Chariot. On the shoulder, Herakles and the Lion. Beazley, *JHS* LIV (1934) 91: Painter of Munich 1703.
6. London B 306. Riders. On the shoulder, Herakles and the Lion. Beazley, *ABS* 45 no. 47: Leagros group. *CV* 6, III He pl. 76, 3 and 77, 3.

The comparison of *figs.* 10 and 12 shows clearly that the Club-foot potter imitated the shape of lip found on the heavy hydriae. The shape of the foot, however, is his own, the disc being slightly conical, and ending with a zone which hangs down not unlike clumsily bent toes. The Club-foot potter was not of the first rank, and it is rather difficult to decide whether the changes of detail are due to a definite development, or are merely accidental. On the other hand, the development of the structure of the whole vase followed the general line from broad to slender.

It is noteworthy that only very few examples among the mass of hydriae of the late sixth century are comparable to the latest amphorae of the Eukleo-group. There is a strong preponderance of slender and pointed forms throughout, and about 500 there is hardly any revival of the principles valid in the years around 510.¹⁹ Matters changed only at the beginning of the fifth century, when the type of hydria came in which was preferred by the Berlin painter (*ARV* 139-140, 126 ff.). With this special shape we are not dealing here.

NECK-AMPHORAE

This paper would be incomplete without an account of the development of the neck-amphora. The b.f. neck-amphora of ordinary shape was made in the same workshops as the b.f. hydria, and the relationship of the two shapes often leads to the use of the same kind of foot for both. Yet their development was not identical.

In the years before 510 the divergences were unimportant. Stout and broad shapes were gradually replaced by fine and slender ones, as is shown by the neck-amphorae of Exekias, of Andokides, of one of the potters for whom the Antimenes painter worked, and others. Instead of repeating myself I prefer to illustrate two common types of neck-amphora of the penultimate decade of the sixth century.

1. Munich 1480A. Between eyes A, mask of Dionysos, B, mask of a silen. Under the handles, crouching silen. *AA* 1914, 472. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* 130 fig. 147. *Pl.* XIX, a and fig. 13.
2. London B 226. A, olive-pickers. B, Herakles and Pholos. Beazley, *JHS* XLVII (1927) 82, no. 1: Antimenes painter. *CV* 4, III He pl. 55, 4. *Pl.* XIX, b and fig. 14.

The vase in Munich shows the usual proportions of neck-amphorae in this period. The body is egg-shaped, the shoulder sloping, and the lower part of the body is a little rounded. The superstructure is rather large; it consists of a cylindrical neck, a broad mouth, and handles which stand out like ears. Neck-amphorae of this kind show clearly that they are composed section by section.

The various parts of the neck-amphora in London are better proportioned and more closely connected with each other. The tight outline of the vase, the narrow shoulder, and the lower part of the body, which has only a faint curve, give a striking impression of tension and elegance. The whole appearance is very slender.

The next stage of development, showing the new style of about 510 B.C., may be illustrated by the following neck-amphora:

Munich 1486. (J.315). On the shoulder between eyes A and B, Herakles and the Lion. *Pl.* XIX, c, and fig. 15.

The body of the vase immediately below the shoulder is rounded and widened, its lower part is short and stout. Neck and mouth unfold in a soft curve which is repeated by the tightly fitting handles. The harmonious and swinging lines of the outline stress the connection of the upper part of the vase with the body. No doubt the same principles of design were current here as in contemporary amphorae and hydriae. Yet neck-amphorae of this transformed shape

¹⁹ Curiously enough the bad potter who made the hydria for the Nikoxenos painter in London (E 160, *ARV* 148, 16) was one of the few potters of hydriae who were interested in this difficult problem.

are not very common; most of them are more tapered at the shoulder and in the lower part of the body, so that they look smaller.

Lea-neck-amphorae

1. Würzburg 214. A, Dionysos with chariot. B, Europa. Langlotz pl. 58.
2. Würzburg 215. A and B, palaestra. Langlotz pl. 59. Beazley, *JHS* LIV (1934) 91: near the Acheloos painter.
3. London B 225. A, Herakles and Nereus. B, Dionysos. *CV* 4, III He pl. 55, 3.
4. London B 249. A and B, Amazonomachy. *CV* 4, III He pl. 61, 1.
5. Oxford 569. A, Dionysos. B, warrior leaving home.
6. London B 239. A, The Dragging of Hektor. B, Hermes and the Goddesses. *CV* 4, III He pl. 58, 3.
7. Würzburg 204. A and B, palaestra. Beazley, *ABS* 46 no. 11: Acheloos painter. Langlotz pl. 45. Fig. 16.

This series of neck-amphorae, made by the same group of potters as the Lea-hydriae, begins with a shape whose outline may be compared with a hanging triangle. Then follow some more slender examples with a narrower shoulder, and at the end there is a vase with a curiously puffed-up body—a type quite frequent among late b.f. neck-amphorae.

We find it also among the vases of another old friend:

The Club-foot Potter

1. Berlin F 1860. A, Apollo. B, Gigantomachy.
2. Würzburg 210. A, Dionysos. B, chariot, and Athena. Langlotz pl. 52.
3. Munich 1549. A and B, Sisyphos. Beazley, *ABS* 46 no. 7: Acheloos painter.
4. Munich 1531. A, Apollo and woman. B, Dionysos and woman. A, Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 763. Beazley, *CV* Oxford 2, III H pl. 6, 2: painter of Oxford 1911, 256. Fig. 17.
5. Paris CdM 232. A, Athena between warriors. B, warriors in chariot.

The first of these vases is approximately contemporary with the slender variety of the Lea neck-amphorae, whereas the two last find their place among the more full-bodied late b.f. neck-amphorae. There were potters who gave their vases a still more rounded outline in order to make them more substantial. The Nikoxenos painter was associated with one of them (*cf.* London B 238, *ARV* 149, 34; and Munich 1527, *ARV* 149, 31). Chronologically the 'round' neck-amphorae go with the latest works of the Lea-workshop and the Club-foot potter.

The main line of development, however, by-passed the 'round' shape, and ended with a peculiar shape which we meet in the latest neck-amphorae of the next potter.

The Canoe Potter

1. London B 220. A, Geryoneus. B, Dionysos. *CV* 4, III He pl. 53, 4. *Pl.* XIX, *d* and fig. 18.
2. Bologna PU 1439. A, warriors playing game, and Athena. B, warriors. *CV* 2, III He pl. 13. Fillet restored; the foot seems to belong.
3. Boulogne 9. A and B, citharode.
4. Munich 1512. (J.97). A, Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. B, battle.
5. Berlin F 1844. A, Sisyphos. B, Dionysos. *ARV* 149, 28: Nikoxenos painter.
6. London B 229. A, Herakles at the fountain. B, Maenads. *CV* 4, III He pl. 56, 3.
7. Louvre Inv. N 1020. A, and B, flying Gorgon. *Pl.* XIX, *e* and fig. 19.
8. Louvre F 270. A, Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. B, Apollo with Artemis and Leto. *CV* 5, III He pl. 56, 8 and 11.
9. Munich 1541. (J.584). A, Peleus and Atalanta. B, boxers. *Pl.* XIX, *f* (from a spoilt photograph) and fig. 20.
10. London B 250. A, Gigantomachy. B, Dionysos. *CV* 4, III He pl. 61, 2.
11. Altenburg 192. A and B, Athena.
12. Würzburg 217. A, Dionysos. B, Kaineus. Langlotz pll. 48 and 60.

The Canoe potter's name is derived from the special shape of foot which he employed. It consists of a disc, concave on the upper face, and bent gently upwards at its edge: in section it slightly resembles the silhouette of the bow or stern of a canoe.

The series of neck-amphorae by the Canoe potter illustrates all but the first stage of the development in the years around 500 B.C. At the beginning stands a pointed shape with a broad shoulder (*pl.* XIX, *d*), followed by a more slender form which is less strongly articulated. About 500 there are both varieties of the more full-bodied type—the slightly puffed-up shape, and the 'round' shape (*pl.* XIX, *e*).

More important, however, as representative of the common taste, are the remainder. Some of them may be contemporary with those just mentioned, others must be later. The body of these vases is a lengthened oval; neck, mouth, and foot are generally small (*pl.* XIX, *f*).

The outlines are not always so regular as in the illustration. Quite often the lowest part of the body is a little more convex, giving a definite air of slackness to the silhouette.

With this type of vase the history of b.f. neck-amphorae ends. A few stragglers are shown to be contemporary with the large r.f. hydriae (see above, p. 37) by their tall and elliptical shape (*cf.* Athens 560), and a very small number can be assigned to about the seventies of the fifth century by certain peculiarities of shape (*cf.* Berlin F 1873 with Dresden 307, *ARV* 347, 30: Orchard painter).

* * *

Thus a detailed study of amphorae, hydriae, and neck-amphorae shows that their development is very much the same in spite of individual differences.

In any case the years about 510 B.C. were decisive in the evolution of shape.

Before 510 angular forms are prevalent. The single parts of a vase were treated as separate elements of the whole, loosely connected with each other. The method is especially easy to recognise in the handles, which stand away from the neck and the mouth. The general trend of development clearly ran from broad and stout forms to thin and elegant ones.

About 510 the situation changed. One must of course remember that there were potters who continued to make light and slender shapes. But the leading group of potters revived the old forms whilst introducing some important new principles.

An outstanding feature is the new consistency of the whole shape obtained by well-balanced proportions and the use of correlated curves. Good potters knew how to give their work an enhanced quality in this way. Others were more or less contented with superficial modifications such as the new form of handles whose subtle curve closely follows the line of the neck and mouth. Concurrently there was an increase of weight and breadth, shown in broad shoulders, powerful necks and strong feet.

These principles were not applied equally to all shapes and by all potters. It might happen that a potter was interested in one principle, and neglected another. But in the last decade of the sixth century there was a common trend in the work of all potters, away from full-bodied shapes toward lighter and more refined ones, just as in the years before 510.

There is a further, more general conclusion to be drawn from the present study; that this rule of development, from stout to slender, retained its validity under changing conditions, and that such changes mark in fact the vital rhythm of an unbroken and consecutive evolution.

HANSJÖRG BLOESCH.

ATTIC BLACK-FIGURED PELIKAI

[PLATES XX-XXII]

i

In the summer of 1949 the Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired an Attic black-figured pelike which is published here for the first time (figs. 1-3, pl. XX).¹ It was bought from a New York dealer, and nothing is known of its provenance. The vase is 33.3 cm. high and unbroken; its surface, however, was chipped and flaked in places (cf. figs. 1 and 2), blemishes that have since been removed by the restorer at the museum.² The potting of the pelike is normal—torus mouth, spreading foot, segmental handles—and the ornamentation—palmettes lying on their sides above the panels—occurs on other pelikai. One feature, however, is unusual: the lip is reserved and two broadish black stripes run around the inside of the neck (fig. 3). A graffito appears on the underside of the foot: AA.

The obverse of the pelike depicts a dramatic moment in the capture of Silenos.³ The two hunters sent out by Midas crouch in ambush near the fountain in the garden of the king. They wear white petasoi, short chitons, and chlamydes wrapped around their left arms in the manner of big-game hunters and shield-less warriors. Each of them carries two spears; in addition, the one on the rock has a sword in a scabbard suspended from a double baldric. There was a tradition that Midas had mixed wine into the water of the fountain to lure and capture Silenos:⁴ the New York pelike shows how the ruse is about to succeed. Here Silenos approaches, sniffing the familiar odour of the wine and dancing with joy. As yet he hasn't drunk and one fears he will be cheated out of his anticipated pleasure, for the hunters will presently close in, overpower him, and bring him before the king. The vase-painters usually show the moment immediately after the capture, the bringing-in of the prisoner, and his presentation before the king. The ambush proper is represented on only three other vases. On a Laconian kylix in the Villa Giulia, not much earlier than our pelike, Silenos on all fours makes for a fountain building drawn in the standardised Laconian fashion, while his captors in Phrygian garb stoop over and catch him.⁵ On an Attic b.f. lekythos in London⁶ the fountain is a low structure, and a hunter is strategically placed on top of it, rope ready to handcuff his quarry. The scene is laid in a foreign country, as symbolised by the palm-trees, but there is nothing foreign, as has been maintained by some, about the dress of the hunter or the two seated figures that frame the scene. Such unconcerned onlookers are common in archaic vase-painting, especially on certain b.f. lekythoi, and are not necessarily related to the scene. Here, however, the painter has made a compromise: he has inscribed the figure on the left Mides and has thus drawn at least one of the seated extras into the context of the story. In later red-figure Silenos approaches the fountain armed with an amphora when he is trapped.⁷ It has been suggested that in these scenes Silenos is drunk and that the amphora is to be blamed for his condition, but I think the amphora is empty and was meant to be filled at the fountain. Silenos' gestures, in that case, might be interpreted as stemming from joyful anticipation. On the b.f. cup signed by Ergotimos⁸ Silenos is certainly drunk, but the wine-skin which Oreios has

¹ Acc. no. 49.11.1. Purchased with income from the Rogers Fund. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to friends and colleagues who have helped in various ways: to Professor Sir John D. Beazley for putting his notes on b.f. pelikai at my disposal; to Miss M. J. Milne for advice on questions of mythology, and to Dr. G. H. Chase, Professor P. Devambez, Miss D. K. Hill, Mrs. S. P. Karouzou, Dr. N. M. Kontoleon, Miss L. Talcott, Professor H. Thompson, and Professor E. Vanderpool for letting me study or publish vases under their care. A paper on the subject of this article was read at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Baltimore on December 30, 1948.

² The principal restoration is in the right leg of the older boxer on the reverse. In all other instances the modern black follows the silhouette of the original design which was discernible through the discoloration of the clay.

³ The subject has been treated by Brommer in *AA* 1941, 36 ff. and, more recently, by Beazley in *Hesperia Supplement VIII* (1949) 4-5.

⁴ Cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, ii, 13; Pausanias I, 4, 5.

⁵ *AA* 1937, 406 f.; *Bd'A XXXI* (1937) 149 ff.

⁶ *AA* 1941, 41-42, figs. 3-5.

⁷ *AA* 1941, 49, fig. 10.

⁸ *AA* 1941, 37-38, fig. 1.

taken away from him is still full and need not have been the cause. Perhaps Silenos had drunk first from the fountain, as he is about to do on the New York pelike, and then filled his wine-skin before he was apprehended.

For the sequel to the capture of Silenos, one has, of course, to keep in mind the story of King Midas as it was known to the Greeks of the classical period and forget for the moment the version popularised by Ovid.⁹ In the earlier story¹⁰ Silenos is not found drunk by some peasants, having strayed from the company of Dionysos, but Midas himself was bent on capturing Silenos. The king, however, does not desire the ransom of turning all he touches into gold, but craves to hear the wisdom of Silenos. It is in this way that he first learns the pessimistic view expressed by the captive: 'It is best for everybody not to be born at all, next



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

best for those who have been born to die as soon as possible'.¹¹ The painter of the New York pelike had little opportunity of anticipating this sequel with its note of resignation. In portraying the ambush alone, he rather concentrated on the tense moment preceding the capture and its inherent humour for the spectator: Silenos eager and unsuspecting, the hunters alert and confident. Everything in this picture is very much alive. The rock on which one of the hunters perches and the shady fruit tree in the middle are drawn with more care than vase-painters ordinarily bestow on nature.¹² Even the lion's head of the fountain spout appears to be a living member of the cast and plays its part in the composition.

At least as original, and certainly as humorous, is the reverse of the New York pelike (fig. 2, pl. XX, b). Here two pugilists practise to the accompaniment of the flutes. Of the two boxers, one is a stocky boy with windswept hair and strong physique, while his companion on the right is a mature man with pronounced paunch and exaggerated biceps. This is a superb parody of the attitudes struck by athletes, and the inscription $\text{HO } \Gamma \text{AI} \varsigma \text{ KALO}[\varsigma] \text{ NAI} \vdash \text{I}$

⁹ *Metamorphoses* XI, 85 ff.

¹⁰ Aristotle, *Eudemos*, quoted by Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 27 (*Moralia* 115 B ff.).

¹¹ Aristotle, *loc. cit.* Cf. Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*

I, 48 (114).

¹² Details of rock and fountain are indicated with added white, now partly faded, and with incised lines.

(truly the boy is beautiful) becomes a somewhat backhanded compliment when applied to this boy with his ungainly profile.

The humour of both obverse and reverse brings to mind at once the great humourist among the black-figured painters of the Leagros period, the Acheloos Painter, whose work was first assembled by Beazley in his *Attic Black-Figure: a Sketch*.¹³ A stylistic analysis bears out the attribution of the New York pelike to his hand. Apart from the spirit of the composition itself, his style can be detected readily enough in the profiles of heads and necks, in the incised anatomical markings, and even in the ornaments. The new pelike is a careful painting, and should rank with the painter's best works, such as his name piece¹⁴ and the pelike in London.¹⁵ The subjects on the New York pelike are treated with a delightful originality and add much to our appreciation of the artist's personality.

ii

The pelike is one of the last shapes to make its appearance in the repertory of Attic pottery. Like the psykter, the stamnos, the kalpis, and the bell-krater it is a shape first introduced in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., the period of early red-figure. There is no black-figured pelike that antedates with certainty the earliest red-figured vases of that shape. Some b.f. pelikai have been put together by Pfuhl,¹⁶ others were added by Mingazzini¹⁷ and Johnson.¹⁸ The following list owes much to Sir John D. Beazley, who drew my attention to nos. 9, 10, 14, 33, 50, 53, 55, 57, 63-66 and supplemented my notes on some of the others. The attributions mentioned are all his. For the sake of convenient reference the pelikai are grouped according to the ornamental frames of the panels.

Lotus above, net-pattern on sides, maeander below

1. Amsterdam, Six 15. B, *Uit de Schatkamers der Oudheid* pl. 46, no. 625. A, Herakles and Athena at pithos of Pholos. B, three komasts. Nikoxenos Painter. Beazley, *ARV* p. 150, 39. Ht. 36 cm.

Lotus above, maeander below

2. Boulogne 412. *Le Musée II*, 1905, p. 271, figs. 12-13, A, *Arch. phot.* BAA 121. A, Herakles and Cerberus, with Athena and Persephone. B, Dionysos on donkey, with three satyrs. 'Not far from Acheloos Painter, Leagros Group' (Beazley). Pl. XXI, b.

Lotus above, net-pattern below

3. Palermo 156. A, Chariot scene. B, Flute-player and singer between two judges.
4. Bologna PU. 199. Gerhard *AV* pl. 141, 1-2; *CVA* pl. 25. A, Athena, Dionysos and Herakles. B, citharode between two judges. Nikoxenos Painter. Beazley, *ARV* p. 150, 38. Ht. 35.5 cm.
5. Once Roman Market, Pollak. La Chausse, *Museum Romanum* (1690), p. 100, 1-2. A, Athena, Herakles, and Hermes. B, Dionysos between Satyr and maenad.

Lotus above, net-pattern on sides

6. Oxford 563. *JHS* 28, 1908, pl. 30; *CVA* pl. 8, 7-8. A, shoemaker. B, satyrs and Hermes (?). Eucharides Painter. Beazley, *ARV* p. 953, 17. Ht. 40 cm.
7. Chicago, University. *AJA* 1943, p. 394, figs. 9a-b. A, Hermes (?) playing the flutes, two satyrs dancing. B, two men at tomb. Eucharides Painter. Beazley, *Paralipomena* p. 60, 17 bis. Ht. 34.5 cm.
8. Leningrad. *AA* 1912, cols. 341-2, figs. 25-6. A, Silenos captive. B, men and woman. Eucharides Painter. Beazley, *ARV*, 953, no. 18.
9. London market, Spink. A and B, komos. Restored.
10. Louvre, fr. A, Satyrs and Hermes. Eucharides Painter.
11. Vienna SK 258 (p. 241). Laborde, *Collection de vases grecs de M. le Comte de Lamberg II*, pl. 30 and pl. 31, 16. A, Dionysos between two satyrs. B, woman between two men. Ht. 28.1 cm.
12. Once New York, de Morgan (*American Art Galleries Sale 12-13 March 1901*, p. 41, no. 193; ex Forman 316). A, woman with krotala between two dancing men. B, judge, flute-player, and jumper. Ht. 35.5 cm.

Lotus above

13. London W 40. *CVA* pl. 44, 3; Beazley, *ABS* pl. 15. A, satyr lifting maenad; B, man and woman embracing. The panel on A is framed by palmettes on the sides. Acheloos Painter. Ht. 32.5 cm. Echinus foot.
14. Once Ricketts. 'A, man fluting and man carrying another on his back. B, two men carrying a fluter. Near Acheloos Painter, but not by him'. (Beazley). Echinus foot.

¹³ P. 46, appendix VII.

¹⁴ Gerhard, *ECV* pl. 15, 16, 1-2.

¹⁵ *ABS* pl. 15.

¹⁶ *Muz* 301.

¹⁷ *Vasi della collezione Castellani* 275.

¹⁸ *AJA* XLVII (1943) 395.

15. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48, 1925. A, D. K. Hill, *The Dance in Classical Times* p. 9. A, woman playing the lyre and dancer. B, two dancers. Ht. 31 cm. Echinus foot. Pl. XXI, a.
16. London B 192. CVA pl. 44, 1. A, youth baiting dog and man playing lyre. B, youth and man playing lyre. Ht. 33 cm.
17. Chicago 89.12. A and B, komos. Ht. 34.5 cm.
18. Delphi 236, fr. *Fouilles de Delphes* 5, p. 158, fig. 654. A and B, man playing the lyre and banqueter. Leagros Group (Beazley).
19. Tarquinia RC 1663. Mo. 8622 and 8625. *Jdl* 8, 1893, 180-1. A and B, sale of oil. Flaring mouth. Ht. 33 cm.
20. Florence 72732. RA 23, 1926, p. 288, fig. 4 and p. 290, fig. 5. A, sale of oil (?). B, dog-fight in oil-shop.
21. Louvre F 376. B, RA 23, 1926, p. 294, fig. 6. A, Hermes, Dionysos, and Athena. B, sale of oil or wine. Much restored. Ht. 34.6 cm.
22. London B 190. CVA pl. 44, 4. A and B, between Panathenaic columns, Apollo (A) running after Herakles (B), who has stolen the tripod. Ht. 29.2 cm.
23. Agora P12561. A, *Hesperia* 8, 1939, p. 230, fig. 26. A, Theseus and Prokroustes. B, Dionysos and satyrs. Rays.

Net-pattern above and on sides

24. Mykonos, fr. A, Odysseus escaping from the cave of Polyphemos.
25. Cabinet des Médailles 250. De Ridder p. 157, fig. 21. CVA pl. 78, 6-8. A and B, each, two men on mules. Theseus Painter. Ht. 19.4 cm.
26. Naples 2752. A and B, komos. Theseus Painter. Ht. 18 cm.
27. Rawtenstall (ex Hope 30). A, Dionysos and Ariadne. B, Dionysos and satyr. Ht. 18 cm.
28. Louvre F 391. Giraudon 29437. A and B, each, two runners. Almost entirely repainted. Ht. 15.5 cm.

Net-pattern above

29. Bonn inv. 574. B, AA 1935, col. 459, fig. 35. A, man filling cup from psykter, and youth. B, the like. Ht. 25 cm. Echinus foot.
30. Salerno 1658. A, Dionysos and dancing woman. B, quadriga and woman. Group of the Rhodes pelike.
31. Copenhagen 2. CVA pl. 121, 1. A, Peleus and Thetis. B, Dionysos and Ariadne. Red Line Painter. Ht. 24 cm.
32. Cabinet des Médailles 249. CVA pl. 78, 4-5. A, Amazons leaving the battlefield. B, Dionysos and satyr. Ht. 24 cm.
- 32 bis. Brussels A 1582. CVA pl. 26, 6. A, Herakles and the bull. B, maenad and Dionysos. Ht. 24 cm.
33. San Simeon, Hearst 9949. B, *Anderson Gallery Sale 19-21 November 1925*, p. 55, no. 349 (ill.). A, Dionysos and maenad. B, woman seated between two oxen, half-seen. Recalls Group of Rhodes 10775 and Group of Athens 581. (Beazley). Ht. 22.9 cm.
34. Rhodes 10775. *Clara Rhodos* 3, p. 201, figs. 196-7. A, Athena and a giant. B, Dionysos and satyr. Group of the Rhodes pelike. Ht. 21.5 cm.
35. Athens, Agora P 2643. *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pl. 60, no. 194. A, Dionysos and satyr. B, Herakles and Amazon.
36. Athens, Agora, fr., P. 2755. *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pl. 58, no. 196. A, Dionysos.
- 36 bis. Mykonos, fr. A, youth pursuing woman. B, the like.
- 36 ter. Mykonos, fr. A and B, Dionysos and maenad.
- 36 quater. Mykonos, fr. A, maenad and Dionysos.

Palmettes above, net-pattern on sides

37. Naples 3358. *Adl* 1865, pl. F. CVA pl. 13. A, Odysseus and Ajax with the armour of Achilles. B, unexplained subject (man facing two seated youths). Ht. 35 cm.

Palmettes above

38. Dunedin E 48.226. (*Sotheby 7 December 1920*, no. 305; ex coll. A. B. Cook, Cambridge). A, Athena and Ares in Gigantomachy. B, man on platform, between standing man and seated man (judge?). Very near Acheloos Painter. Ht. 35.5 cm.
39. Paris, Rothschild. A, *Vente Drouot 30 juin-2 juillet 1921 (collection Hirsch)* pl. 4, no. 144. A and B, maenad and goat. Ht. 32 cm.
40. New York 49.11.1. Pl. XX and figs. 1-3. A, the ambush of Silenus. B, boxers practising, accompanied by a flute-player. Acheloos Painter. Ht. 33.3 cm.
41. Vatican 413. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, pl. 61. A and B, sale of oil.
42. Berlin inv. 3228. B, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung* III, pl. 72, no. 276. A, Herakles and the bull. B, at the well, with satyr creating a disturbance. Ht. 35.5 cm.
43. Bologna VF 47. A and B, the punishment of Sisyphos. Ht. 26.5 cm.

Maenander above

44. Syracuse. A, MA, XVII, (1906), cols. 491-2, fig. 350. A, Athena and Giant. B, Satyr and maenad. Ht. 25 cm. Echinus foot.
45. Copenhagen inv. 8177. CVA pl. 121, 2. A, Athena and Giant. B, maenad on the bull. Ht. 34 cm.
46. San Simeon, Hearst (ex Marshall Brooks, *Sotheby Sale 14 May 1946* no. 19). A and B, satyrs and maenads. Ht. 32.4 cm. Pl. XXI, c.
47. Leipsic. B, *Vente Drouot 30 juin-2 juillet 1921 (collection Hirsch)* pl. 3, no. 155. A, Dionysos and maenads. B, Herakles and Amazon. Ht. 24 cm.

48. Villa Giulia, Castellani. A, Mingazzini, *Vasi della collezione Castellani*, pl. 79, 2. A and B, Dionysos and maenad. Ht. 21.6 cm.

48 bis. Mykonos, fr. A, man saluting two warriors. B, Dionysos and another figure.

Ivy above, net-pattern on sides

49. Berlin 1886. A, Herakles and the bull. B, Quadriga and woman. Ht. 25.5 cm.

Ivy above

50. Once Munich, Preyss. A, men cutting up ram. B, komos.

51. Once Carlsruhe, Vogell 68. (Bought by Dr. Dohrn.) A, Bochlau, *Griechische Altertümer aus dem Besitze des Herrn A. Vogell, Karlsruhe*, pl. 1, no. 23. A and B, komos. Ht. 23.6 cm.

52. Boston 76.53. A and B, woman seated between two oxen. Ht. 23.3 cm. Pl. XXI, d.

52 bis. Mykonos, fr. A, two komasts. B, the like?

Myrtle above, net-pattern on sides

53. Mykonos. A, sale of wine. B, man fluting and man reclining. Ht. 28 cm.

Net-pattern (obverse) and ivy (reverse) above

54. Cassel, Prince Philip of Hesse. A, flute-player and athlete. B, trainer and acontist. Foot missing.

Net-pattern (obverse) and palmettes (reverse) above

55. Florence. *NS* 1934, 423, figs. 78 a-b. A, citharode between two judges. B, chariot, half-seen, satyr and maenad. Ht. 28.5 cm.

55 bis. Athens CC 788. B, Collignon and Couve pl. 32. A, chariot, half-seen, and maenad. B, satyr approaching reclining Dionysos. Ht. 26.6 cm. Group of the Red Line Painter.

Maeander (obverse) and ivy (reverse) above

56. London 64.10-7.270. *CVA* pl. 44, 2. A, reclining Dionysos (half-seen) and satyr. B, seated Dionysos and satyr. Group of the Rhodes pelike. Ht. 25.2 cm.

57. Villa Giulia. *NS* 1930, 525-6, figs. 6-7. A, satyr and maenad. B, two maenads.

58. Leipsic. *Jdl* XI, 1896, p. 182, fig. 16. A, Athena and giant. B, Poseidon and giant. Ht. 28 cm.

59. Agora P 2644-5. *Hesperia* XV, 1946, pl. 60, no. 195. A, youth and woman. B, the like.

No ornamental frame

60. Sydney 47.07. A and B, flute-player and judge. Restored.

61. Once Paris, Triantaphyllos. A, *Collection de M. E.*, Paris, 104, pl. 8, no. 125. A, seated Dionysos. B, the like. Ht. 27 cm.

62. Athens CC 787. B, *CVA* pl. 5, 4. A, flute-player and pyrrhic dancer. B, lyre-player and dancer. Ht. 21 cm.

62 bis. Mykonos, fr. A, figure to right with wreath. B, uncertain.

Frame not recorded or incompletely preserved

63. Gela, Navarra-Salonia. Benndorf, *Griechische und sizilische Vasenbilder* pl. 43, 4 a-b. A, flute-player and singer, with judge. B, flute-player between two pyrrhic dancers. Ht. 33 cm.

64. Naples RC 205. Fiorelli, *Notizia dei vasi dipinti rinvenuti a Cuma* pl. 4. A, chariot, half-seen, youth abducting maiden. B, man and girl at fountain. Ht. 26 cm.

65. Catania, Gemarelli. Benndorf, *GSV* pl. 42, 3. A, Herakles and the bull. B, 'Apollo and woman'. Gela Painter? Ht. 26 cm.

66. Dresden 'Nola 218'. A, Dionysos seated. B, satyr and maenad. Theseus Painter or Athena Painter.

67. Once Munich 1678 (J. 1195). Lost or destroyed in 1944. A, komos. B, the like. Ht. 14.5 cm.

68-70. Acropolis fr. 906-908.

71. Once Henri de Morgan. (*American Art Association Sale 12-13 March 1901*, no. 430) A, Herakles and the bull. B, Dionysos and satyr.

In shape the pelike is a derivative of the amphora, and like the latter was used for oil and wine.¹⁹ It is in fact a squat or truncated amphora of type C²⁰ and merely appears more bulging and sagging since its greatest width is so close to the foot. With the amphora it also shares the confining panel of the figure decoration which starts at the level of the upper juncture of the handles and extends well below the middle of the vase. Save for one notable exception, the pelike no. 23 in the list, black-figured pelikai have no rays at the junction of base and body. The mouth, again with one exception (no. 19), is torus-shaped and was not meant to be covered by a lid.²¹ The handles are segmental in section; one or two of the later examples, however, develop a central rib. The foot is either echinoid or spreading. In height the vases range from

¹⁹ As shown by the oil and wine vending scenes on the pelikai nos. 19, 20, 21, 41, 53. Cf. Haspels, *ABL* pp. 129-130.

²⁰ Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, figs. 9-10. The foot of the amphora fig. 9 is alien and has since been replaced.

²¹ Lidded pelikai occur occasionally in the fifth century and have been put together by Beazley in his *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 178. To his list may be added a pair of black pelikai from the Agora, P 14152 and 14153. The lids are now missing.

six to sixteen inches. From this scale two major groups emerge: the bigger pelike which averages fourteen inches and the smaller one which measures about ten inches. As a rule, the tall pelikai are fairly early, and the small ones are apt to be late.

The subsidiary ornamentation never became standardised, and no fewer than sixteen different combinations of half a dozen ornamental patterns are employed on the black-figured pelikai listed above. These patterns consist of the lotus chain, palmettes, the net-pattern, maecander, ivy, and myrtle, and frame the panels either above, above and on the sides, or on all four sides. In black-figure panels need not be offset from the black body of the vase by an ornamental border, and four of our pelikai (nos. 60-62 bis) do, indeed, without it. The panels of black-figured amphorae are ordinarily surmounted by a decorative band, most commonly the familiar palmette-lotus festoon and the chain of lotus buds. With the introduction of red-figure, however, this system is modified. In the new technique panels have to be set off rather strongly from the black body of the vase, and the top frame alone no longer suffices: the panel



FIG. 3.

requires a border on its sides and even below. The Andokides Painter keeps the black-figured palmette-lotus festoon above the panels, but adds a narrow border, usually the net-pattern, for the sides. Euthymides and his followers go one step further and place an ornamental band *under* the panel, and for the first time the pictures are framed on all four sides. The same group of artists were also among the first to displace the traditional palmette-lotus festoon above the panel with more or less elaborate palmettes. The innovations are at once taken up by the black-figured artists of the time, and borders on the sides and under the panel begin to make their appearance on b.f. amphorae of type A.

The ornamentation of b.f. pelikai is influenced by this development of the panel-frame in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. Only the pelike in Amsterdam, no. 1 in the list, is framed on all sides, an abundance understandable in this artist, the Nikoxenos Painter, whose major work was done in the red-figured technique. This pelike is framed above by a chain of hanging lotus-buds which is by far the most popular pattern and is found, always as the upper border of the panel, on almost a third of all the pelikai that have been examined (nos. 1-23). The lateral frames on the Amsterdam pelike consist of the net-pattern in its early, undebased form: the knots are still clearly connected and have not as yet deteriorated into rows of disjointed dots. A lateral frame occurs on seventeen pelikai (nos. 1, 6-13, 24-28, 37, 49, 53, 55 bis) and is always the net-pattern. The same ornament and its derivative, the dot-pattern,

have been employed on twenty pelikai as the upper border (nos. 24-36 quater, 54-55 bis) and, less frequently, below the panel (nos. 3-5). On the Amsterdam pelike the border below the panel is formed by a macander, common in this position on r.f. pelikai, but rare on the b.f. vases of that shape: it occurs in this position on only one other pelike (pl. XXI, b, no. 2) which Beazley has put close to the Acheloos Painter. It is tempting at first to account for the different treatment of the ornamental frames by attributing these varying combinations to the several vase-painters whose style is recognisable. Only one of them, however, the Eucharides Painter, is at all consistent in his use of ornamental borders (nos. 6-8, 10); the Nikoxenos Painter does not conform, nor does the Acheloos Painter. On his pelike in London (no. 13) both panels are framed above by a chain of lotus-buds, but on the obverse the delightful group of a satyr lifting a maenad is set between two bands of palmettes so broad as to become part of the panel proper and not its mere frame. The new pelike in New York (no. 40) displays similar palmettes lying on their sides above the pictures, and it is on pelikai like this and the others which use palmettes to advantage (nos. 37-42) that one can best gauge the influence exercised by the pioneer group in early Attic red-figure.

Most of the pelikai with lotus-chain or palmettes above the panel belong to the early phase of the shape, datable within the Leagros period. The earliest of them all is perhaps the pelike in Baltimore (no. 15) with its echinos foot and gentle profile, and the band of substantial lotus-buds above the panel (pl. XXI, a). In the later development of the shape other patterns begin to predominate. The macander now comes into its own as an upper border (44-48 bis, 56-59), probably again under the influence of red-figure. In fact the Hearst pelike (no. 46, pl. XXI c,) looks very much as if it was painted by a man who was best in red-figure. After the turn of the century, with red-figure firmly established, black-figured pelikai are on their way out. They become small, uninspired vases, and are poorly drawn. Of this late phase the pelike in Boston (no. 52, pl. XXI, d) is a fair example. If one compares the outlines of the vase with some of the profiles of earlier pelikai (pl. XXI, a-b) one is struck at once by the general deterioration of the shape, how exaggerated the contrast between the convex and the concave has become and how the diminished height makes mouth and foot seem unduly large.

Black-figured pelikai were produced for perhaps forty years: in red-figure the same shape was employed for almost two hundred years. Popular throughout the fifth century, the pelike seems to have reached its greatest fame at the very end of Attic vase-painting, in the Kertch period, when it seems to outnumber all the other shapes. From Attica the shape spread to the fabrics of Southern Italy, where its development can be traced for at least another hundred years. The same shape is also found in Roman glass, and can be said to have survived in one material or another even to this day.

iii

Nothing has been said so far of the neck-pelike, a special shape, in which the neck of the vase is set off from the body. There are only six examples in Attic Black-figure.²²

1. Tarquinia 644. A, Apollo and Muses. B, departure of warrior.
2. Brunswick P 1. CVA pl. 9, 1-2. A, Dionysos and maenad; B, woman and man. Ht. 25.5 cm.
3. London, Mrs. Henry Winslow. A and B, man embracing boy. Theseus Painter.
4. Eton College Museum. A, Tillyard, *The Hope Vases* pl. 5, no. 29. A, Amazons arming. B, satyr and maenad. Ht. 29 cm.
5. New York 07.286.72. A, Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* fig. 32. A, kitharist; B, flute-player and singer. Ht. 26.7 cm. Pl. XXII, a and b.
6. Würzburg 233. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* pl. 61. A and B, flute-player and herm. Ht. 23 cm.

²² For the Eretrian b.f. neck-pelike, Vienna 136, cf. Amyx, *AJA* XLV 65, fig. 3.

The Tarquinia vase, no. 1, is earlier than any of the other vases in the list and its inclusion among neck-pelikai may be debated. The pictures are not set in panels, but separated from one another by an elaborate palmette and lotus configuration under each handle. The mouth is in two degrees and the small lid, now on the vase, need not be the cover originally intended for the vase. There are rays above the foot and a reserved band between the figure frieze and the rays. The palmette-lotus festoon on the neck recalls the pattern used as upper border on some early panel amphorae. This neck-pelike, if one may call the vase by that name, is rather melon-shaped: the Brunswick vase, no. 2, is more pear-shaped but retains the rays above the foot and a palmette-lotus festoon on the neck not unlike the ornament on contemporary canonical neck-amphorae. The pictures, however, are set off in panels. I have no note on no. 3, the neck-pelike in London. The remaining three, nos. 4-6, go together. The neck is decorated on each vase with three alternating palmettes in the manner of b.f. Nolan amphorae. The pictures are in panels, bounded above by tongues and on the sides by simple lines, or, as in no. 5, by net-patterns. Nos. 4 and 5 have a reserved band midway between the panel and the foot, like no. 1 and the pelikai nos. 15 and 16 in the list on page 43. In shape, these three neck-pelikai are very slender.

Among contemporary red-figured vases, neck-pelikai are equally rare. There are two by Euphronios, one divided between the University of Chicago and the Villa Giulia,²³ the other, a recent find, in the Villa Giulia.²⁴ A third red-figured neck-pelike is in Ferrara and is in shape very close to the b.f. neck-pelikai nos. 4-6.²⁵ It is by the Berlin Painter. A fourth neck-pelike, attributed to Myson, is in Catania.²⁶ The two neck-pelikai by Euphronios are earlier than any red-figured pelike and at least not later than the earliest black-figured pelikai or neck-pelikai. It is perhaps not altogether impossible that the pioneering potters in their search for new shapes developed first a neck-pelike until their experiments convinced them that the gently sloping shoulders of their new shape did not actually warrant a neck that was built separately and attached with a clearly defined joint. The Euphronian neck-pelike needs in fact only slight modification to be transformed into a canonical pelike. Indirect proof of this transition from neck-pelike to pelike is perhaps furnished by the r.f. pelike which portrays the first swallow, formerly attributed to Euphronios.²⁷ At first glance one would take the vase for a neck-pelike with its rich palmette decoration above the panel, until one discovers that the neck of the vase is set off from the body only by a reserved line in the painted decoration and not by a ridge in the pot itself. This may be the earliest pelike in which neck and body merge in a continuous curve, and perhaps the painter, accustomed as he may have been to neck-pelikai, did not want to give up the neck patterns, even though the new shape was no longer in need of one.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER.

²³ Beazley, *ARV* p. 17, no. 10.

²⁴ Beazley, *Paralipomena* p. 412.

²⁵ Beazley, *ARV* p. 136, no. 84.

²⁶ Beazley, *ARV* p. 173, no. 14.

²⁷ Beazley, *ARV* p. 17, no. 9; *Paralipomena* p. 390.

Addendum. The following pelike should be included as no. 51 bis in the list on page 44:

51 bis. Havana, El Conde de Lagunillas. A and B, komos (near-replicas of the obverse of 51: by the same hand).

PORTRAET DER TETRARCHENZEIT

[PLATES XXIII-XXIV]

Das grossartige Portraet, das auf Taf. XXIII-XXIV und in den Abb. 1-3 erscheint, befindet sich in Privatbesitz. Ich habe dem Eigentuerer, fuer die Liebenswuerdigkeit, mit der er das wertvolle Kunstwerk fuer diese Festschrift zur Verfuegung gestellt hat, herzlich zu danken.

Der lebensgrosse Kopf ist mit dem Halse 0,175 m. hoch. Das Gesicht vom Ende des Kinns bis zum Ansatz der Haare misst 0,185 m. Der kleinchristallinische Marmor ist griechisch, wahrscheinlich pentelisch.

Auf den ersten Blick wird jeder das Bildnis als spaetantik, aber vorkonstantinisch erkennen. Es ist in der Tat das bedeutendste Werk der Tetrarchenzeit, das wir besitzen, und wird uns viel Neues lehren.

Vielleicht kennen wir seinen Helden schon aus einem anderen Werk. Denn seine Aehnlichkeit mit dem von L'Orange, der um die Geschichte des spaetroemischen Portraets die groessten Verdienste hat, entdeckten und wiederholt behandelten ueberlebensgrossen Kopf des Togatus in der Villa Doria in Rom ¹ (Abb. 4) ist so gross, dass sie ernsthaft geprueft werden muss.

Das ist in beiden Bildnissen der gleiche kugelartige Kopf, dessen gewoeltter Schaedel durch die flache Haarkappe so deutlich zur Erscheinung gebracht ist. Am Doriaportraet ist zwar die ganze hintere Haelfte neu. Aber der moderne Faelscher hat mit sicherem Gefuehl nur fortgesetzt, was der echte vordere Teil angab. Das Gesicht hat den gleichen kantigen Schnitt, der oben durch die maechtige Stirn, in der Mitte durch die Wangenbeine und unten durch das energische Kinn bestimmt ist. Hier wie dort ist das Antlitz gleich eingeteilt. Gleiche wagrechte Falten der Stirn, gleicher Sitz der Augen mit den starken Brauenbogen darueber, gleiche kurze und fleischige Nase mit den gleichen von ihren Fluegeln ausgehenden, die Wange abgrenzenden Falten, in gleicher Distanz von den inneren Augenwinkeln der Mund. Bringen wir auch die Unterschiede zur Sprache. An dem neuen Portraet ist das Faltenspiel auf der Stirne reicher, aber es fehlen die finsternen Vertikalfalten ueber dem Ansatz der Nase. Diese beginnt bei ihm mit einer flachen Einsenkung, waehrend sie dort schmalueckig verwurzelt ist. Am Kopf Doria liegen die Brauenbogen in *einer* Linie, am anderen sind sie differenziert, und der rechte ist hoeher geschwungen als der linke. Auch die Augen sind verschieden gegeben. Am neuen Portraet blicken sie schwaermerisch zum Himmel, und das rechte ist weniger weit geoeffnet als das linke. Am alten glotzen beide Augen gleich starr, runder und aufgerissener gerade aus auf den Beschauer, als wollten sie ihn erstarren machen, und die Pupille erscheint beinahe mit ihrem vollen Kreis. Am Kopf Doria ist ein knapper Mund mit einer vollen Unterlippe gegeben. An dem anderen ist der Mund breiter und schmallippig unsinnlich, und die Unterlippe schiebt sich in der Mitte heraus wie eine Konsole. Auch sitzen an ihm die Ohren tiefer als dort. Aber das sind alles, wie wir gleich sehen werden, Unterschiede der kuenstlerischen Arbeit, die unseren Glauben an die Identitaet der in beiden Portraets dargestellten Persoenlichkeit nicht erschuettern koennen. Ja, die Gleichheit des Baus beider Gesichter geht so weit, dass in beiden die linke Gesichtshaelfte etwas breiter ist als die rechte. Und, vergessen wir nicht, der Kopf Doria ist ueberlebensgross mit jener Vergroeberung, die Theorie und Annaeherung an das Kolossalbild mit sich bringen. Das neue Portraet aber ist lebensgross, und in ihm hat ein grosser Bildhauer gegeben, was er dem Leben abgelauscht hat.

Das Portraet Doria hat L'Orange als Diocletian (284-305) bestimmt. Diese Deutung war nicht ganz sicher. Die schlechten Muenzbilder der Zeit,² der einzige sichere Anhalt fuer

¹ *Roem. Mitt.* 44, 1929, 180 ff.; Studien zur Geschichte des spaetantiken Portraets 30, 103, 115.—Die Statue Doria vor der Uebearbeitung Not. sc. 1941, 228, Abb. 6 und

Roem. Mitt. 53, 1938, 39 Abb. 3.

² *Roem. Mitt.* 1829, 190 Abb. 1; Studien 101 f.

die Portraetbestimmung, ergeben nur allgemeine Aehnlichkeiten. Nach L'Orange hat zuerst Fuhrmann³ versucht, ein anderes Bild Diocletians in dem Portraetkopf der Doppelherme Jerichau nachzuweisen. Sein Vorschlag hat viel fuer sich. Aber so lange uns die Doppelherme nur durch eine Zeichnung bekannt bleibt, ist nicht viel mit ihr anzufangen. Auch das Relief-medailion am Mausoleum Diocletian in Spalato⁴ ist zu allgemein gehalten, als dass man ihm bestimmte ikonographische Zuege ablesen koennte. Auch das von Doerner⁵ in Nikomedien aufgefundene Portraet eines Kaisers mit dem Eichenkranz hat nichts mit dem Portraet Doria gemein. Ja, durch den vollen Haarkranz, die viel niedrigere Stirn mit nur einer horizontalen Falte und durch den dichten Vollbart unterscheidet es sich wesentlich von diesem. Kann sein, dass es den Kaiser in seinen juengeren Jahren darstellt. Aber es ist eine

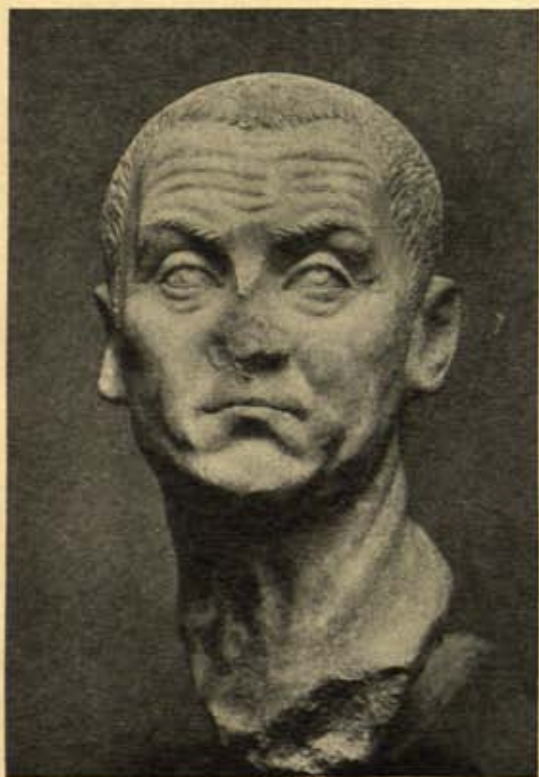


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

derbe Arbeit, und auf seine Portraetverwandschaft mit dem Bildnis-Doria sollte man sich nicht berufen. Wir halten also die Ikonographie des Diocletian bisher nicht fuer so gut bekannt, wie sie Fuhrmann⁶ erscheint.

Das aendert sich nun mit dem neuen Marmorkopf. Die ueberlebensgrosse Statue Doria kann nur eine regierende Persoenlichkeit darstellen. Wenn wir diese nun zum zweitenmal in einem so hervorragenden Portraet finden, so ist der Schluss zu versuchen, dass wir in beiden Portraets wirklich den grossen Neuordner des Reichs vor uns haben.

Aber wie ganz anders erscheint er in dem neuen Fund, der aus Rom stammt. Der Kopf Doria liegt ganz innerhalb der am Ende des III. Jahrhunderts zur konstantinischen Kunst fuehrenden Entwicklung, die schon oft aufgezeigt worden ist.⁷ Ihre Phaenomene sind folgende:

³ *Roem. Mitt.* 53, 1938, 35 ff.

⁴ *St dien* Abb. 39.

⁵ *Archaeol. Anz.* 1939, 166 ff. Abb. 36-39; *Antike* 17, 1941, 142 ff. Abb. 2-5; *Istamb. Forsch.* 14, 1941, 46 Taf. 10.

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⁶ *Arch. Anz.* 1941, 733.

⁷ Grundlegend ist der geistreiche Aufsatz von G. von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Antike* 2, 1926, 36 ff. Derselbe, *Formes* VIII Octobre 1930, 6 ff.; L'Orange, *Stadien* passim; R. Herbig, *Neue Jahrb.* 1937, 12 ff.

Verzicht auf die Mannigfaltigkeit der organischen natuerlichen Einzelform. Die Unterordnung und Vereinfachung dieser in einem neuen System von Flaechen und Linien. Nicht mehr eine plastische Gleichwertigkeit der einzelnen Bestandteile des Gesichts, sondern eine Konzentration der Ausdrucksformen in gewissen Teilen der Erscheinung, vor allem im Auge, mit Vernachlaessigung anderer. Schliesslich eine neue Konstruktion des Koerperlichen in kubischen Einheiten einer neuen geschlossenen Grossflaechigkeit mit moeglichst geringer Bewegung der Einzelflaechen. Eine neue vordergruendige Massivitaet des tastbar koerperlichen. Ein neues optisches Fernbild abstrakter Ruhe.

Der Prozess der Stilentwicklung der Plastik des III. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. hat sehr verschiedene Tendenzen und Episoden, die wir hier nicht schildern koennen. Es kommt uns hier nur auf die Haupt- und Schlussresultate an.

Im neuen Portraet nun ist das entscheidende Neue eine plastische Lebendigkeit der natuerlichen Einzelform, die in dem ganzen bisher bekannten Bereich der Tetrarchenkunst keine Parallele hat. Beginnen wir mit den Augen, so kann der verschiedene Verlauf der Brauen mit der hoerhergezogenen rechten und der flacheren linken nur dem physiognomischen Spiel des Modells abgesehen sein, in dem sich misstrauischer Unwille ausdrueckt. Am Kopf Doria sind die Augen in einem festen System elliptischer Linien festgelegt, in dem auch das Weiche erstarrt. Dort aber gibt es ein feines Gefuehl fuer die Schwellungen des Orbitalmuskels ueber dem oberen Augenlid und fuer die zarten Schatten der Falten des schwindenden Fetts unter dem unteren. Nachher ist der Knochenbau des Gesichts wunderbar durch das Durchscheinen der Wangenknochen ausgedrueckt. Auch die Kinnladen scheinen durch. Aber die zarten Flaechenuebergaenge, in denen die welke Haut der Wangen bis zum Munde geschildert ist, lassen sich in Worten nicht nachmalen. Das bildhauerische Bravourstueck ist der Mund und seine Umgebung. Wie er gegen die Wangen abgegrenzt ist, muss man an den Profilansichten des Kopfes verfolgen. An den beiden Seiten laeuft die auf- und abschwellende Faltenfuerche verschieden. Aber in der Ansicht nach links kommt wieder ein dem Modell abgesehener Zug zu Wort, der kleine Hautfaltenknoten neben dem linken Mundwinkel. Und wie der Mund selber spricht. Wohl mit vielen Zahnluucken ist er mit dem Eigensinn des Alters zusammengekniffen, sitzt etwas schief und ist nach vorne geschoben in einer zur Gewohnheit gewordenen geizig unwilligen Resignation. Durch die vorgeschobene Unterlippe entsteht jene Omega aehnliche Wellenlinie, die unterhalb der Wangenknochen von einer Backe zur anderen schwingt. Es ergeben sich so in der bildhauerischen Anlage des von vorne betrachteten Gesichts ein vorderer Relieffzusammenhang, der durch Wangenknochen, Backenmuskeln und Mund bestimmt ist, und ein hinterer, der zu den Kinnladen und nach ihnen zu den Hautwuelsten des fetten Halses fuehrt. Auch dies gehoert zur Wirklichkeitsnaeche des Portraets: Es sitzt nicht streng frontal mit betonter vertikaler Mittelachse auf seinem Halse wie der Kopf Doria und nachher die feierlichen Portraets Konstantins und seiner Nachfolger, sondern mit einer leisen Wendung nach links und in den Nacken, so dass jene Halsfalten entstehen, die Gesichtsachse schraeg liegt, und die untere Gesichtspartie im Verhaeltnis zu der oberen vorgeschoben ist. Auch diese Haltung kann nur durch das Modell bestimmt sein.

Wie leer, oder sagen wir besser, wie abstrakt theoretisch erscheint neben diesem lebensvollen Bilde der Kopf Doria, der doch die gleiche Altersstufe schildert, also mit jenem annaeherd gleichzeitig sein muss. Wie erklart sich der krasse Unterschied?

Ich glaube, wir muessen, um beiden Bildern gerecht zu werden, zuerst eines bedenken. Der neue Diokletian ist offenbar ein originales Portraet mit allen Merkmalen eines Werkes aus erster Hand. Das Portraet Doria aber gehoert zu der Gattung repraesentativer Portraets zweiter oder dritter Hand, die als Kopien unsere Museen fuellen, unser Urteil bestimmen und trueben. Koennnten wir roemische Portraetgeschichte nur nach Originalen, wie sie der neue Diokletian und mancher andere neue Fund⁸ darstellen, schreiben, so wuerde sie anders aussehen.

⁸ Siehe dazu L. Curtius, *Synopsis*, Festgabe fuer Alfred Konstantinportraet des Medaillons der Eberjagd des Weber 9.—Welch ein Unterschied zwischen dem Konstantinbogens (L'Orange, *Studien* Abb. 120-122,

Aber, wenn wir auch durch das neue Portraet ploetzlich eine neue Stroemung der Tetrarchenkunst neben der bisher bekannten abstrakten repraesentativen kennen lernen, wie erklart sich dieser neue Naturalismus? Er ist mit einem Mal da und haengt mit keiner der Stiltendenzen des Jahrhunderts zusammen. Weder im Portraet der Gallienuszeit noch in dem des Alexander Severus und seiner Nachfolger gibt es irgend ein Werk von solcher organisch zusammenhaengender, die Einzelform aufsuchender Naturwahrheit. Wir wollen es kurz machen, denn wir koennen hier nicht die ganze Geschichte des roemischen Portraets aufrollen: Das Untergesicht des neuen Diokletian findet seine einzigen Parallelen im Portraet der roemischen Republik. Eine erstaunliche Behauptung, der mancher widerstreben wird.

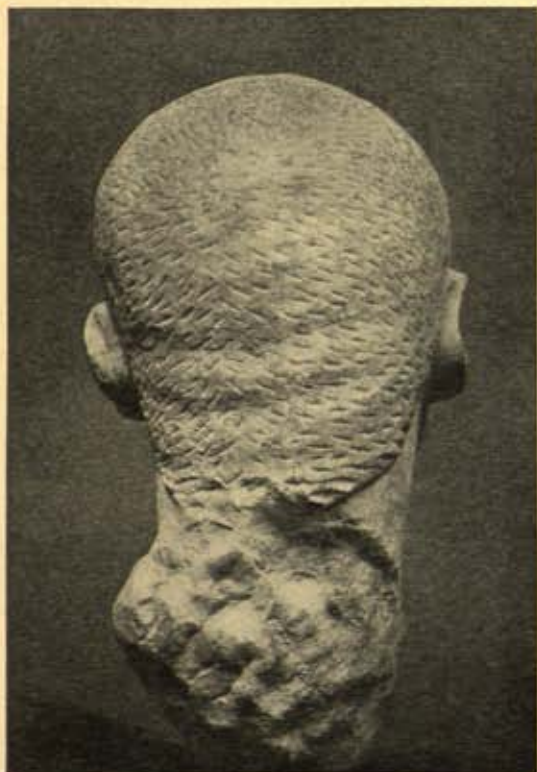


FIG. 3.

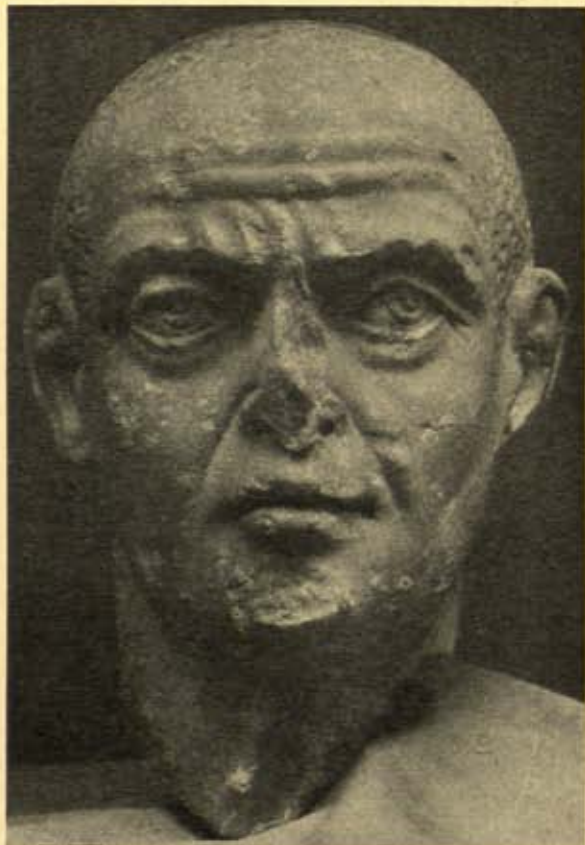


FIG. 4.—KOPF DES TOGATUS IN DER VILLA DORIA-PAMFILI IN ROM.

Aber gibt es—wir bleiben immer beim Untergesicht—eine dem neuen Diokletian verwandtere Formenbehandlung als die des alten Herrn im Metropolitan Museum von New-York mit seiner Wiederholung im roemischen Kunsthandel, Vessberg, *Studien zur roemischen Kunstgeschichte* Taf. LXI., oder ist nicht eine aehnliche Schilderung des Mundes aufgesucht in dem Portraet des alten boesen Mannes im Museo Chiaramonti des Vatikan, Vessberg Taf. LV, Abb. 3, Schweitzer, *Die Bildniskunst der roemischen Republik* Abb. 159, 164? Aber nicht auf einzelne Aehnlichkeiten kommt es an, sondern auf die im Wesentlichen gleiche Struktur des Gesichts, auf seine Begrueundung durch die Betonung der knochigen Teile, auf die Schilderung der darueberliegenden Haut mit ihren weichen Uebergaengen, auf die Praezision der

L'Orange und von Gerkan, *Der spaetantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens* Taf. 43) mit seiner weichen lebendigen Modellierung im Vergleich mit den hieratischen Portraets der Standbilder.—Welche Bereicherung hat die Gallienuszeit durch die zwei vorzueglichen Original-

portraits, das eine im Museo nuovo des Konservatorenpalasts, Mustilli, *Il museo Mussolini* Taf. 69 Abb. 27, das andere im Thermenmuseum, Aurigemma, *Le terme di Diocleziano* Taf. 58, Felletti Maj, *Bull. d'Arte* XXXIII 1949, 101 ff. erfahren.

Charakterisierung der Individualitaet durch den scharf geschnittenen Umriss und die linearplastische Fixierung des Mienenspiels. In zahlreichen anderen Beispielen des republikanischen Portraits waere sie aufzuzeigen.

Nun waere freilich denkbar, dass ein grosser Bildhauer der Tetrarchenzeit von sich aus in eigener Kraft sich zu solchem Verismus der natuerlichen Form im Gegensatz zum Stil seiner Zeit durchgerungen hat. Aber geschichtliche Betrachtung besteht in der Verknuepfung der Erscheinungen. Es bleibt uns also keine andere Folgerung uebrig: Der neue Diokletian ist in bewusster Anlehnung an das republikanische Portrait geschaffen, das seinem Schoepfer in Rom ja in einer Fuelle von Monumenten zugaenglich war.

In einem ganz anderen Zusammenhang aber steht der Kopf als Ganzes und in dem oberen Teil des Gesichts.

Der Kopf als Ganzes besitzt die neue *kubische Koerperlichkeit*, die das Portrait des III. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. so scharf von dem vorausgehenden des II. Jahrhunderts unterscheidet. Noch das Portrait des Septimius Severus ist wie das Antoninische ganz auf die flaechenhafte Gesichtsmaske mit ihrem Rahmen von Haar und Bart anlegt.⁹ Dagegen sucht der grosse Kuenstler des Caracallaportraits, Blumel, *Roemische Bildnisse* R 96 Taf. 60 mit seinen zahlreichen Wiederholungen zum ersten Mal nicht bloss das Gesicht sondern die ganze Schaedel-form in das Blickfeld des Beschauers zu bringen. Er benutzt dazu die energische Wendung des Kopfes nach links. Wenn nachher im Laufe des III. Jahrhunderts das Portrait wie bei Alexander Severus, L'Orange, *Studien* Abb. i, oder wie bei Gordian III, Hekler, *Bildniskunst* Taf. 292 ohne eine solche Wendung rein frontal angelegt wird, so wird doch die aufsteigende Rundung des Schaedels von den Augen ab aufwaerts mit einer Beharrlichkeit zur Darstellung gebracht, die das dahinter wirksame Prinzip erkennen laesst. Nicht die individuelle Charakteristik des Schaedelbaus wird dabei aufgesucht wie im republikanischen Portrait alter Leute, mit seinem Reichtum physiognomischer Absonderlichkeit sondern gewissermassen ein Kubisches an und fuer sich. Die Schaedelkalotte mit ihrem knoechernen Bau ist der physiognomisch unbeweglichste, unveraenderlichste Teil des Kopfes. Nicht etwa besondere Intelligenz sollen diese massigen Schaedel, nicht etwa Gedankenreichtum diese breiten und hohen Stirnen schildern, sondern das 'semper idem', die trotzigte Beharrlichkeit, den innerlich unbewegten Eigensinn der Persoenlichkeit in den Stuermen der Zeit. Diesen setzt auch unser Diokletian mit dem breiten und hohen Rechteck seiner Bauernstirn und dem grossen Volumen seines hinten weit ausgewoelbten Rundkopfes den Bedraengnissen seines Caesarentums entgegen. Aber sein Kuenstler hat es sich nicht nehmen lassen, in die vom Zeitstil vorgeschriebenen Formen eine naturalistische Beobachtung einzutragen, die zarte Woelbung, die das Nackenfett des alten Mannes hinten neben dem linken Ohr verursacht.

Mit dem neuen Umriss der kubischen Ausweitung des Schaedels haengt ein zweites zusammen: Die *Reduktion des Haares zu der flachen Kappe* des III. Jahrh. Haupthaar und Bart gehoeren, um es moeglichst knapp auszudruecken, zum theatralischen Apparat der Persoenlichkeit. Wuerde und Feierlichkeit, Ernst und Gelassenheit, Aufregung und Zorn, Selbstpflege der Persoenlichkeit und ihre Vernachlaessigung, Edles und Gemeines koennen sie ausdruecken. Das griechische Portrait bietet dafor unzaehlige Beispiele. Noch Commodus als Herakles spielt Theater. Im III. Jahrh. ist es mit dieser Art von Theater zu Ende. Nur mit Gallienus erlebt es fuer kurze Zeit eine Auferstehung. Die Gruende hat Alföldi in einer glaenzenden Untersuchung aufgedeckt.¹⁰

Noch Alexander Severus traegt sein Haar in kurzen Locken. Aber dieses hat gar kein Relief mehr. Es ist ungescheitelt und ganz ausdruckslos. Das heisst: sein Ausdruck besteht in Ablehnung des Ausdrucks. So beginnt die neue Nuechternheit des kurz geschnittenen Haares, die das Portrait des Kaisers und des Vornehmen vom gemeinen Soldaten uebernahm. Auch diese Nuechternheit war schon einmal republikanische Tugend gewesen. Viele republikanische Portraits zeigen sie wie etwa der Ehegatte auf dem Grabrelief aus Villa Mattei im

⁹ Zuletzt L'Orange, *Apotheosis in ancient portraiture* 73 ff.

¹⁰ *Fuenfundzwanzig Jahre roemisch-germanische Kommission* 17 ff.

roemischen Thermenmuseum, Vessberg, *Studien* Taf. 38 Abb. 2 oder der andere in der Doppelbueste der Sala dei Busti, Amelung, *Katalog* 11 572 No. 388 Taf. 65, Vessberg Taf. 43 Abb. 3. Aber in der Republik ist die nuechterne flache Haarkappe schlichtes Naturabbild. Im Portraet des III. Jahrh. hingegen hat sie ausserdem noch die Aufgabe den neuen kubischen Vortrag des Schaedelvolumens moeglichst rein zur Geltung zu bringen, ihn gewissermassen zu unterstreichen und seine lineare Abgrenzung zu verstaerken. Nur dadurch, dass die Haar- und Bartmasse ihren plastischen Wert gaenzlich eingebuesst hat und gleichsam nur eine zweite Schaedelhaut wird, kommt das grandiose Formgebirge in dem Portraet in Berlin Kat. No. 32, Bluemel, *Roemische Bildnisse* R 121 Taf. 78/79, L'Orange, *Studien* Abb. 76, 78 zur Erscheinung, das L'Orange, *Studien* 104 wohl richtig auf Constantius Chlorus bestimmt. Schliesslich in dem merkwuerdigen Kopf in Gubbio, L'Orange, *Studien* Abb. 59/60 kommt er so weit, dass gar kein Haar mehr erscheint. Aber da hat gewiss Bemalung nachgeholfen.

Aber obgleich Haar und Bart als Plastik sozusagen annulliert sind, so erhalten sie doch eine neue Aufgabe, drittens, die der *Rauheit der Oberflaeche*. Was wir damit meinen, macht sofort ein Blick auf das Fragment eines Tonmissoriums in Wien, Fuhrmann, *Roem. Mitt.* 55 1940 92 ff. Taf. 11 klar. Erblickt man es zum ersten Mal, so ist einem, man habe es eher mit einem Reibeisen zu tun, als mit der Darstellung einer kaiserlichen Zeremonie. Die Koepfe haben stachlige Haare und Baerte, die Gewaender scheinen nicht aus Tuch, sondern aus Lederriemen geschnitten, die Zweige stechen, das Gitter ist eisernhart. Und das in demselben Material, in dem einmal Perennius Tigrannus und Perennius Bargathus ihre zarten Figuren hingehaucht haben.

Das *greifbar und fuehlbar Rauhe* ist der Grundsatz, in dem im dritten Jahrhundert Haar und Bart durch kurze scharfe Meisselschlaege in die glatte Flaeche eingehauen werden. Mit Maximinus, Hekler Taf. 291 a, L'Orange, *Studien* 3, Balbinus, Marg. Guetschow, 'Das Museum der Praetextat. Katakomben', *Memorie Accad. Pontif.* IV 1938 Taf. XI, XII, Philippus Arabs, L'Orange *Studien* Abb. 5, Hekler Taf. 293 faengt das an, um erst im Konstantinischen einer neuen Ordnung zu weichen. Im Allgemeinen ist die Technik dieser kurzen Strichelung immer dieselbe, im Einzelnen gibt es handwerkliche Unterschiede, bei denen wir nicht verweilen. Am 'Diokletian' sitzen diese Kerblinien im vorderen Teil der Haarkalotte dichter neben einander und sind laenger gefuehrt. Und dies mehr an der linken Seite und in der Mitte des Kopfes. Auf seinem Wirbel und bis in den Nacken herab stehen sie lockerer und sind fluechtiger skizziert. Aber nicht ohne Plan. Sie geben gescheiteltes Haar wieder. Also hat doch nicht alle Ordnung aufgehoert.

Eine Eigentuemlichkeit des neuen 'Diokletian' ist das unrasierte Gesicht. Das Portraet Doria ist rasiert. Bartlos traegt sich auch das neue Bild. Und doch sind in ganz kurzen feinen Strichen die Stoppeln des wieder keimenden Barts eingetragen. Der Stoppelbart beginnt mit den schon angefuhrten Bildern von Maximinus Thrax und Philippus Arabs. Eine besondere Rolle spielt er an dem Portraet des Schauspielers im Kapitulinischen Museum in Rom, stanza dei filosofi 76, *British Catal.* 250 Taf. 59, Hekler Taf. 295a. Das gehoert alles in das Kapitel: Rauheit. Es sind rauhe Zeiten. Der Mensch kann sich nicht mehr so pflegen wie fruher. Beim Diokletian heisst das: Ich hatte keine Zeit, mich rasieren zu lassen. Es ist mir auch ganz gleichgultig.

Zum Rauhen gehoert auch die *lederne Haut*. Stirnfalten, die Arbeit und Sorge dem alternden Gesicht eingraben, gehoeren auch zum republikanischen Portraet, wie schon zu dem noch nicht greisenhaften Buerger des Reliefs von der Via Statilia im Konservatorenpalast in Rom, Vessberg, *Studien* Taf. 28, Abb. 1, Schweitzer, *Bildniskunst* Abb. 110, noch viel mehr zu dem ehrwuerdigen senex. Von vielen Beispielen sei nur an den opfernden Togatus im Museo Chiaramonti des Vatikan, Hekler Taf. 137, Vessberg Taf. 68 Abb. 1, Schweitzer Abb. 96 erinnert. Aber diese Stirnfalten des republikanischen Portraits halten sich, auch wenn sie so stark vorgetragen werden wie an dem grossartigen Portraet in Osimo, Schweitzer Abb. 88 immer an die Reliefflaeche der Stirne, der sie zwar eingegraben sind, die sie aber nicht bestimmen. Sie sind wie Schrunden in der Rinde eines alten Baumes. Sie sind zwar die Folge von Affekten, aber sie sind stabil, sie tragen keinen Affekt vor, sie sind passiv. Einige

interessante Ausnahmen uebergehe ich hier. Aber es ist mir immer merkwuerdig erschienen, dass die Kaiser Antonius Pius, Marc Aurel, ja sogar noch Septimius Severus, die doch schon wahrhaft sorgenvolle Zeiten zu tragen hatten, mit glatten Stirnen auftreten. Das war offenbar klassizistisches Programm.

Das aendert sich zum ersten Mal mit dem fruher schon herangezogenen Portraet des Caracalla. Und zwar sind hier die Falten der stark durchmodellierten Stirn nicht Falten des Alters, sondern des Affekts. Der aufsteigende Argwohn des misstrauischen Willensmenschen runzelt die Stirne im Zorne.

Die *lederne Haut*, wie wir sie nennen, bestimmt zum ersten Mal das Portraet des Trajanus Decius im Kapitolinischen Museum, *British Catal.*, Sala dei imp. No. 70, Taf. 50; *Antike* 2, 1926, Taf. 6; L'Orange, *Studien* Abb. 2. Ein dreifaches Neues wird hier sichtbar. Die Stirnfalten sind nicht wie im Portraet der Republik ein aeusseres objektives Merkmal der Physiognomie, das den uebrigen Teilen des Bildes gleichwertig ist, sondern sie sind einer der Hauptbestandteile der Schilderung. Daher liegen sie nicht mehr als bloss eingezeichnete Linien auf der Oberflaeche, deren Helligkeit bestehen bleibt, sondern in der Uebertreibung der tief eingegrabenen Furchen dominieren die Schatten und zerreißen die Flaeche.

Zweitens. Dieses Mienenspiel vollzieht sich nicht mehr auf der Buehne einer leicht beweglichen Haut, sondern diese ist eigentuemlich dick, ledern geworden, schwer beweglich und leistet einen gewissen Widerstand.

Drittens. Dieser Widerstand eben wird dargestellt. Und zwar nicht wie in dem Bild des Caracalla als momentaner Affekt, sondern als ein dauernder Ausdruck des Kampfes des Individuums um seine Behauptung, als Ausdruck seiner Lebensangst. Die faltigen sorgenvollen Gesichter der Republik behalten immer ihre 'klassische' souveraeene Ruhe. Im Deciusportraet aber ist die innere Unsicherheit und Unruhe dargestellt nicht in einer einmaligen Erregung, sondern als *Prozess*, der dieses Gesicht nie mehr verlassen wird. Dieser Prozess eben zeigt sich in der flackernden Gegensaeztlichkeit zwischen den tiefen Schatten und den hellen Lichtern des Gesichts, die Guido von Kaschnitz impressionistisch nennt (*Antike* a.a.O. 44). Bleibt man sich der tiefen Unterschiede zwischen antikem und modernem Portraet bewusst, dann kann man diesen Hilfsausdruck zur Verstaendlichmachung des Stilwandels gelten lassen.

Wir ueberspringen mehrere Zwischenglieder, um die besondere Stellung, die der neue 'Diokletian' in diesem Stilwandel einnimmt, noch schaefer zu bestimmen. Er liegt naemlich genau auf der Linie, wo die Darstellung des 'Prozesses', wie wir sie nannten, aufhoert und die neue Aeternisierung des Portraets beginnt. Der Diokletian Doria gehoert in seiner harten Unbeweglichkeit schon der 'Aeternisierung' ¹¹ an. Aber er bewahrt noch aus der vorhergehenden Epoche die Stirnfalten der Lederhaut, die in anderen Werken der Tetrarchie, wie an den Porphyrstaturen der Markuskirche in Venedig, L'Orange, *Studien* Abb. 32, 34, an der Porphyrgruppe im Vatikan, L'Orange Abb. 33, 34, an dem 'Maximinus Daza' in Kairo, L'Orange Abb. 42, an dem Portraet in Kopenhagen *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* No. 25, L'Orange Abb. 66, ein unverkennbares Charakteristikum des Stils sind. Die Stirnfalten der Lederhaut leben auch noch lange weiter. Aber wenn man das Kolossalportraet Konstantin des Grossen und den kolossalen Bronzekopf im Konservatorenpalast No. 87, den Rumpf, *Roem. Mitt.* 1927, 248 als Constantius II, bestimmt hat, in den Abbildungen bei L'Orange 163, 164 betrachtet, dann findet man sie verschwunden. Zu der neuen Monumentalisierung des Kaiserportraets gehoert entweder eine glatte Stirn, oder diese wird hinter dem herabgelassenen Vorhang der Stirnlocken wie ebenso am Bronzekoloss in Barletta, Lehmann-Hartleben-Kluge, *Grossbronzen* III. Taf. 18, *Antike Denkm.* III Taf. 21 versteckt. Der Kaiser lebt jenseits des zeitlich-menschlichen seelischen Konflikts. An ihm wird kein Prozess mehr, der diesen darstellt, geschildert.

Unser Diokletian aber stellt noch diesen Prozess des Ringens der Persoenlichkeit mit sich und der Welt dar. Er befindet sich mitten in ihm. Das ist das Ergreifende dieses

¹¹ Der Ausdruck 'Aeternisierung' fruher einmal 241. Dazu Schweitzer, *Bildnis Kunst* 110. angewandt auf das Caesarportraet, *Roem. Mitt.* 47, 1942.

Portraits. Dem eigensinnigen Mann, dessen sich verhaertende Alterszuege mit der naturalistischen Eindringlichkeit des republikanischen Stils geschildert sind, hat der Lebenskampf so viele Falten in die Lederhaut der Stirne eingegraben, dass sie sich nie mehr glaetten werden. Sie verhaengen die Stirne wie eine dauernde Girlande. Und die plastisch herausspringenden Augenbrauen, die zu der 'rauen' Oberflaeche gehoeren, sind wie ein Kelch des Leidens.

Aber impressionistische Kunst wie die des Decius ist das nicht mehr. Statt jener fluktuierenden Gegensatzte von Licht und Schatten im Gesicht, hat die Linie eine neue Macht gewonnen, die tiefen Schatten dort sind aufgehellt, der seelische Prozess spielt sich ganz im Lichten ab.

Und nun spielt das Auge eine ganz neue Rolle. Dort lag es tief. Hier liegt es ganz vorne. Dort spaechte es aengstlich in die Zukunft, was sie noch Schreckliches bringen mag. Hier weicht es der Gegenwart, ja ueberhaupt dem Beschauer aus und blickt nach oben.

Die 'pupillarisches Sicherheit', wie sie einmal Bismarck im Gesicht des Ministers Miquel vermisste, geht dem antiken Portraet in der Zeit des Gallienus verloren. Da erscheinen zum erstenmal diese etwas falsch nach der Seite spaechenden Mienen, als ob da irgend ein Feind lauere, wie in den vorher S. 51 Anm. angefuhrten Portraits im Thermenmuseum und im neuen Museum des Konservatorenpalasts in Rom. Alfoeldi hat zuerst auf die allmaechliche Aenderung der Blickrichtung des Portraits im III. Jahrh. n. Chr. auf die Geschichte des 'ἀτενίζειν', des 'lumina in altum tendere' aufmerksam gemacht.¹² Das ist anfangs ein allgemein schwaermerisches, melancholisches ueber die Welt hinweg in die Ferne Blicken wie bei dem Gordian III. im roemischen Thermenmuseum Hekler Taf. 292, Paribeni, *il ritratto nell'arte antica* Taf. 300, dem Philippus Arabs des Vatikans, Hekler Taf. 293 und bei dem Gallienus des Thermenmuseums Paribeni Taf. 324, der nur eine Replik des gleichen Typus ist wie der des Musco Torlonia, L'Orange, *Studien* 5 Abb. 9/10. Aber an dem neuen 'Diokletian' ist der Blick nicht mehr ins Allgemeine verschwaermt und verflort, sondern hier zum erstenmal wendet er sich bestimmt ab von der Welt gegen Himmel und sucht Verbindung mit einer neuen Transcendenz der mystischen Goettlichkeit der Majestaet.¹³

Es erhebt sich die Frage, ob wir nicht noch andere Denkmaeler besitzen, die wie der neue 'Diokletian' genau an dieser Grenzscheide der Zeiten stehen. Zu diesen gehoert zuerst das ausgezeichnete Portraet eines Unbekannten im Museum in Sabratha, *Arch. Anz.* 1941 729/30 Abb. 170/71, das schon Fuhrmann der Tetrarchie zugewiesen hat. Kubische Ausweitung und schaarfste lineare Abgrenzung der Schaedelform, Modellierung im Hellen der vereinfachten Flaechen, Konzentrierung des Ausdrucks in zeichnerisch so stark hervorgehobenen Partien von Augen und Mund, Treffsicherheit in der Charakterisierung des Gesichts mit seinen ungleichen Haelften und den verschieden hoch sitzenden Augen mit so wenigen Mitteln. Vergleicht man dieses Portraet mit dem 'Diokletian', so findet man, dass es einer gleichzeitigen Schule angehoeert, der jedoch das Studium republikanischer Vorbilder fehlte. Aber zwei Eigenschaften hat es mit dem Kaiserbildnis gemein, die individuelle Bewegung des Kopfes nach einer Seite und in den Nacken und die Lebendigkeit des noch nicht erstarrten Mienenspiels, die wir als 'Prozess' bezeichneten.

Naeher an unseren 'Diokletian' heran kommen wir mit dem Portraet der Sarkophagfigur des liegenden Archigallus von der Isola Sacra im Museum von Ostia, Calza, *La necropoli del porto di Roma* 205 ff. Abb. 108 f. (Abb. 5). Calza hat diesen schon der zweiten Haelfte des III. Jahrhunderts zugeteilt. Jetzt wird man seine Zeit noch schaarfer als diokletianisch bestimmen koennen. Schon der allgemeine Umriss des breit gebauten Gesichts ist in seiner linearen Anlage dem Bild des Kaisers verwandt. Aehnliche Haupteinteilungen des Gesichts sind herausgearbeitet, aehnlich, gewiss nicht gleich, ist die Behandlung des Auges mit seinen Traensackchen und den aufwaerts geschwungenen Brauenboegen. Aber das ist noch nicht das Wesentliche. Sondern das Wesentliche ist die gleiche in zart gleitenden Uebergaengen durchgefuehrte naturalistische Behandlung der Oberflaeche des Gesichts, die wir fuer den 'Diokletian' auf das Studium republikanischer Vorbilder zurueckgefuehrt haben. Und nun

¹² Fuenfundzwanzig Jahre 42 ff.

¹³ Siehe die beruehmt gewordenen Darlegungen von

Alfoeldi, *Roen. Mitt.* 50, 1935, 3 ff.

erscheint zur Bestaetigung dieser Behauptung am Archigallus im Gegensatz zum Zeitstil des flachen gepickten rauhen Haars eine Wiedergabe des Haars in kleinen praezis gearbeiteten kurzen Locken, die es ein paar Jahrhunderte lang nicht mehr gegeben hat, und die nur von



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

Portraits der Republik entlehnt sein kann wie etwa von Grabreliefs bei Vessberg, *Studien* Taf. 30 Abb. 1 und 2 oder von dem Komoediendichter im Vatikan, Amelung, *Katalog* 11. Taf. 54 No. 390, Schweitzer, *Bildnis-Kunst* Abb. 122.

Fuer den seelischen Gehalt aber des Diokletianportraits, fuer den in ihm dargestellten 'Prozess' gibt es die grossartigste Parallele auf einem anderen diokletianischen Denkmal, naemlich auf dem Relief des von einem roemischen Soldaten begleiteten Gefangenen auf dem Sockel eines Triumphsbogen im Boboligarten in Florenz. Kachler hat es in seiner aus-

gezeichneten Behandlung¹⁴ des Denkmals im 86. *Berl. Winckelmannsprogramm* 1936, 26 wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass dieses von dem Arcus Novus an der Via lata in Rom stammt, der 294 n. Chr. errichtet wurde. Auf diesem Relief, Kaehler Taf. 6 und Abb. 7 erscheint zuerst in dem roemischen Soldaten ein Gesicht, das zugleich in seiner Haerte aber zugleich auch in der Weichheit seiner Modellierung unserem Diokletian nahe verwandt ist. Der Ausdruck von schmerzlicher Geknicktheit in den schon starren Zuegen des Gefangenen kommt aus dem gleichen kuenstlerischen Geiste wie die Schilderung des Diokletian mit ihren inneren Widerspruechen.

Gleichsam nur im Voruebergehen benutze ich die Gelegenheit, um der Kunst der Tetrarchie ein Denkmal zuzuweisen, das bisher an falscher Stelle eingereiht worden ist. Die prachtvolle kleine Bueste aus Chalcedon, die sich frueher in der Sammlung des Grafen Tyszkiewicz befand, jetzt zu den Schaetzen des Fine Arts Museum in Boston gehoert, haben naemlich zuerst Robinson und nachher Furtwaengler, *Antike Gemmen* III. 335 Abb. 180/81 dem ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr. zugewiesen (Abb. 6). Aber wenn sie in dieses gehoeren sollte, so waere wegen der breiten Schultern der Buestenform¹⁵ nur das Zeitalter der Flavier fuer sie moeglich. Aber dahin wird das gaenzlich unmalerische behandelte Portraet niemand setzen wollen. In die erste Kaiserzeit kann es auch nicht gehoeren. Indes, es spricht deutlich genug. Das so scharf linear unrissene Gesicht mit den starren weit aufgerissenen Augen, den Falten der Lederhaut auf der Stirn und dem gespannten Ausdruck der Miene kann nur in das Ende des III. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. gehoeren. Wenn es bisher in seiner kunstgeschichtlichen Stellung verkannt wurde, so liegt das an seinem Naturalismus. Aber dessen Herkunft hat sich fuer das Diokletianportraet jetzt aufgeklaert. Die Mundbildung, das ganze Untergesicht der Chalcedonbueste stehen nahe bei dem Kaiserportraet. Auch ihr Meister ist bei Vorbildern der Republik in die Schule gegangen. Die Chlamys aber, welche die Bueste traegt mit ihren eng nebeneinander gereihten Falten und dem kleinen Knopf auf der rechten Schulter, ist von der Draperie, die irgend ein Kaiserportraet des I. oder II. Jahrhunderts traegt, gaenzlich verschieden. Wohl aber kehrt sie wieder auf jenem Relief des Arcus Novus im Boboligarten, Kaehler a.a.O. Taf. 6.

Blicken wir nochmal auf unser Portraet zurueck. Deutlicher, anschaulicher als die literarische Ueberlieferung vergegenwaertigt es uns die grosse Persoenlichkeit des Neuordners des Reichs. 245 n. Chr. war er geboren. Das Portraet zeigt ihn als Sechziger, wahrscheinlich kurz vor der Abdankung. Der nach allen Seiten runde maechtige Schaedel umschliesst eine reiche, gesunde ausgewogene Gehirnmasse. Die hohe und breite Stirn offenbart eine hohe Intelligenz, der sich das ganze uebrige Gesicht unterordnet, und, wie sie leise zurueckflieht, ist sie nicht ohne Phantasie. Aber sie ist eigensinnig wie eine Mauer, und die Einbuchtungen an den Schlaefen machen sie enge. Das ist die Stirne des rationalistischen Theoretikers, der an die Allmacht seiner Gesetzgebung und der von ihm neu geschaffenen Buerokratie glaubte. Alles ist Wille in dem muskuloesen Gesicht mit dem scharfen Kinn und den vorgeschobenen zusammengepressten schmalen Lippen des Geizigen, der so genau rechnete und das Geldwesen neu regulierte. Im Profil nach rechts hat der Blick jenes hochmuetige Hinwegsehen ueber die Welt, wie es so leicht zur Menschenverachtung der Gewaltnaturen in der Geschichte gehoert. Aber noch einmal ist dieser spaete dalmatinische Soldat, an dem kein musischer Zug sichtbar ist, ein echter Roemer. Wir wissen nicht, ob von ihm befohlen oder ihm unbewusst: sein Bild ist den Grossen des letzten Jahrhunderts der Freiheit angenaehert. Aber, was keiner von diesen sich erlaubt hat, zu zeigen, Regierung und Alter haben diesen Neuschoepper des Reichs muede gemacht, und seine Resignation, wie sie so schmerzlich das Profil nach links zeigt, fluechtet sich in die weltferne Erhabenheit des Jovius und in die Selbstueberwindung der freiwilligen Abdankung, die er in der Geschichte nur mit Sulla und Karl V. gemein hat.

Rom.

LUDWIG CURTIUS.

¹⁴ Die Platten mit der Victoria und dem Palmbaum und die des Barbaren im haengenden Pelzmantel halte ich mit Sieveking, *Roem. Mitt.* LII, 1937, 74 ff., fuer Arbeiten der

Renaissance.

¹⁵ Uebersicht der Buestenformen von Hekler, *Oesterreich. Jahresh.* 21. 22, 1922/24 186 ff.

LE PEINTRE D'ALTAMURA AU MUSÉE DE LYON

[PLATES XXV-XXVII]

Le Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon possède deux vases dus au Peintre d'Altamura, les Nos. 18 et 37 de la liste des *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. En souvenir de la visite faite à Lyon, en 1947, par Sir John Beazley, je voudrais publier ici ces documents en les accompagnant de quelques brèves observations.

Cratère en calice. Haut.: 0 m. 258. N° d'entrée: E 120 (acheté à Rollin et Feuardenet en 1882; payé 800 fr.).—*ARV*, p. 413/18 (Pl. XXV, XXVI et fig. 1).

Vase reconstitué de plusieurs morceaux; quelques repeints peu importants. Lignes noires en relief; points et lignes brun clair, en particulier sur le chiton de Déméter. Rouge mat presque entièrement effacé pour représenter le bouquet d'épis de Triptolème, ainsi que les flammes de la torche de Déméter et de celle que la ménade tient de la main droite; la torche qu'elle tient de la main gauche et la torche de Coré ne semblent pas avoir de flammes.

Intérieur et dessous des anses réservés. A l'intérieur du vase, vernis noir sauf une ligne réservée correspondant au ressaut placé à l'extérieur entre la guirlande de lierre et la zone à figures.

Autour de l'orifice, guirlande de lierre. Sur la face A, départ de Triptolème: le héros, couronné de myrte, est assis sur un trône roulant ailé; il tient de la main gauche un sceptre et un bouquet d'épis; de la droite il tend une phiale à Déméter. La déesse, vêtue d'un long chiton et portant sur les épaules une draperie retombante, tient d'une main une oenochoé, de l'autre une torche. Derrière Triptolème Coré, vêtue d'un chiton et d'un himation, porte aussi d'une main une oenochoé, de l'autre une torche. Sur la face B, satyre poursuivant une ménade: la ménade, vêtue d'un long chiton à repli et d'une peau de bête tachetée, tient une torche de chaque main; le satyre porte un thyrsos de la main droite et sur le bras gauche une peau de bête tachetée. Sur les côtés, au dessus des anses, ornement formé de palmettes et de rinceaux. Au dessous de la zone à figures, rangée d'oves. Au haut et autour du pied, un filet et deux bandes réservés.

Stamnos. Haut.: 0 m. 375. N° d'entrée: E 382 (acheté à Feuardenet en 1897).—*ARV*, p. 414/37 (Pl. XXV, XXVII et fig. 2).

Quelques repeints peu importants. Noir tournant au brun sur la face A; quelques lignes noires en relief sur la face B, en particulier pour les cordes des lyres; brun clair pour les tresses des chevelures. Rouge mat très effacé pour les bandelettes offertes par les Nikés et la bandelette qui entoure la tête de la Niké de droite.

Intérieur et dessous des anses réservés. A l'intérieur du vase, vernis noir.

Autour de la lèvre, suite d'oves. Sur l'épaule, autour de l'attache du col, suite de petites languettes. Sur la face A, citharède couronné de myrte, portant une longue tunique à large bordure noire, monté sur une petite estrade et jouant de la cithare: il tient la cithare de la main gauche et le plectre de la main droite; une longue écharpe pend de l'instrument. De part et d'autre, Niké ailée, vêtue du chiton et de l'himation, s'avancant en tenant une bandelette. Sur la face B, homme barbu, vêtu d'un himation et tenant un aulos, donnant ses instructions à quatre jeunes gens drapés qui portent chacun une lyre. De chaque côté des anses, protubérance saillante; sur les côtés, au dessus et au dessous des anses, ornement formé de palmettes et de rinceaux. Au dessous de la zone à figures, méandre interrompu de place en place par un carré contenant un X. A la jonction de la panse et du pied et autour du pied, deux filets et une bande réservés.

Le premier de ces vases illustre des scènes mythologiques, le second, malgré les figures de Niké, des scènes de la vie réelle. Ils représentent donc les deux sources d'inspiration de l'imagerie céramique.

I

Sur le cratère la face principale évoque le départ de Triptolème. L'oeuvre du Peintre d'Altamura, telle qu'elle est reconstituée par Beazley, compte cinq exemples de ce sujet (Nos. 1, 10, 11, 17, 18), celle du Peintre des Niobides en compte huit (Nos. 15, 22, 27, 29, 32, 43, 48, 65); ces nombres montrent la faveur dont jouit, chez ces deux artistes à peu près contemporains, le jeune prince éleusinien. J'ai essayé de retracer ailleurs¹ l'évolution du thème de la mission

¹ *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*, 1950, p. 7 suiv. Niobides cf. dans mon catalogue les Nos. 46-50 et 51-58. Pour les vases du Peintre d'Altamura et du Peintre des Niobides, le cratère de Lyon est le N° 50.

de Triptolème en montrant comment, dans le second quart du Vème siècle, l'aspect mystique de la mission tend progressivement à l'emporter sur son aspect agraire et 'culturel'. Ici Triptolème porte bien, associé au sceptre, un bouquet d'épis, mais l'attention est principalement appelée sur le geste de la phiale tendue, que va emplir Déméter. C'est au rite de l'absorption du kykéon, rite qui constituait sans doute l'essentiel de l'initiation préalable,² que s'est avant tout intéressé l'imagier.

Le revers du cratère est occupé par une scène plus simple: un satyre poursuivant une ménade. Ce sujet se retrouve également à plusieurs reprises dans l'oeuvre du Peintre d'Altamura. Sur un cratère de Vienne³ la ménade, qui tient aussi une torche de chaque main, se retourne dans sa course avec le même mouvement, et la draperie se gonfle de la même manière, mais c'est un moment ultérieur de la poursuite qui est fixé, celui où le satyre a saisi la ménade par le bras et, agenouillé, essaie de la retenir. En revanche, le nu du satyre offre beaucoup de ressemblance dans les deux cratères de Vienne et de Lyon; le grand dentelé, le contour de la cage thoracique, une des intersections aponévrotiques en travers de l'abdomen sont notés avec une égale précision; on remarquera aussi l'affinité qu'offrent respectivement les têtes aussi bien des deux ménades que des deux satyres, surtout si on compare au satyre de Lyon non seulement le satyre représenté sur le revers du cratère de Vienne mais aussi le satyre musicien de sa face principale. D'ailleurs, l'analogie des deux vases ne se limite pas au dessin de certaines figures: elle s'étend à la conception d'ensemble; sur tous deux la face principale présente un épisode mythologique à trois personnages (retour d'Héphaistos sur le vase de Vienne), le revers le même thème de la poursuite de la ménade avec deux personnages. C'est encore la même ordonnance que nous retrouvons sur le cratère en calice Gallatin.⁴

La ménade et le satyre portent chacun une peau de panthère, accessoire qui appartient à l'accoutrement habituel du cortège dionysiaque, mais n'en ajoute pas moins à la scène une note pittoresque. La même dépouille tachetée de gros points noirs serrés est attribuée au Dionysos et à la ménade de l'oenochoe de Bologne,⁵ ainsi qu'à la ménade de l'amphore de Philadelphie.⁶

La décoration du cratère de Lyon est complétée par des motifs végétaux autour de l'embouchure et sur les côtés, motifs dont les vases contemporains nous offrent aussi des exemples. La même guirlande de lierre se retrouve autour du col de l'amphore de Ménélas et d'Hélène⁷ et



FIG. 1.—CRATÈRE DE LYON.

² Cf. P. Roussel, *BCH*, 1930, p. 67 suiv.; Kourouniotis, *Arch. Eph.*, 1937, p. 226 suiv.

³ Von Lücken, *Griech. Vasenbilder*, pl. 106-107; *ARV*, p. 413/15.

⁴ *CVA*, *Fogg Museum and Gallatin coll.*, pl. 56/2; *ARV*, p. 413/14.

⁵ Pellegrini, *Vasi Felsinei*, p. 171; *ARV*, p. 415/51.

⁶ *Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania*, VIII (1917), p. 24; *ARV*, p. 415/39.

⁷ *CVA*, *British Museum* /3, pl. 6/2 (E 263); *ARV*, p. 416 (atelier du Peintre d'Altamura).

de plusieurs stamnoi d'Hermonax⁸; mais, alors que, sur ces vases, la tige principale porte des feuilles de part et d'autre, elle n'en porte que d'un côté sur le cratère de Lyon, et les petites tiges intermédiaires n'y ont elles-mêmes ni feuilles ni baies; le motif est simplifié pour mieux s'adapter à la bande étroite qu'il est chargé d'orner. Quant au décor de palmettes placé au-dessus des anses, décor dont une caractéristique est d'être porté par une tige implantée entre les deux attaches de l'anse (fig. 1), des variantes nous en sont connues, dès la fin du style sévère, par le cratère Tyskiewicz du Musée de Boston.⁹ Dans l'oeuvre du Peintre d'Altamura ou de son groupe on en rapprochera particulièrement un autre cratère de Boston attribué au Peintre de Froehner¹⁰; mais, sur le vase de Lyon, l'ornement est plus simple que sur ceux de Boston et ne comporte que deux, au lieu de trois ou quatre palmettes.

II

Les deux faces du stamnos sont consacrées à des scènes musicales. Sur la face A le citharède se tient debout sur la petite estrade en usage dans les compétitions de ce genre; la grande cithare, d'où pend la draperie destinée à envelopper les cordes, est appuyée contre son épaule, et il projette le plectre d'un geste vigoureux, comme s'il venait de conclure son morceau par un accord sonore. A cet accord final les deux Nikés répondent en se précipitant vers lui, soulevées d'enthousiasme, et en lui apportant les bandelettes du triomphateur. De ce couronnement du citharède l'oeuvre du Peintre d'Altamura nous offre au moins deux autres exemples: sur le col d'un cratère à volutes de Ferrare¹¹ il se voit à peu près pareil, la principale différence étant que le citharède n'est pas exhaussé sur une estrade. Sur un cratère en calice de Leningrad¹² le citharède, qui est un homme âgé, présente son instrument de face et a fini de jouer; en outre, des deux Nikés, qui accourent toujours de part et d'autre, l'une tient la bandelette, tandis qu'àux mains de l'autre elle est remplacée par des phiales.

La forme donnée à la représentation: couronnement du citharède par deux Nikés, est probablement inspirée des convenances décoratives, désir de donner plus d'ampleur à la scène et goût des arrangements symétriques; elle n'est d'ailleurs pas particulière au Peintre d'Altamura: nous la retrouvons, par exemple, sur deux vases de Florence.¹³

Le vêtement du citharède est caractéristique. Il ne se décompose pas en deux pièces, comme on en a l'impression au premier abord; c'est une longue tunique, formée par une pièce d'étoffe dont les bords, marqués par une large bande noire, sont cousus sur les côtés en laissant une ouverture dans le haut pour donner passage aux bras. Ce costume est porté, sur le cratère à volutes de Ferrare, non seulement par le citharède du col mais encore par l'aulète du revers,¹⁴ avec cette variante que, dans le vêtement de l'aulète, les petits cercles sont remplacés par des losanges (il est impossible, d'après la reproduction, d'apprécier comment est orné le vêtement du citharède du col). Sur une oenochoé de Bologne, représentant l'armement de Dionysos et due, elle aussi, au Peintre d'Altamura,¹⁵ la ménade de gauche porte un habillement du même genre, complété par une peau de panthère. D'autres imagiers de la même période ont donné à leurs musiciens des costumes de forme analogue, mais comportant des façons différentes d'aménager le passage des bras, jusqu'à en faire, comme sur le cratère de Pandora au British Museum, une véritable manche longue.¹⁶ Nous avons affaire, dans ces divers cas, à

⁸ Hoppin, *Red-fig. Handbook*, II, p. 21, 23, 25; *ARV*, p. 317/5, 317/4, 317/1. Cf. plus anciennement le cratère de Berlin Pfuhl, fig. 396; *ARV*, p. 16/4 (Euphronios), où le motif est exécuté en figure noire.

⁹ Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 62; *ARV*, p. 185/1.

¹⁰ Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 61 b; *ARV*, p. 417/2.

¹¹ Aurigemma, *Museo di Spina* (1ère éd.), p. 151; *ARV*, p. 412/2.

¹² C.-R. de Saint-Petersbourg, atlas, 1875, pl. 5, fig. 4-5; *ARV*, p. 413/13.

¹³ Cratère à colonnettes attribué au Peintre de Leningrad: *CVA/2*, pl. 36/5 et 44/1; *ARV*, p. 374/26, et stamnos attribué au groupe de Polygnotos: *CVA/2*, pl. 48/6 et 56/3; *ARV*, p. 695/5.

¹⁴ *Museo di Spina* (1ère éd.), p. 153.

¹⁵ Vasi Felsinei, p. 171; *ARV*, p. 415/51. Cf. aussi l'amphore de Leningrad: C.-R. de Saint-Petersbourg, 1875, p. 66; *ARV*, p. 133/23 (Peintre de Berlin).

¹⁶ E 467: Webster, *Niobidenmaler*, pl. 14; *ARV*, p. 420/21 (Peintre des Niobides). Cf. aussi les aulètes de la coupe de New York attribuée au Peintre de Briséis: Richter-Hall, *New York red-fig. Vases*, No 51, pl. 48; *ARV*, p. 267/10. Sur le cratère de Baltimore: *CVA*, Robinson coll. 2, pl. 33, le vêtement du citharède représente la transition entre la manche complètement façonnée et la simple ouverture pour le passage des bras.—Pour un vêtement court, taillé différemment mais orné de manière semblable, cf. le stamnos de Florence visé n. 13.

une sorte de costume professionnel admettant diverses variétés, mais dont la bande noire verticale reste un élément essentiel, une tenue correspondant à peu près au frac actuel. Le port n'en était certainement pas obligatoire, du moins en dehors des circonstances officielles,¹⁷ mais les musiciens aimaient sans doute le revêtir non seulement pour paraître dans les compétitions publiques, mais encore pour exercer quotidiennement leur métier, lorsqu'ils dirigeaient un chœur de danse ou rythmaient les exercices athlétiques des jeunes gens.¹⁸ Plus anciennement, au VI^{ème} siècle, c'est la longue tunique blanche qui était portée dans les mêmes circonstances.¹⁹

Le revers du stamnos illustre une répétition préparatoire à une exécution solennelle. Au milieu le maître, un homme adulte, paraît donner des explications à quatre jeunes gens; de ceux-ci trois viennent de jouer ou sont sur le point d'attaquer leur morceau; le quatrième se repose en écoutant. Le maître tient un aulos au moyen duquel il doit sans doute donner le ton et diriger sa petite troupe. Les cinq personnages, drapés dans leur himation, portent la tenue courante: c'est qu'il s'agit simplement d'exercices. Aussi les jeunes gens ont-ils pris des lyres, instrument plus maniable que la cithare, réservée pour la séance publique.

L'imagerie céramique a représenté à plusieurs reprises le thème de la leçon de musique,²⁰ mais ce ne sont pas ici des enfants et nous ne sommes pas à l'école. Nous avons affaire à une séance d'entraînement dans laquelle les musiciens se préparent à une exécution d'ensemble. Les jeunes gens suivent attentivement les observations du maître et celui-ci, cessant de les guider avec l'aulos, leur fait sans doute étudier un passage dont, de la main comme de la voix, il rectifie ou nuance l'exécution.²¹ L'image n'est donc pas banale; en nous montrant une répétition de musique d'ensemble, elle nous présente un aspect peu connu de la vie athénienne.

A ma connaissance l'image qui s'en rapproche le plus est celle d'une coupe de Bologne, appartenant à la même période, sur laquelle se voient des musiciennes, jouant les unes de l'aulos, les autres de la lyre ou du barbitos.²² A l'extérieur, sur l'une des faces, se trouve réuni un orchestre dont la composition est semblable à celle de l'orchestre du stamnos de Lyon: quatre femmes ont la lyre ou le barbitos, une l'aulos, et cette dernière paraît incontestablement diriger les autres. Une main tenant l'aulos, l'autre levée, elle donne des directives à ses



FIG. 2.—STAMNOS DE LYON.

¹⁷ Voir, par exemple, le cratère en calice de Leningrad visé n. 12 ou le cratère à colonnettes de Florence visé n. 13.

¹⁸ Sur cet aspect de l'activité de l'aulète cf. P. Girard, *Education athénienne*, p. 191-194.

¹⁹ Cf., par exemple, les amphores du British Museum CVA/4, pl. 61/4, ou du Louvre CVA/5, pl. 55/3. Cette tunique blanche est aussi souvent portée par Apollon citharède.

²⁰ Cf., par exemple, P. Girard, *Education athénienne*, p. 103-111 et 171-173.

²¹ Comparer pour le mouvement de la main la coupe de Macron: P. Girard, *Education athénienne*, p. 171; ARV, p. 309/136.

²² Gerhard, *Auserles griech. Vasenb.*, pl. 305-306; ARV, p. 547/9 (Peintre de Louvre G 456).

compagnes, s'adressant à l'une d'elles avec une particulière vivacité. Nous avons là la contre-partie féminine de la scène de notre stamnos.

Comme pour le cratère, la paroi est occupée autour de l'anse par un ornement formé de palmettes (fig. 2). Un arrangement très voisin se retrouve sur le stamnos de Boston attribué à un artiste tout proche du Peintre d'Altamura, le Peintre de Blenheim.²³ De part et d'autre des anses une protubérance allongée, placée dans l'axe du vase, rappelle certaines dispositions de la technique métallique. Ces mêmes demi-rouleaux en saillie se voient sur le stamnos du Peintre de Blenheim, et on les retrouve également, par exemple, sur des poteries de type semblable de Smicros et d'Hermonax.²⁴

Les deux vases de Lyon sont de bons représentants de la manière du Peintre d'Altamura. L'art de ce peintre est un peu solennel, empreint, comme celui du Peintre des Niobides, d'une gravité exceptionnelle. Mais cet aspect austère, cette sévérité sont compensés par l'originalité et le soin avec lesquels sont élaborés et exécutés ses tableaux. Sur le cratère la scène du revers est banale, mais le départ de Triptolème appartient à cette imagerie religieuse qui transforme le caractère du thème en accentuant le rôle mystique du jeune héros. Sur le stamnos l'introduction de figures allégoriques dans une scène de la vie quotidienne d'une part, de l'autre le choix d'un épisode très spécial du travail musical relèvent l'attrait de sujets, en eux-mêmes assez communs. Comme le Peintre des Niobides, le Peintre d'Altamura s'intéresse au contenu des scènes qu'il illustre, tâche d'en faire ressortir la valeur poétique, en donne une interprétation à lui. Nous nous en rendons compte ailleurs par ses représentations de thèmes dionysiaques : le cratère en cloche et le cratère à volutes de Ferrare avec Zeus et le petit Dionysos,²⁵ le cratère de Léningrad ou l'oenochoé de Bologne avec l'armement de Dionysos²⁶ nous offrent des sujets rares, de conception personnelle. Sans être des créations du même ordre, les vases de Lyon n'en apportent pas moins un complément notable à notre connaissance du Peintre d'Altamura.²⁷

CHARLES DUGAS.

Lyon, Décembre 1949.

²³ Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 99 a; *ARV*, p. 417/4. Rapprocher aussi les stamnos du Peintre de l'oenochoé de Yale: Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 98 a et 98 b; *ARV*, p. 329/7 et 328/1. L'ensemble du motif y est ordonné suivant le même principe.

²⁴ Smicros: Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 92 a et 92 b; *ARV*, p. 20/3 et 20/1; Hermonax: Hoppin, *Red-fig. Handbook*, II, p. 21 et 25; *ARV*, p. 317/5 et 317/1.

²⁵ *Museo di Spina* (1ère éd.), p. 147 et 149; *ARV*, p. 414/32;—*Museo di Spina* (1ère éd.), p. 151; *ARV*, p. 412/2.

²⁶ *C.-R. de Saint Pétersbourg*, atlas, 1867, pl. 4-5; *ARV*, p. 413/12;—*Vasi Felsinei*, p. 171; *ARV*, p. 415/51.

²⁷ Je remercie vivement M. le Professeur Jullian, conservateur du Musée des Beaux-Arts, d'avoir bien voulu mettre à ma disposition les photographies qui accompagnent cet article.

HUMFRY PAYNE'S DRAWINGS OF CORINTHIAN VASES

[PLATES XXVIII-XXX]

WITH Humfry Payne's photographs, now in the British School at Athens, are preserved a number of his drawings. Many of these are unpublished. A selection of them may form a useful supplement to those included in *Necrocorinthia* and *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, and a suitable tribute to offer to Payne's friend and master. I am grateful to Mrs. Leonard Russell and to the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens for permission to publish these drawings.¹

The notes on the vases are brief, because the drawings speak for themselves. I have added a few notes on the painters of some of the vases, and in doing so have drawn extensively on Payne's writings and notes, both published and unpublished. Most of the vases illustrated belong to the middle and third quarter of the seventh century, but I have added a few figures from later vases because of their human interest.

PLATE XXVIII, *a*. Aegina F 51*a*, from the harbour temple (so-called Temple of Aphrodite) at Aegina. Welter, *Aigina*, 37, fig. 35, top r. Conical oinochoe fr. Lion l. There was another frieze above. Very fine; pale green clay.² MPC II; towards 650.

PLATE XXVIII, *b*. Aegina F 104, from the harbour temple. Conical oinochoe fr. Lion l.; in front, hind leg of another animal. MPC II.

These two fragments are by a painter a good deal of whose work can be put together. The nucleus is given in an unpublished note of Payne's:

1. Aryballos, London 94. 7-18. 2, from Eretria: VS, pl. 27. 2; NC, pl. 3. 1; PV, pl. 19. 2.
2. Aryballos, Boston 99. 511: Fairbanks, pl. 41, no. 399; VS, pl. 26. 4; PV, pl. 19. 4 and 6; Lane, *Greek Pottery*, pl. 23 *b*.
3. Aryballos, Berlin (chimaera).
4. Conical oinochoe fr., Aegina F 51 *a*: Pl. XXVIII, *a*.
5. Conical oinochoe fr., Aegina F 104: Pl. XXVIII, *b*.
6. Conical oinochoe, Athens, from Perachora: PV, pl. 19. 5.
7. Kotyle fr., Athens, from Perachora.
8. Kotyle fr., Athens, from Perachora.

1 and 2 were associated by Johansen, 3, 6-8 and one of 4-5 added by Payne (for the attribution of 6 see NC, ix). The oinochoe from Perachora provides the link between the Aegina fragments and the published aryballoi. The lion on 5 resembles those on the Perachora vase, particularly in its spotted muzzle, heart-shaped ear,³ and hairy legs. The aryballoi are later, less vigorous, more sophisticated. I have not seen the Berlin aryballos, which Payne calls late.

Lions and sphinxes are the painter's main stand-bys (the two kotyle fr. from Perachora, like 1, have confronted sphinxes). The lions are the more instructive. The double line on the cheek of the lions on 4 and 5 recurs on the lion of the Macmillan Vase (NC, pl. 1. 7 and fig. 73; PV, pl. 22. 5). For the characteristic palmette-snout on 1 and 4 see NC, 18, n. 2; ⁴ it recurs on a fragment of olpe or oinochoe in Aegina (F 49; Welter, *Aigina*, 37, fig. 35, centre), and either this or 4 is mentioned by Payne in that note; cf. also the panthers on the Corfu pediment (Rodewaldt, *Korkyra* II, pll. 22-4) and the lion from Siphnos (EA 1937, 599 ff., figs. 1-2; Richter, *Archaic Greek Art*, fig. 62).

¹ I am also indebted to the Director of the British School for help in the selection of the drawings, to Mr. G. H. Deeley and Dr. R. J. Hopper for photographs of some of the drawings, and to Mr. H. N. Newton, photographer to the Ashmolean Museum, for others; and to Messrs. I. Papadimitriou, J. L. Caskey, the Trustees of the British Museum, P. Devambez, L. Bernabò-Brea for permission to publish the vases in Aegina, Corinth, London, Paris, and Syracuse. I am further indebted to Dr. W. Kraiker for information about the Aegina sherds, which he will shortly publish, and

for valuable discussion.

² Details of fabric from Payne's notes.

³ Cf. E. Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst* I, 39 ff. On p. 42 and n. 14 Akurgal points out that the form of ear on nos. 1 and 2 is a new, assyrianising feature not found at Corinth before these vases. Cf. *ibid.*, 77.

⁴ Not known on Greek lions before this period; see Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, 186 f. For Anatolian forerunners see Akurgal, *op. cit.*, 54.

Kraiker has suggested to me that the fragment from Aegina just mentioned and another illustrated on the same photograph by Welter are the work of the same painter, comparing particularly the fine hairs on mane, tail, and legs of lions. These carry with them a number of other vases:

9. Oinochoe or olpe fr., Aegina F 49 +: Welter, *Aigina*, 37, fig. 35, bottom r. and centre (the smaller fragment joins the bottom right of the larger; the join has been made in Aegina Museum since the photograph published by Welter was taken).
10. Kotyle fr., Aegina F 121 +: one fr., Welter, *loc. cit.*, bottom l.
11. Conical oinochoe, Athens, from Perachora: detail, *JHS* 1930, pl. 10. 2.
12. Conical oinochoe fr., Constantinople (?), from Lindos: *Lindos* I, pl. 50, 1098.
13. Oinochoe fr., Syracuse, from Syracuse grave 350: *NS* 1895, 153; *VS*, 84, no. 10.

Perhaps also

14. Kotyle fr., Athens, from Perachora.

The grounds for the association of 10-14 will be made clear in the publication of the Perachora vases, that of 9 and 10 with 4 by Kraiker. The fourteen vases cover a considerable

period of time, but the development of the painter's personality is not easy to follow, because he has a simple and a more elaborate style which are in use at the same time. The links in the chain seem, however, to hold when tested, though the whole body of the work here put together does not show a single coherent style. The latest is the splendid vase in Aegina (9) with priest leading a bull to sacrifice.⁵ This should be Late Protocorinthian, for it has many points of comparison with the vases of the Chigi group,⁶ and also introduces a stylisation for the eye-socket not otherwise found before the Transitional period.⁷ It has little in common with the much drier late aryballoids. 10 and 11, which go closely together and precede 9, are close to the Painter of Boston 397 (see M. Robertson, *BSA* XLIII, 58) and especially to his kotyle in Ithaca (*BSA cit.*, pl. 14 and p. 17, fig. 8, no. 32) and aryballos from the Argive Heraeum (*AH* II, pl. 65. 3; *NC*, pl. 4. 6 and p. 10, fig. 5). The relation of the Painter of Boston 397 to the polychrome style has been established by Robertson. If the comparisons just suggested are valid, we have here a younger



FIG. 1.—AMSTERDAM (INV. 2082).

associate of this painter who worked in black-figure, outline, and polychrome techniques. That he was a forward-looking artist is shown by the number of stylisations first seen in his work which become common only in the succeeding generation. His finest work is the jug in Aegina with a scene of sacrifice, whose association by Kraiker with the other Aegina fragments is the hinge by which the two groups of his work hang together. He may be called the Sacrifice Painter after this vase.

PLATE XXVIII, c. Aegina F 142, from the harbour temple. Conical oinochoe fr. Stag r. MPC II; towards 650. A fragment in Amsterdam (inv. 2082) is from the same vase; I illustrate it in FIG. 1, by the kindness of the Assistant Director of the Allard Peirson Museum.⁸

PLATE XXVIII, d. Aegina F 50, from the harbour temple. Olpe fr. Boar l., lion r. *NC*, 278, no. 180. TR.

PLATE XXVIII, e. Aegina G 31, from the harbour temple. Olpe or oinochoe fr. Boar r., panther l. Rather fine fabric; unpolished; pale ochre clay.⁹ TR.

⁵ Kraiker tells me of another fragment showing a naked boy and part of the altar.

⁶ See p. 68. Polychrome technique of the priest, and of a male figure on an unpublished fragment of 10, in the same paint as used for male flesh on the Chigi vase; lions on 9 comparable with those on the Chigi vase and on *NC*, no. 41 (*PV*, pl. 26. 2).

⁷ See *NC*, 29, n. 2, where Payne says that it is not known in the Protocorinthian period. It is made popular by the Sphinx Painter and the Palermo Painter.

⁸ Found in Aegina in a βεβρεχθὲς near the temple of Aphrodite.

⁹ Details of fabric from Payne's notes.

PLATE XXVIII, *f*. Aegina. Oinochoe (?) fr. Boar l. For the 'collar' cf. the lions Pl. XXIX, *f*; *NC*, no. 41, pl. 8. 7 = *PV*, pl. 26. 2; and *NC*, 29, n. 2. MPC II; towards 650.

Probably the same hand as an oinochoe and a kotyle from Perachora, both with large figures of animals (lions, bulls, boar) in very fine style.

PLATE XXVIII, *g*. Aegina F 113, from the harbour temple. Pyxis lid fr. Lion and sphinx r. MPC II.

Perhaps by the same hand as the pyxis lid, Aegina F 48 and Athens, *NC*, 273, no. 53, fig. 117; *AM* 1897, 324, figs. 39 *a* and *b*; and a kotyle-pyxis from Perachora, with a similar stylisation of the wrinkles round the lion's mouth. Cf. also the lion of Menekrates and the lion's head spout from Samos (Buschor, *Alt-samische Standbilder*, figs. 213, 216-217; Richter, *Archaic Greek Art*, fig. 61). For the rendering of the lion's mane in separate locks cf. the earlier lion on the fragment from the Argive Heraeum, *AH* II, pl. 64. 3; *NC*, pl. 4. 5; conical oinochoe from Ithaca, *JHS* 1938, pl. 19; and the Chigi vase (with different stylisations). Cf. also the Crowe corselet (*Olympia* IV, pl. 49).¹⁰

PLATE XXVIII, *h*, FIG. 2. London A 1006, from Camirus. Oinochoe. *NC*, 271, no. 35. LPC-TR. (FIG. 2 by the kindness of the Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum.)

This is, as Payne says, not among the best of Corinthian vases, but deserves attention for many reasons. First, the composition: there is an elaborately balanced avoidance of symmetry, the single frieze reading: lion r., bull l., lion l., panther r., goat r., goat l., panther r., bull l. The facing goats are the pivot of the composition, flanked by panthers, but one of the panthers turns its back on its goat; the bull facing it is answered on the other side by the group of two lions about a bull. This is the sort of composition favoured by the Sacrifice Painter, in his published aryballoi (1 and 2 in the list on p. 63; for the avoidance of symmetry see *NC*, 30) and, more elaborately, in the two conical oinochoai from Perachora (6 and 11). This vase is not otherwise like the drawing of the Sacrifice Painter. It is associated, by the red and yellow tongues and scales and the red and yellow lines below the figure zone, with a group of oinochoai and olpai put together by Payne (on *NC*, no. 32; see p. 69), but the drawing is not like the other members of this group either. The style is odd; the owl-eyed panther here illustrated has no close parallels known to me,¹¹ the lion with a tuft of hair over his eye is also unusual.¹²

PLATE XXIX, *a*. Corinth 14. 3. 5. Alabastron fr. This is the fragment mentioned by Payne, *NC*, 94-5, 269, and there said to be in the style of the Macmillan aryballos. It may well be by the Macmillan Painter—I take Johansen's nos. 50, 52, 55, and perhaps, as Greifenhagen suggests, the aryballos Bonn, inv. 1669, from Gela, *AA* 1936, 345-6, fig. 4, to be his work; the features of the archer and the long legs are like men on the Macmillan Vase and on *VS* pll. 32 and 34. 2. For the charge of a lion's head cf. the Louvre aryballos, *VS* pl. 35. 1 (perhaps by the Painter of Boston 397, as Robertson's comparisons¹³ suggest, rather than the Macmillan Painter; the features are more archaic than on any of the Macmillan Painter's vases). The bird on the shield of the man on the right resembles a pigeon rather than a bird of prey as on the Macmillan Vase, the Berlin aryballos *VS* pl. 32, and the aryballoi *VS*, pll. 33, 34. 2, 35. 1, but this can hardly be.¹⁴ For the archer in a hoplite battle cf. the aryballos from Perachora, *BSA* XLII, 93, fig. 7, and *VS*, pl. 33. The archer's lion's skin might suggest, at first thought, Herakles, but this is unlikely, for the seventh-century Herakles does not otherwise wear the lion's skin, introduced into literature in the early sixth century by Stesichorus or Peisander of Camirus, into vase-painting about the same time.¹⁵ After that time also he has as his usual

¹⁰ For the close relation of this to Protocorinthian art cf. Sylvia Benton, *BSA* XL, 78.

¹¹ For felines with vertically set eyes see *BSA* XLV, 194; none of the other instances is like this.

¹² The tuft recalls the lion with the wart on his nose on the earliest Lydian coins (see E. S. G. Robinson, *inf.*, p. 159 f.). I can find no closer parallel.

¹³ *BSA* XLIII, 58.

¹⁴ But not impossible; the hare on the shield of a falling warrior on the aryballos in Berlin, *VS*, pl. 32, is not a

courageous animal. Cf. H. L. Lorimer, *BSA* XLII, 85.

¹⁵ Athen. 512 f.; see Furtwängler, Roscher I, 2145; Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 113; P. Zancani Montuoro, 'Al tipo di Eracle nell'arte arcaica', *Rend. Line.* 1947, 211 ff.; Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, 143 f. On the Cypriot Herakles with lion's skin and club, see R. Dussaud, *Syria* XXV, 1946-8, 205 ff.; on the related question of the replacement of bow or sword by club as Herakles' usual weapon see P. Amandry, *Mon. Piot* XL, 40.

weapon the club, not the bow. Moreover the archer Herakles would not be in place in a battle piece, unless the story were that of the East Pediment at Aegina, and this story is rarely illustrated,¹⁶ never so early as this; Herakles as an archer appears commonly in more familiar stories, and particularly in the adventure with the centaurs on Mt. Pholoe.¹⁷ Further, other heroes wear animal skins; an example not far distant in time is Hippobatas on the Early Corinthian aryballos Athens 341, *NC*, pl. 13. 1 and p. 95, fig. 29 C. As in other vases of the Macmillan Painter and his associates, it is uncertain whether the painter put names to the

figures in his mind. The presence of the archer, whose role had been reduced by the adoption of the hoplite phalanx to that of a humble skirmisher, makes it reasonably certain that, whether the heroes can be named or not, there is an epic flavour about the picture.¹⁸

PLATE XXIX, *b*. Aegina F 29, from harbour temple. Olpe fr. *NC*, 272, no. 40, given by Payne to the Chigi Painter. LPC. See below pp. 67 ff.

PLATE XXIX, *c*. Louvre E 612 *bis*. Aryballos. *NC*, 304, no. 806. E-MC.

PLATE XXIX, *d*. Delphi. Hydria fr. *NC*, 328, no. 1450; *FD* V, 157, fig. 653. Hermes; but hardly leading the way, as Payne suggests, unless he is walking l. and looking back over his shoulder, for he has his back to the l. edge of the panel. The legs in *c* of the illustration in *FD*, walking l., with the letters ΕΓ as part of the name, seem to belong to the l. edge of the panel on the other side.

By the Painter of the Brussels psykter *NC*, no. 1439 (Payne). LG; towards 550.

PLATE XXIX, *e*. Palermo, from Selinus. Column-krater fr. *NC*, 318, no. 1194; *MA* XXXII, pl. 86. 7, whence *Mon. Piot* XL, 36, fig. 13. Herakles and the Hydra. For the subject see P. Amandry, *Mon. Piot* XL, 23 ff.; add to his list of Corinthian representations the krater fr. Bonn, from Naucratis, *AA* 1936, 361-2, fig. 16; kotyle fr., Athens, from Perachora. MC.

¹⁶ No example earlier than the cup by Epiktetos, *ARV*, 48, no. 39, is known to me.

¹⁷ See von Massow, *AM* 1916, 101 f.; Luce *AJA* 1924, 296 ff.; Payne, *NC*, 129 f.; Buschor, *AJA* 1934, 128 ff.; for other early Centauromachies, some of which may illustrate the Pholoe story, see P. Demargne, *BCH* 1929, 117 ff.; C. Dugas, *REG* 1943, 5 ff. To the list of early representations in *NC*, 129, may be added four Corinthian vases: a fragmentary *MPC* II pyxis lid from Perachora, a TR

alabastron in Florence, an EC aryballos in London, published in *BMQ.*, 1935, pl. 3a, and the EC column-krater Corinth VII, i, pl. 38-9; and an Argive relief pithos, *AH* II, pl. 63. 1-3 (cf. Buschor, *loc. cit.*); and an Attic krater from Vari, *AA* 1939, 227-8, fig. 1. Sixth century representations: Cretan clay reliefs in Oxford and Paris, Knoblauch, *Studien zur archaisch-griechische Tonbilderei*, 120, nos. 30-33.

¹⁸ See H. L. Lorimer, *BSA* XLII, 94 ff.



FIG. 2.—LONDON A 1006.

PLATE XXIX, *f*. Syracuse. Dinos fr. Scales; stag or goat l., stag l., lion r. *NC*, 273, no. 52 A. The drawing recalls at many points the olpe from Knossos, *NC*, no. 42; the bearing of the animals and the delicacy of the drawing are similar, but there are enough differences of detail to show that the vases are not by the same hand. But the Syracuse fr. is related to the Chigi Group, with which it shares some stylisations which become common only at a later period; see *NC*, 18, n. 2, on the lion's side-whiskers, and the dots on the muzzle indicating whiskers; and note also that the incisions on the hindquarters and ribs are fuller than is common at this period, and the patches of red on the ribs are not otherwise known so early as this (see *NC*, 49, n. 1; 47, n. 1).¹⁹ LPC.

PLATE XXX, *a*. Berlin 3205, from Thebes. Conical oinochoe. *NC*, 272, no. 38. TR.

PLATE XXX, *c*. Corinth. Kotyle fr. Lion r., bull (?) l. *NC*, 279, no. 190. By the Perachora Painter, painter of a number of fragmentary kotylai and other vases from Perachora, ascribed to him by J. K. Brock and R. J. Hopper. TR.

PLATE XXX, *b, d-h*. Florence 3722 and 3725. Olpai. *NC*, 278, nos. 169 and 170. TR. No. *g* comes from 3722, *e* and *f* from 3725; I am not sure from which of the pair the other animals come.

These are worth illustrating because, though not the best of Transitional drawing, they are typical of a large class into which fall many painters of respectable ability. The starting point is given by a manuscript note of Payne's on Florence 3725: 'looks like painter of Syracuse b.b.o.' (*NC*, no. 140). With the latter may be grouped (Achradina Painter, after the cemetery at Syracuse in which 1 was found):

1. B.b. oinochoe, Syracuse, from Syracuse: *NS* 1925, pl. 10; *NC*, no. 140, pl. 13. 3.
2. Oinochoe, Vatican 66: Albizzati, pl. 4; *NC*, no. 130, pl. 13. 4.
3. Oinochoe, Louvre E 420: *NC*, no. 130 A, pl. 13. 2.
4. Pyxis lid, Corinth.

The first two are associated by Payne (*NC*, 277). The lion of 3 is like those on the Florence vases, though not from the same hand. 4 is near to 3.

These are poor relations of the Sphinx Painter: compare the sphinxes on *NC*, pl. 13. 3 with those on pl. 12. 2 and 6 (especially the former, which I believe to be early work of the Sphinx Painter; see *BSA* XLV, 194, n. 3); the lions on the Florence vases are more distantly related to the Sphinx Painter, but there is some likeness particularly in the way in which the incisions on flank and hindquarters are pulled forward by the movement of the beast. The lion on PL. XXX, *g* has a clear descendant on Louvre E 436, *NC*, no. 763, pl. 25. 6; this stands in the same relation to the late work of the Sphinx Painter (compare *NC*, pl. 25. 6 with pl. 25. 2) as ours to his early and middle work.

It may be in place to add a note on the Chigi Painter, a propos of his Aegina fragment PL. XXIX, *b*. Any light on the Chigi vase should be welcome, even if its main service is to see to brush away some cobwebs. Payne's dating of the Chigi vase soon after 650 has been a stumbling-block to many who cannot understand how such fine work should be earlier than many rather archaic-looking Corinthian vases.²⁰ On another side, there are those who would like to dissociate it from Corinth and assign it to Aegina or somewhere in Italy because the inscriptions are not in the Corinthian alphabet (though these people have expressed themselves more often verbally than in print).²¹ Consideration of the development of Corinthian vase-painting should anchor it firmly in time and place. This should perhaps no longer be necessary, as the arguments are set out in *Necrocorinthia*, 95 ff.; but they can now be reinforced by the discoveries of the last twenty years.

¹⁹ But cf. the aryballos Louvre E 429, *PV* pl. 14. 1; *VS*, pl. 26. 1. This may be later than Payne allows, in dating it to the beginning of the second black-figure style. The panther looks more developed than is likely at this period, and has a descendant on the LPC oinochoe in London, *NC*, no. 32, pl. 10. 7-8 (cf. n. 33).

²⁰ E. Langlotz, *Gnomon* X (1934), 419 f.; A. W. Byvanck,

Mnemosyne IV (1937) 205; J. Audiat, *REA* 1938, 173 ff.; cf. R. J. Hopper, *BSA* XLIV, 180 ff. F. Villard, *Mit. Arch. Hist.* 1948, 7 ff., proposes to lower Payne's dates somewhat, but not for Langlotz's reasons.

²¹ Miss L. H. Jeffery has expressed the opinion that the Chigi Painter might have learnt his letters at Troezen or Calauria.

The relation of the Chigi vase to earlier Corinthian vases, the development of the polychrome style from tentative beginnings in the first quarter of the seventh century to its climax in the Chigi vase, need not be repeated. The history of the polychrome style is fuller now than when *Necrocorinthia* was written, largely from Payne's own finds at Perachora, but is in no important point changed. But, as Payne says, 'the tradition which it represents was not destined to survive'; and it might be argued that the painter of the Chigi vase was an emigrant from Corinth, perhaps to Cumae or Etruria. The proof that he was as Corinthian as his predecessors the Macmillan Painter, Painter of the Berlin Centauromachy, and Painter of Boston 397 lies in the other vases of the Chigi Group.

The olpe is a new shape at Corinth in the Late Protocorinthian period.²² To the ten examples of this period listed in *Necrocorinthia* nine are added by Hopper,²³ there are a few unimportant fragments from Perachora, and seven others²⁴ are known to me, mainly from Payne's notes and photographs. Of these twenty-six, most belong to the Chigi group: for convenience I repeat a list of the vases of this group (1-2 and a-f, l, m, Payne; h-k, n-o, Robertson).

Painter

1. Olpe, Villa Giulia, from Veii: *NC*, no. 39; *PV*, pll. 27-9; Buschor, *Gr. Vasen* (1940), 31, fig. 37; detail, Lane, *Greek Pottery*, pl. 24 B.
2. Olpe fr., Aegina F 29: *NC*, no. 40; *Pl.* XXX, b.

Group

- a. Olpe fr., Athens, from Argive Heraeum: *AH II*, pl. 64, 2; *NC*, no. 41, pl. 8, 7, 10; *PV*, pl. 26, 2, 3.
- b. Olpe, Herakleion, from Knossos: *BSA XXIX*, pl. 25; *NC*, no. 42, pl. 8, 1-6; *PV*, pl. 32, 3, 7.
- c. Olpe, Vatican 80, *NC*, no. 43; Albizzati, pl. 6; *VS*, 103, fig. 56.
- d. Olpe, Berlin 1138, from Tarquinii, *NC*, no. 44.
- e. Olpe, Rome, Villa Giulia: *NC*, no. 45; Mingazzini, *Vasi Castellani*, no. 338, pl. 21, 1, 10, 8.
- f. Olpe, Rome, Villa Giulia: *NC*, no. 46; Mingazzini, *op. cit.*, no. 339, pl. 21, 3.
- g. Olpe, Syracuse, from Syracuse grave 160: *NS* 1895, 124, fig. 5 (similar to f).
- h. Olpe fr., London, from Al Mina, *JHS* 1940, pl. 4 k, m.
- i. Olpe, fr., London, from Al Mina, *JHS* 1940, pl. 4 l.
- k. Olpe fr., London, from Al Mina, *JHS* 1940, pl. 4 n, o, p.
- l. Olpe, Rome, Villa Giulia, from Veii: *NS* 1930, pl. 2 a and p. 58, fig. 9; *AA* 1930, 321, fig. 7, 1.
- m. Olpe (or oinochoe) fr., Corinth: 'thighs of a man in Chigi technique; rosette on trunks; buff flesh'.²⁵
- n. Oinochoe fr., Ithaca, Aetos, *BSA XLIII*, 39, fig. 26, no. 146.
- o. Oinochoe fr., Ithaca, Aetos, *BSA XLIII*, 39, fig. 26, no. 147.

See also the dinos in Syracuse, *NC*, no. 52 A, *Pl.* XXIX, 6 and p. 67 above.

The vases of the group are knitted together; b, c, k, as pointed out by Payne and Robertson, are associated by the white dots on the scales (cf. also Robertson's remarks on n and o); l is associated with c by the dots at the bottom of the panel; the technique of the griffon painted in white under the handle of l is used also on a and on the Chigi vase; d is, as Johansen pointed out, very like c except in the white dots. These similarities in technique indicate that the group is a close one, a workshop group, the work perhaps of one painter and an associate or associates.²⁶ The Chigi vase might, taken by itself, be the work of a brilliant artist who had migrated to Italy. The proveniences of the vases of the group—Etruria, Corinth, Aegina, Argive Heraeum, Ithaca, Crete, Syria—compel us to reject this Italian hypothesis.

The remaining LPC olpai are varied. One²⁷ is a late work by one of the best painters of the preceding period, the Hound Painter²⁸; another²⁹ the work of one of the most prolific

²² *NC*, 272, 299. S. Weinberg's suggestion of an eighth century date for an olpe fr. in Corinth (*Corinth VII*, i, pl. 18, 132) is rightly corrected by Hopper, *op. cit.*, 241. Cf. F. Villard, *op. cit.*, 17 f., who also stresses the fact that the olpai of the Chigi Group stand at the head of the development of the shape at Corinth.

²³ *Loc. cit.*

²⁴ Athens, from Argive Heraeum, K 14 and 15 (MPC?). Delphi 2348 (LPC: near Perachora Painter?). Leiden, Brants, pl. XII, 9 (see Robertson, *BSA XLIII*, 38, on no. 148).

Ithaca, Aetos, *BSA XLIII*, pl. 11, no. 221.

Aegina F 49+: see above p. 64.

g and m above.

Other TR olpai not mentioned by Hopper:

Leiden, Brants, pl. XII, 8.

Aegina F 159 (near Sphinx Painter).

New York 96. 18. 38 (late TR; Sphinx Painter).

New York 96. 18. 41.

²⁵ Description from Payne's notes.

²⁶ Cf. *NC*, 97: 'The achievement of a single artist, or a small circle of artists.'

²⁷ Rome, Villa Giulia, from Veii: *NS* 1930, pll. 2-3; *PV*, pl. 26, 1, 5.

²⁸ See *NC* ix, 342.

²⁹ *Corinth VII*, i, pll. 20-1, no. 142.

painters of the period, the Head-in-air Painter³⁰; the very fine fragments at Corinth³¹ are the work of a distinctive painter whose hand will no doubt be recognised elsewhere³²; others belong to a fairly large group of oinochoai and olpai in which several hands may be distinguished. This may be called the Group of Vatican 69 and is a workshop group in touch with the Chigi Group.³³

The great popularity of the olpe in the Transitional period³⁴ shows that the potters of the Chigi Group and the Group of Vatican 69 were not out of the main line of development at Corinth, but found many followers, among whom are the men whose olpai the Sphinx Painter and the Painter of Vatican 73 decorated. There is not much direct connection between these popular painters and the Chigi Painter, but they took over a good many stylisations which he or his associates were the first to use.³⁵ And at one point at least the relation is closer; the sphinxes of the Painter of Vatican 73 bear an obvious relationship to those of the olpe from Knossos, *NC*, no. 42; cf. *NC*, pl. 8. 5 with pl. 11. 1.³⁶

The selection of vases of the middle and third quarter of the seventh century offered here is almost a random choice. But it may serve to illustrate two points. The first is the close connection of Corinthian vase-painters of this time; there appear to have been a small number of workshops producing figured vases, which interacted on one another, and the fine style of the Chigi Vase is deeply embedded in the ordinary black-figure style of this and the preceding period. Secondly, many of the features which distinguish the Corinthian from the Proto-corinthian style are seen to derive from the Chigi Group and farther back, from the Sacrifice Painter. In particular, the Assyrianising details which Payne was the first to distinguish³⁷ carry back behind the Chigi vase and the Macmillan Painter's aryballos in Berlin (*VS*, pl. 32) to the Sacrifice Painter and other associates of the second black-figure style.

ADDENDUM

Since this paper was written, Kraiker's publication of the vases in Aegina has appeared. I have not modified what I have said, as study of his work would require; but add here the references to his book:

Pl. XXVIII, *a* and *b*: Kraiker, *Aigina*, pl. 27, 341.

Pl. XXVIII, *c*: Kraiker, *Aigina*, pl. 28, 349.

Pl. XXVIII, *e*: Kraiker, *Aigina*, pl. 35, 474.

Pl. XXVIII, *f*: Kraiker, *Aigina*, pl. 31, 404.

Pl. XXIX, *b*: Kraiker, *Aigina*, pl. 28, 348.

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³⁰ See M. Robertson, *BSA* XLIII, 45.

³¹ *Corinth* VII, i, pl. 30, no. 218.

³² Perhaps by the same hand, a fr. of an olpe (?), Syracuse, from the Athenaeon of Syracuse, *MA* XXV, 553-4, fig. 139, bottom centre.

³³ To this group belong:

NC, nos. 31, 47 and 48; no. 32 (perhaps by the same hand, the pyxis lid, Syracuse, *NC*, no. 52 B); *BSA* XLIV, pl. 17. 10, from Siphnos; *NC*, no. 33, and the oinochoe from Corinth, *Corinth* VII, i, pl. 25, 186, associated by Weinberg; and the TR vases *NC* nos. 156, 157, the Amsterdam fr., *CVA Schleier* II, pl. 7. 3-4, and perhaps, as Kübler suggests, Athens, Kerameikos, *AA* 1933, 276, fig. 12. An oinochoe from Perachora belongs to this group, and goes with *NC*, no. 32. Other Perachora vases of different shapes are related to the group, but less closely. Cf. also above p. 65, on Pl. XXVIII, *h*, *NC*, no. 35.

The ancestor of the group is, I suspect, the painter of the aryballos Louvre E 429, *VS*, pl. 26. 1; *PV*, pl. 14. 1 (see

n. 19). Its descendants are many; as well as the TR olpai already mentioned, grouped round Oxford 1879. 100 (*NC*, no. 156), the Painter of Vatican 73 is, as Payne points out, derived from the Group of Vatican 69; the Sphinx Painter also, the other main painter of oinochoai and olpai at this period, is related, though less closely (of *NC*, no. 157, Payne says in a manuscript note 'near Sphinx Painter, but earlier'). Another group of TR olpai, the Group of Vatican 78 (see Beazley in Beazley and Magi, *Raccolta Guglielmi*, I, 9, on pl. 1. 2) uses Chigi technique. Most TR olpai are thus descended from one or other of the main group of LPC olpai.

³⁴ *NC*, 277 ff.; *BSA* XLIV, 241 f.; see also nn. 24, 33, and *BSA* XLIII, 45 ff. nos. 221-4 (Ithaca).

³⁵ See *NC* 18, 29, n. 2; for the 'Corinthian' rendering of the eye-socket see above p. 64.

³⁶ Cf. *NC*, 29, n. 1.

³⁷ *NC*, 67 ff.; cf. now Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst* I, 76 ff.

FOUR PASSAGES IN THUCYDIDES

THERE are four passages in Thucydides (two of them from the same chapter) which have certain features in common: they are all of them explicitly comments by the author himself, they are all demonstrably late, that is, written a good deal later than the events to which they are immediately related (three of them certainly, the other probably, after 404 B.C., and the last named at least not long before the end of the war), and they all show, to a greater or smaller degree, a discrepancy with the narrative of those events. They are ii 65.7, ii 65.11, iv 81.2-3, and vi 15.4.¹ The discrepancies are such that they compel, in my view, the conclusion that they were written at times different from the related narratives; this leads us to the problem of the composition of the *History*, a problem which has given rise to a mass of controversy, most of it barren to the last degree, but which cannot on that account be ignored. Mme de Romilly in her recent book has adequately defined the problem and described the controversy,² and as well contributed most to its understanding; as she says, it is not so much a question of when passages were written, as when they were thought.³ But I have not seen it observed that these four passages form a group, by reason of their common features; and, because of these features, two of which are certain and the third (the discrepancy with the related narrative), as I hope to show, demonstrable, they should form a somewhat surer foundation for any theory about the composition of Thucydides' work. If the discrepancy be there, then, since the comments are late, the narrative must be early, relatively early. All four passages, it may be noted in passing, have this also in common, that they are comment on the effect of prominent individuals on the course of the war (Perikles, Brasidas, Alkibiades); and all are anticipatory in the sense that, where they now stand in the *History*, they point forward to future events.

Three of these passages (the two from ii 65 and vi 15.4) also suggest a discussion of a very different kind of problem: whom, if any one, did Thucydides regard as Perikles' political heir? No one, of course, inherited his unique combination of character and intellect; but who, according to Thucydides, endeavoured to follow most closely his imperial and military policy? This problem I discuss after the other.

A. COMPOSITION

1. (ii 65.6-10). 'Perikles' foresight, in relation to the war, was seen even more clearly after his death. *His* view was that they would win if they would but keep quiet,⁴ look after the navy, and not try to add to their empire during the war and thereby risk the safety of the state. οἱ δὲ ταῦτά τε πάντα ἐς τούναντίον ἐπραξαν καὶ ἄλλα ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου δοκοῦντα εἶναι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἰδία κέρδη κακῶς ἐς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς ἐπολίτευσαν, ἃ κατορθούμενα μὲν τοῖς ἰδιώταις τιμὴ καὶ ὠφελία μᾶλλον ἦν, σφαλέντα δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐς τὸν πόλεμον βλάβη καθίστατο.' The reason was that he alone, by the authority which he wielded through his singular qualities of character and intellect, was able to guide his fellow-countrymen along a path of consistent policy; his successors were more on a level with each other in degree of influence with the masses, and in consequence vote-catching measures, dictated by short-sighted personal ambitions, took the place of a consistent policy.⁵ ταῦτα πάντα ἐς τούναντίον

¹ For iv 108.4, which is closely linked with iv 81.2-3, see below, p. 73. The date to which vi 15.4 refers has in fact been disputed: see below, p. 74, n. 10.

² *Thucydide et l'impérialisme athénien* (Paris, 1947), Introduction.

³ Pp. 166-7.

⁴ ἡσυχάζοντας is, by itself, an unexpected word in this context. Not only was τὸ ἡσυχάζειν the quality of which the Athenians were least capable and which Perikles, two chapters back, had so scornfully rejected for Athens; but no general, however cautious, ever thought that a war could be won by it—neither Perikles, to judge by his policy in

433-2, and 431-0 and in earlier wars, nor Fabius. We can see what Thucydides means—a cautious policy generally especially on land; but I cannot help feeling that perhaps he wrote ἡσυχάζοντας τε (τῶ ὁπλιτικῶ).

⁵ The implication, or one implication, is that in spite of the shortcomings of Kleon, Nikias, Alkibiades, and the rest, it would at least have been better for Athens if any one of them had been influential enough to dominate policy for a length of time. Kleon was not a wise man, but his continued leadership might have been an improvement on alternating policies of Kleon and Nikias.

ἐπράξαν is a sweeping statement, and it is a pity that Thucydides was not more precise; except the Sicilian expedition mentioned in § 11, he does not further define what subsequent action was so contrary to Perikles' policy or foreign to the purposes of the war. Arnold cites the sending of a squadron to Crete in 429 (ii 85.5-6: which was doubtless a blunder, and a characteristic one, but a trifle, without serious consequences), the expeditions to Sicily in 426, which wasted Athenian energies and helped to unite the Sikeliots against them (but could not be described as disastrous), 'the iniquitous attack on Melos' (which was, strictly speaking, made in peacetime, and was at least in accord with Perikles' policy of dominating the sea—I suspect that Arnold's moral indignation at other countries' imperialism came into play here), and perhaps the campaign of Delion and the despatch of νῆες ἀργυρολόγοι (ii 69, iii 19: this last I am sure is not in the picture; Arnold confuses failures with principles). Most editors of Thucydides are content to follow this; most historians think mainly of the great expedition of 415-3. I would myself add, 'certainly Delion, and probably also Demosthenes' campaigns in Akarnania (though this is consistent with the policy of 431 B.C.—ii 30) and Aitolia, and Alkibiades in the Peloponnese in 418'; for these look like examples of fighting that brought loss to the state in failure and gain to the individual in success. All these together are, however, far from justifying the wholesale condemnation of Perikles' successors: most of the major campaigns of the Archidamian war were strictly in accord with his policy—Phormion's successful battles, the war against Mytilene, the refusal to send more help to gallant Plataia (this is often misunderstood: if Athens could not risk her hoplite force in defence of her own land, how could she risk it in an inevitably vain attempt to rescue Plataia?), the intervention in Kerkyra, Pylos and Kythera, and the Epidauros and Amphipolis campaigns. I feel sure that the historians are right who say that Thucydides has here the Sicilian expedition of 415-3, and perhaps the Mantinea campaign too, most in mind.

But Arnold's instinct was sound: Thucydides *ought* to have been thinking of the Archidamian war. For it is the calamitous consequences of Perikles' death which he is describing; Perikles was 65 or more when he died, and could not have been expected to guide Athenian policy for longer than the Archidamian war in fact lasted. By and large, in spite of Aitolia and Delion, his strategy continued to prevail (his *strategy*, whatever Athens suffered by the loss of his commanding moral force); and by and large, in spite of defeats and misfortunes, Athens won that defensive war—her empire was nearly intact, and her enemies were weaker and much more divided among themselves than they had been ten years earlier. Thucydides has, after 404, telescoped the events of the war; the Sicilian expedition and the subsequent fighting loomed then so large, and the former was so obviously and so grandly a departure from Perikles' policy (he would have agreed with Nikias in this at least, that Amphipolis should first be recovered), that the length and scope of the Archidamian war is almost forgotten.

But he has not done this in the narrative of the events of that war; they are given their proper weight, told in their appropriate detail. There is a discrepancy between ii 65.6-10 and the narrative of the events to which they should refer; the comment or summing-up, and the narrative were not *thought* at the same time, nor written. And since the former is late, after 404, it is reasonable to suppose that the narrative is relatively early, though not necessarily left unchanged.⁶

⁶ E.g., such comments as iv 12.3 may have been inserted later. I do not forget either that ii 65.7 repeats the advice attributed to Perikles in i 144.1, and that Perikles (in my view) certainly gave that advice, nearly 30 years before this comment was written. I am not here attempting the whole problem of the composition of the *History*; but I may draw attention to this also—the contrast between the cautious, almost Nikian tone of 65.7 and the magniloquence and adventurous spirit of the last words given to Perikles, 63-64: 'action and yet more action, and we gain a glorious name even if we fail'. I do not, that is, feel that we can be content to say with Mme de Romilly, p. 130-1: 'l'éloge (ii 65. 5-12) et le discours (ii 60-64) forment un tout parfaitement cohérent: l'éloge est la conclusion normale du discours, et le discours lui-même se présente, comme nous l'avons vu,

sous la forme d'un tout parfaitement cohérent.' I am not clear what Mme de Romilly means when she says (p. 275): 'quand, à propos de l'issue de la guerre, il oppose Périclès à ses successeurs, ce n'est pas sur son attitude en matière de politique extérieure qu'il insiste, mais uniquement sur ses rapports avec le peuple'; which seems to ignore the sentence ἡσυχάζοντάς τε . . . ἐφ' ἐπιμέλειαν. She adds in a footnote: 'd'une façon générale, de même que la sagesse grecque repose essentiellement sur l'opposition de la raison aux passions, l'action du bon chef dans une démocratie est considérée comme avant tout négative et modératrice.' But cc. 63-64, and the Epitaphios, should cause a considerable modification of this; so indeed should ἀντακρίσθη πάλιν ἐς τὸ θαρσύνειν, to which we may add Phormion's words, ii 89 and 90.

2. (ii 65.11). ἐξ ὧν ἄλλα τε πολλά . . . ἡμαρτήθη καὶ ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς, ὃς οὐ τοσοῦτον γνώμης ἀμάρτημα ἦν πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆσαν, ὅσον οἱ ἐκπέμπαντες οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς οἰχομένοις ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαβολὰς περὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου προστασίας τὰ τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀμβλύτερα ἐποιοῦν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐταράχθησαν. Again we wish that Thucydides had been more precise about ἄλλα πολλά; but here the main interest is in his judgement about the military chances of the expedition. The judgement is interesting, partly because it is hardly consistent with the opening words of book vi (ἄπειροι οἱ πολλοὶ ὄντες τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς νήσου καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων τοῦ πλήθους, κ.τ.λ.)—at least the two sentences were not written at the same time; for it was this multitude, οἱ πολλοὶ, who voted the adequate forces for the expedition—though it recalls vi 31.6, καὶ ὁ στόλος οὐχ ἦσσαν τόλμης τε θάμβει καὶ ὄψεως λαμπρότητι περιβόητος ἐγένετο ἡ στρατιὰς πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆσαν ὑπερβολῇ. But the main interest is this, that Thucydides believed that the expedition might well have succeeded, and we, as we read his narrative, cannot but agree with him, *but not for the reasons which he gives* in ii 65.11; they are not borne out by his narrative. The ἰδία διαβολαί will include the successful efforts of his political rivals to get rid of Alkibiades, as narrated in their place (vi 29, 53, 60–61); but no reader of books vi and vii alone would suppose that this was decisive of the fate of the expedition. Like his fellow-countrymen in general, at least from time to time, Alkibiades in 415 thought nothing impossible for him; but *he* was to win his way by personal charm, so he preferred to waste the time and resources of the great armada by a display. That Thucydides himself could not have thought much of his strategy in 415 is shown by his remark in viii 86.4 (411 B.C.), καὶ δοκεῖ Ἀλκιβιάδης πρῶτον τότε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἔλασσαν τὴν πόλιν ὠφελῆσαι (we must read πρῶτον with B and not πρῶτος of the remaining MSS.), when Alkibiades had learnt by his experiences in Sparta and in Persia that there was a limit to the usefulness of personal charm. Doubtless also there was danger of dissatisfaction and disunity among the troops when he was recalled (vi 61.5); but Thucydides' narrative does not suggest that it was serious, that τὰ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀμβλύτερα ἐγένετο. And of the second and equally important argument here used, that the politicians at home did not support the army in Sicily (with supplies or reinforcements, or both), there is no trace in the narrative. On the contrary, the original expedition was splendidly adequate to its object; and when the unfortunate Nikias unexpectedly asked for large reinforcements—made necessary mainly by his own weakness in command—the Athenians at home do everything, or almost everything, possible to meet his wishes (vii 16–17, 42.2).

This is not to say that Thucydides' judgement in ii 65.11 *contradicts* his narrative in vi–vii (it may only supplement it), still less that it is wrong; only that judgement and narrative were not written at the same time, in the same breath as it were, both in the mind of the writer all the time. The judgement is late; and the narrative presumably earlier.

3. (iv 81.3). 'Brasidas by his vigorous campaign in the north at once won many cities, which gave Sparta some bargaining power in the event of peace negotiations; and besides, by his upright and moderate conduct, caused many of the allies of Athens at a later date, after the Syracusan expedition, to turn towards Sparta. πρῶτος γὰρ ἐξελθὼν καὶ δόξας εἶναι κατὰ πάντα ἀγαθὸς ἐλπίδα ἐγκατέλιπε βέβαιον ὥς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν.' First, a word about the proper translation of this sentence. We must, in my opinion, take πρῶτος with ἐξελθὼν only, not with ἐξελθὼν καὶ δόξας . . . ἀγαθός, as some editors prefer ('the first Spartan who made a good reputation abroad'). It is the only translation which is logical: it was because 'the first Spartan seen abroad' was Brasidas, so admirable a man, that men thought that all others would be like him; had he been the third or fourth, and the only good one among them, he would have raised no such hopes. πρῶτος is paralleled by τὸ πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονίων ὁργάνων, 108.6.⁷

⁷ There is a difficulty here. The phrase should mean, 'Sparta was in a state of excitement, or enthusiasm, or eagerness', ὁργάν being a vigorous word, and in this sense not common in prose. The statement would be remarkable enough in any event, of a people not prone to excite-

ment (i 84.3, 85.1), and is now immediately contradicted by § 7, which tells us that, from various motives, Sparta was not at all enthusiastic for Brasidas to proceed further. (We cannot, with Classen, take ἐμμελον to mean, 'it was to be expected that they would find Sparta enthusiastic', an

Yet the statement, thus interpreted, is not true and not consistent with Thucydides' narrative. 'Aliter quondam Pausanias' (i 130), says Stahl in his note here; but, what is much more significant, *aliter*, only three years before, Alkidas (not to mention Knemos and Menedaios); especially iii 32.2, Σαμίων . . . πρέσβεις ἔλεγον οὐ καλῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν αὐτόν. (Cf. iv 108.2, Βρασιδάς . . . πανταχοῦ ἐδήλου ὡς ἐλευθερώσων τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκπεμφθεῖ.) Brasidas really was the third or fourth Spartan seen abroad. But he was the first to be seen by the cities of Thrace; and it was from there that his reputation spread. It is extremely interesting that Alkidas was forgotten both by Thucydides and by the Greeks of Asia Minor; but this passage was written late in the war, or after its close, and Thucydides has telescoped the course of events; not unnaturally, for the influence of Brasidas' character and achievements was so great that the conduct of his predecessors became unimportant by comparison, and forgotten, and even that of some of his successors ignored, by the cities who were to be liberated by Sparta.⁸

C. 108 of the same book nearly repeats the thought of c. 81; but its analysis is rather more difficult, for §§ 1-3 and 5-7 fit in easily with the current narrative (except perhaps τὸ πρῶτον ὀργώντων in § 6), and only § 4 is demonstrably late (ἐφευσμένοι μὲν τῆς Ἀθηναίων δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὅση ὕστερον διεφάνη, which must refer to the Ionian war); though, if our doubts had not been aroused by other passages, we should not at once believe that § 4 was later inserted. It is like iv 12.3: if the narrative there is comparatively early, that is, composed not long after the events—say, not later than 418 or 417—the comment, ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐποίει τῆς δόξης ἐν τῷ τότε τοῖς μὲν ἡπειρώταις μάλιστα εἶναι, κ.τ.λ., was probably inserted later: which we should not immediately suspect.⁹ Besides, 108.2-6 is comment in its natural place, after the narrative of two signal instances of Brasidas' skill as a diplomatist (ἐφοικὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ ὄντα λέγοντος: 'he was a good speaker, for a Spartan') and of his personal πραότης and μετρίότης; whereas 81.2-3 is wholly anticipatory, and in this respect also like much of ii 65.5-13 and vi 15.4. This shows that the problem of the composition of the *History* is not a simple one; I am far from thinking that it is, and I am not attempting to solve it here, only pointing to a neglected piece of evidence. I may add, though, that in i 77.6, the passage in the speech of the Athenians at Sparta which is so generally pointed at as a prophecy after the event (the Spartan empire after 404), the last sentence, ἀμεικτα γὰρ τὰ τε καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς νόμιμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχετε καὶ προσέτι εἰς ἕκαστος ἐξιὼν οὔτε τούτοις χρῆται οὐθ' οἷς ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς νομίζει, was proved singularly untrue by Brasidas; and so 'must have been written before 424'?

4. (vi 15.3-4). 'Alkibiades' extravagances were more than his resources could cope with; ὅπερ καὶ καθέλκεν ὕστερον τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν οὐχ ἡκιστα. For the majority of Athenians, frightened both of his licentious and lawless private life and of the ambitions which inspired his every public action, thought of him as aiming at tyranny, and declared war on him, καὶ δημοσίᾳ κράτιστα διαθέντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστοι τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες, < . . . > καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέψαντες οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἐσφελαν τὴν πόλιν.'

There is much the same relationship between this passage and later ones (vi 53, 60-61) as there is between iv 81 and 108: that is, the description of Alkibiades and his position among his fellow citizens, is divided between the two passages, and in the first nothing has yet been related by Thucydides to justify such phrases as τῆς ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα παρανομίας ἐς τὴν δίαίταν and τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμοῦντα, whereas the second comes after the accusations in connexion with the mutilation of the *hermai* and the mysteries.

expectation shown to be disappointed in § 7.) What we want is <ἀνδρῶν> Λακεδαιμονίων, 'their first experience of Lacedaemonians in a state of enthusiasm'; for this might well be said of Brasidas and his men. In 413, after the Athenian defeat in Sicily, Sparta is described as confident (ἐθάρσει), even optimistic (εὐέλπιδες); but it is the subject cities of Athens, Ionians and islanders and what not, who were ready καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ἀφίστασθαι διὰ τὸ ὀργῶντες κρίνειν τὰ πράγματα (viii 2.2-4: note that κινδυνεύειν παντὶ τρόπῳ ἱετοίμοι ἦσαν, said of the same cities in iv 108.6, is closely paralleled in viii 2.2).

* Ullrich points out in a different context, that writers of the first half of the fourth century (Lysias and others) tend to forget the Archidamian war altogether, so great was the impression made by the 'Dekeleian' and 'Ionian' wars: *Beiträge* (1846), 9-13. We are not in such danger; for we did not live through the terrible last years, and we have Thucydides' narrative and Aristophanes to prevent it.

⁹ So iv 74.4, on the constitution of Megara, with de Romilly's note, p. 163, n. 3, and her general conclusion about bk. iv, p. 165.

There is not here the same degree or kind of discrepancy as in the other passages I have discussed, and what there is to say has partly already been said in the discussion of ii 65.11. The 'war' between Alkibiades and Athens, which was ultimately due to their well-justified suspicions of his general conduct and ultimate aims, and which was no small factor in the final defeat of Athens, began indeed in 415, but after the 'peace' of 411 only reached its decisive phase in 407; and it is this phase to which Thucydides is here referring in the words καθεῖλεν ὕστερον and οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἐσφηλάν τὴν πόλιν.¹⁰ To judge from Thucydides' own narrative, though Alkibiades played a big part in the decision to send the expedition against Sicily and in arousing the enthusiasm at its prospects which prevailed in all classes at Athens, neither his appointment as one of the three strategoi nor his recall was decisive of its outcome. Doubtless he would have proved a better commander than Nikias; since Nikias came so near to success, he might have achieved it (though the capture of Syracuse might have proved in the end no more fruitful in the way Athenians wished, than the capture of Athens by Xerxes had proved to be for Persia—cf. Nikias' argument, vi 11.1); had he failed, he would certainly have done something with his forces, though perhaps he would equally have lacked the moral courage to lead them back to Athens (he might have tried to found a colony in Sardinia or Spain). But this is not present to our mind as we read books vi and vii, and Thucydides, writing after 404, has again telescoped events, and can say of Alkibiades κράτιστα διαθέντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, which is true enough of his actions between his return in 411 and his second exile (again self-imposed) in 407, but which has no relevance to his conduct of affairs in 415 which is the immediate context. vi 15.3-4 (from ὅπερ καὶ καθεῖλεν ὕστερον) was 'thought' at a different time from the general narrative of the Sicilian expedition.

There is a fifth passage, ii 8.4-5 (the enthusiasm for Sparta and the hostility to Athens shown by Greece generally in 431, including the subject allies of Athens), which bears a resemblance to these four; for it is not confirmed, especially the account of the feelings of the subject allies is not confirmed, by the narrative of the Archidamian war. On the contrary, in Chalkidike even the successful revolt of some states did not lead to a general secession, and even Brasidas did not find Akanthos, Amphipolis, or Torone enthusiastic, and the immediate hopes after the capture of Amphipolis (iv 108.3) were not fulfilled. But the resemblance is not close: the passage is not demonstrably late, and it may mean that an early enthusiasm was soon dissipated—that is, that the passage was written very early and was left as it stood.¹¹ And a discussion of it would inevitably involve a discussion of the quite different problem of the composition of the first twenty chapters of book ii (e.g., did Thucydides at one time intend to treat the invasion of Attica, or the attack on Oinoe, as the first act of the war—12.3, 19.1—and the Theban attack on Plataia as one of the αἰτίαι καὶ διαφοραί?), with which I am not here directly concerned.

B. PERIKLES' POLITICAL HEIRS¹²

In connexion especially with the first two of the above passages I wish to discuss, very briefly, the question: who, in Thucydides' view, if anyone, is to be regarded as the heir of Perikles' strategic and imperial policy? I would make one or two things clear to begin with. First, that I am trying only to elucidate Thucydides' own views; for Müller-Strübing, for example, in claiming that Kleon alone could be regarded as Perikles' political heir, was correcting Thucydides.¹³ (I may leave untouched the question whether the speeches in the *History* are more or less close records of arguments actually used or are the historian's own free compositions; for in the former case the arguments are selected by Thucydides to illustrate what he thought to be the truth, in the latter they presumably state it.) Secondly, we must

¹⁰ Schwartz, *Geschichtswerk*, 332-3, thought that the historian meant the disaster in Sicily. He was answered in part by Schädewaldt, *Geschichtschreibung*, 12-14, and altogether by Wilamowitz quoted by Schädewaldt at the end of his book.

¹¹ It is perhaps worth noting that the spontaneous secession

of so many allies from Athens, after 413, is not considered in ii 65.11 as an important factor in the Athenian defeat.

¹² This section was written before I had seen Ehrenberg's interesting article on *polypragmasyne* in *J.H.S.* lxvii, with which it has obvious points of contact.

¹³ *Aristophanes u.d. historische Kritik*, pp. 393-6.

distinguish between what Thucydides regarded as policy in line with that of Perikles (after Perikles' death) and what he approved of; for West, in championing the claims of Nikias, and Mme de Romilly, as it seems to me, confuse what may be two different things.¹⁴ Thirdly, we must distinguish between Perikles' war-time strategy, in the strict sense, and his imperial aims.

For Perikles, according to Thucydides, combined two markedly contrasted qualities: on the one hand, great (some have thought excessive) caution as a military commander and general prudence as a political leader (μετρίως ἐξηγεῖτο, ii 65.5), and on the other an adventurous, almost a romantic spirit in his imperial aims.¹⁵ It is customary to assert that not only did Thucydides write the epitaphios and Perikles' last speech after 404, but that he wrote them with express reference to the final defeat, as a defence of Perikles to his despairing and incredulous fellow citizens. But of which Perikles—the prudent strategist, as in ii 65, or the adventurous imperialist? 'Many labours, πόνοι, were the lot of our fathers who won the empire; and we must not relax (ii 36.2, 62.3, 63.1). Honour is our reward; we have already won imperishable glory (41.4, 43.3–4, 63.1, 64.3). Everything human must perish, and our empire will one day end; but our name is immortal; and we need no Homer to sing our praises, our deeds speak for themselves.' That is the touch of romance: 'our activities, as citizens of Athens, are their own reward, are worth while in themselves'; as also in μόνοι οὐ τοῦ συμφέροντος μάλλον λογισμῷ ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς τινὰ ὠφελοῦμεν (40.5, just after, in another context, he has greatly praised λογισμός). Daring, τόλμα, is the spirit which informs this activity (40.3, 41.4, 43.1, 62.5); other writers give us something of it too—

Κῆρυξ. ἡ πᾶσιν οὖν σ' ἔφυσεν ἐξαρκεῖν πατήρ;
Θησεύς. ὅσοι γ' ὕβρισται· χρηστά δ' οὐ κολάζομεν.
Κ. πράσσειν σὺ πόλλ' εἰώθας ἢ τε σὴ πόλις.
Θ. τοίγαρ πονοῦσα πολλὰ πόλλ' εὐδαιμονεῖ.

(Eur. *Suppl.* 574–7: πόλλ' εὐδαιμονεῖ is especially characteristic. This was long ago remarked by Murray, *Athenian Drama*, iii, *Euripides*, pp. xxviii–xxx); and Thucydides tells us how the rivals of Athens regarded it (i 70). Does all this belong to the spirit of 404? Can it only have been written in the shadow of Aigospotamoi and the rule of the Thirty? Those who believe that the whole of the *History* was written after 404, more or less continuously, explain such phrases as Ποτειδεάτας, οἱ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης (i 56.2: they did not after 430–29, ii 70) and τὴν Γραϊκὴν . . . ἣν νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι (ii 23.3: they ceased to be subject to Athens in 412–1, viii 60.1), as Patzer did, by arguing that it was Thucydides' 'habit (itself the result of his intensity of mind) to confine himself rather strictly to what he is describing at the moment':¹⁶ an unsatisfactory argument because as often he breaks his rule (κρῆναι γὰρ οὐπω ἦσαν αὐτόθι, ii 48.2; ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐποίηι, κ.τ.λ., iv 12.3; Αἰγινῆται, οἱ τότε Αἰγιναν εἶχον, vii 57.2; cf. ii 31.3, μέχρι οὗ Νίσαια ἐάλω ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, which looks forward seven years to iv 66–69, and iv 74.4, the lasting effects of the revolution in Megara). But if it is true, it was only by a miracle of self-projection into the spirit of the past, the lost spirit of 431 B.C., of 'confining himself strictly to what he was describing at the moment', that Thucydides could have composed, soon after 404, the speeches of Perikles. That is to say, we have in any event, in these speeches, the *thought* of the past, if Thucydides is reliving it, only modified by the fact that a man of 60, not of 30, is writing it; and Finley's

¹⁴ A. B. West, *Class. Phil.* xix (1924), 124–146, 201–228; de Romilly, pp. 156–8, 173, 180, al.

¹⁵ So de Romilly, pp. 124–5; but my thoughts run in a different direction. She writes: 'épris de la puissance athénienne, résolu à l'affirmer contre Sparte, conscient des obligations qu'elle crée, et décidé à les accepter, Périclès apparaît comme le continuateur de la tradition impérialiste et l'adversaire des ἀπράγμονες: on reconnaît là en lui l'ancien adversaire de Cimon (Aristote, *Const. d'Ath.* 27.1; Plut. *Pér.*, 28.4–7, et 10.4), et l'homme que les comiques n'ont

cessé de vilipender.' I think rather of the Perikles who, at this time, was the admirer of Kimon as one of οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν who made the empire, οὐκ ἀπόνως (ii 37.2); and I would certainly exclude Aristophanes and Eupolis from the comedians who did not cease from slandering him.

¹⁶ H. Patzer, *Das Problem d. Geschichtsschreibung d. Thukydides*, 1937, p. 14; J. H. Finley, Junr., in *Athenian Studies* (Harvard *Stud.*, suppl. vol. i) p. 262. This latter is an excellent statement of the case for unity of composition after 404.

argument from the unity of Thucydides' thought to the unity of his composition would disappear.¹⁷

To return: let us take Perikles' war strategy first. I have already argued that Thucydides' words in ii 65.7, ταῦτά τε πάντα ἐξ τούναντιον ἐπράξαν, show a compression of the facts which in the result is misleading, or would be, if we had not Thucydides' own narrative to correct it; but we can go further. None of the campaigns (of the Archidamian war) which might with some truth be described as contrary to Perikles' strategy, Sicily, Aitolia, and Delion, is connected with Kleon by Thucydides. Indeed, if we were to adopt the canons used by many scholars (conspicuously by West), by which we tell the politics of a strategos by the campaign in which he commands or by his fellow-strategoi and the nature of a campaign by the politics of the strategoi (for circular arguments are easy and frequent¹⁸), and if we accept every word in Aristophanes, we might say that Kleon was opposed to them all: for Laches (see *The Wasps*) was in command of the first, Demosthenes (see *The Knights*) of the second, Demosthenes and Hippokrates (Perikles' nephew, for what that is worth, which is not much) of the third and most decidedly un-Periklean of the three campaigns; and Demosthenes has been thought to have been friendly with Thucydides and may have been a connexion by marriage (there was a Θουκυδίδης Ἀλκισθέους Ἀφιδναῖος active between 340 and 320). Kleon is not said to have had anything to do with any of them; and it is at least implied that Demosthenes and Hippokrates took the initiative in the Delion campaign (iv 76.2).

On the positive side Kleon was connected with the war with Mytilene ('keeping the allies in hand'), Pylos (ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν περὶ ἴωσιν, ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων πλεουσούμεθα, i 143.4; and ii 25-26, 30), the rejection of the peace offer in 425, Thrace in 422-1 (eminently Periklean, and later approved by Nikias, vi 10.5, though he had done nothing to forward it in deed). The only thing here that might be thought to be un-Periklean in its strategy (and has therefore been positively asserted to be so) is the rejection of the peace offer; with it we join the description of Kleon wanting the war to go on in 422 because in war he could better cloak his misdeeds (v 16.1).¹⁹ Yet we would do well to recall i 127.3 of Perikles, ἡναντιοῦτο πάντα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ οὐκ εἶα ὑπέικειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους; and was not this same charge that Thucydides makes against Kleon made against Perikles, in this very year, 421, in Aristophanes' *Peace*? Kleon is in good company. Nor does Thucydides in ii 65 mention the refusal of peace in 425 amongst the errors committed after Perikles' death.²⁰ The most that adherents of Perikles could say against Kleon's policy was that it was principally by his insistence that the Athenians in 425 τοῦ πλέονος ὠρέγοντο (iv 21.2-3, 41.4); for when Athenians were stretching out their hands for more, they were likely to forget Perikles' advice not to attempt to get the more in war-time. Yet his territorial demands (Pegai, Nisaia, Troizen, and Achaia) did not go beyond what Athens had controlled before 445. It was Perikles who had said, in one of his boldest flights, πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν ἐσβατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν αἰδία κατοικίσαντες,²¹ and, though on a special occasion and with an apology for the boast, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφαίνω δύο μερῶν τῶν ἐς χρῆσιν

¹⁷ Finley, *Thucydides*, p. 78, says: 'Would an historian writing, for instance, of Napoleon and Napoleonic France in 1800 at the time of Marengo have seen in the subject exactly what he saw in 1815, after Waterloo? Similarly, could Thucydides, after the Peace of Nicias in 421, have written in such a way of the strength and weakness of Athens that what he wrote then would have tallied exactly with what he wrote seventeen years later? The answer gives the basic grounds for believing in the unity of the *History*.' I would prefer to put it this way: would any Frenchman, in the shadow of 1815, have written of the glory of France in 1800 as Thucydides writes of Athens in 431? And the parallel is not exact: for, for France, the greatness of the revolutionary ideas and the military glory belong to the previous 25 years; whereas in the case of Athens most of the glory, political and military, belongs to the period before 431, not to the war itself.

¹⁸ Nikostratos is a good instance: all take him to

have been a 'moderate', an associate of Nikias, a man of peace, and in consequence an enemy to Kleon, because of his conduct in Kerkyra (iii 75-8), his being a colleague of Nikias at Kythera and in Thrace (iv 53, 129-30), and his signing the armistice of 423 (iv 119.2). What then was he doing at Mantinea in 418?—the campaign which more than anything else broke the treaty of 421 and destroyed whatever hope of peace there was? He was a man of conspicuous intelligence and humanity, as well as daring and skilful in command; he was therefore quite unlike Kleon. But that does not tell us what his politics were.

¹⁹ It is perhaps worth noting what West, p. 215, adds to Thucydides: 'so long as Kleon was in power the war was likely to go on with ever broadening aims (v 16).'

²⁰ de Romilly, p. 164.

²¹ Dr. Otto Luschkat of Berlin has pointed out to me that we should write καὶ ἀγαθῶν, not καὶ ἀγαθῶν.

φανερῶν, γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ἑτέρου ὑμᾶς παντὸς κυριωτάτους ὄντας, ἐφ' ὅσον τε νῦν νέμεσθε καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πλεόν βουλήθητε—'and no Tsar or any other power can prevent you' (ii 41.4, 62.2). Well might he 'fear our own mistakes more than the plans of the enemy'; it was taxing the people's patience to the utmost to tell them of their power and daring and at the same time warn them not to use these assets to the utmost in the war. He was playing with fire already when he advised (as he presumably did, but we are not told) the alliance with Kerkyra, the island on the way to Italy and Sicily, in 433.

But when it is said that Perikles would have accepted the Spartan offer of peace in 425, it is commonly because Thucydides admired him and disliked Kleon; therefore he, Thucydides, 'disapproved' of all that Kleon did, and so Perikles would have disapproved too. I doubt the conclusion, as I doubt the line of argument. Thucydides himself perhaps means to criticise Kleon's terms when he says of Troizen, Nisaia, etc., ἃ οὐ πολέμῳ ἔλαβον, κ.τ.λ. (only had the Peloponnesians captured them in the course of the war, would they have been expected to surrender them when asking for peace, cf. iv 81.2); but the Spartan offer was an empty one: they had been badly defeated and were in a corner; they *ask* for peace; and all they have to offer is a promise of friendship. The speech which Thucydides records, or puts in their mouth, is, like that of the Corinthians at the conference of the Peloponnesian League in 432,²² one of which all the hopes were belied in the event. As Classen points out, the Spartan threat that they will καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνεύειν (19.4) and will have eternal hatred for Athens if she now refuses the proffered friendship, came to nothing (cf. iv 41.3-4, 108.7, 117, v 15). Their promise that their friendship will be especially sincere and durable was proved wrong by the events which followed the peace of 421; for the argument that the ineffectiveness of that peace was as much the fault of Athens as of Sparta (but still more, of Sparta's allies) does nothing to strengthen the case of a *prophecy*. The rest of the Greek world was even less likely in 425 than in 421 (after four more years of war) to 'give Athens the highest honours' and to accept a kind of private arrangement between her and Sparta which had been agreed mainly in order to save Spartan pride or Spartan lives (cf. iv 22.3, 41.3). Mme de Romilly (p. 154) has drawn attention to Nikias' words of warning in 415: χρὴ δὲ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τύχας τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπαίρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰς διανοίας κρατήσαντας θαρσεῖν, μηδὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἄλλο τι ἡγήσασθαι ἢ διὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν σκοπεῖν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἦν δύνωνται, σφῆλαντες ἡμᾶς τὸ σφέτερον ἀπρεπὲς εὖ θήσονται, ὅσῳ καὶ περὶ πλείστου καὶ διὰ πλείστου δόξαν ἀρετῆς μελετῶσιν (vi 11.6; he adds, 'Sparta is again δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπιβουλεύουσα'), and compares particularly the Spartans' words in this speech of 425, ἡμῖν πρὸ αἰσχροῦ τινὸς συμφορᾶς μετρίως κατατιθεμένης (20.2); and she concludes that, since Thucydides 'approves' of Nikias' opposition to the Sicilian expedition, he 'approves' equally of the Spartan offer of peace ten years earlier. But if, even after her rehabilitation at Mantinea, Sparta was still anxious to wipe out the disgrace of the peace of 421, which itself was agreed to after the brilliant success of Brasidas (not to mention the success of her allies at Delion), how much greater would have been her desire to expunge the memory of a peace in 425, after six years of a war begun with so many hopes, such high-sounding promises, such goodwill from the greater part of the Greek world, and marked by such a series of miserable failures and but one success, the inglorious victory over Plataia. For, alas, it is not true that 'negotiated' treaties, as such, have proved more lasting than 'dictated' ones; and the Spartan offer on this occasion, militarily speaking worth nothing to Athens (except in the moral effect of its having been made at all), demanded not only a generosity of feeling and a far-sightedness on the part of Athens which they had no reason to expect, but an even greater generosity, μεγαλοψυχία, on their own, to accept the Athenian gesture and *forget* their own disgrace (19.3-4); and, as well, a quite unlikely humility or, if you will, good sense from the rest of Greece, not only the neglected Corinthians and the proud Boeotians, but the disaffected subjects of Athens who had been promised liberation. That we, wisely reflecting long after the event, can say justly, what a pity a lasting peace was not then made, is no more than to say, what a pity the Peloponnesian war

²² See my *Commentary*, I, 418-19.

ever broke out; and that the Athenians in 421, the Athenians not of *The Knights* but of *The Peace*, regretted their lost opportunity, is but a proof of the irony of history. They had refused an empty and, almost certainly, a vain offer; they had obeyed the good military maxim to follow up a victory, to press the enemy hard, and it had turned out wrong: ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τὰς συμφορὰς τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἥσσαν ἀμαθῶς χωρῆσαι ἢ καὶ τὰς διανοίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. And this was largely due to their own διάνοιαι, their ἀφροσύνη, their thoughtless ambition and their submission, in other fields than that of war-strategy, to such a leader as Kleon.

The only part of Kleon's policy which was un-Periklean, certainly, but even so by implication rather than explicitly, was its cruelty and brutality—it was he, the most violent of the citizens, who advocated the total destruction of Mytilene; later, that of Skione (which, as men get used to atrocities, passes without comment). Yet even here he tried to base himself on Periklean principles, that to yield is merely to betray weakness (i 140.5); and the policy was continued after his death at Melos. Nor are we told that Nikias protested.²³ Later, the treatment of Hestiaia under Perikles' leadership, though rather more humane and better caused, was bracketed with that of the other cities as examples of Athenian cruelty (Xen. *Hell.* ii 2.3).

Kleon then followed the main lines of strategy laid down by Perikles; and, without understanding him, was his conscious follower (ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι, τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχήν, and ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, iii 38.1, 37.2, 40.4, compared with ii 61.2, 63.2-3).²⁴ He borrows his mantle, and was as forceful a speaker, knowing how to tell the truth (on occasion) to his fellow-countrymen and equally ready to lead rather than be led by them. What was wrong with him was that he had a vulgar mind, acute in a second-rate manner, without intelligence or humanity; as Thucydides makes clear no less than Aristophanes. It was not his policy that was dangerous—for one thing policy might change; it was his character, which would not change. In such hands any policy would go wrong.

Of that other side of Perikles which Thucydides shows us, his imaginative and adventurous imperialism, Kleon had no understanding; but Alkibiades had. His speech in advocacy of the expedition to Sicily has much in it of Perikles, just twisted out of shape, as Kleon's version had been Perikles debased. Even his self-praise at the beginning has something in it to recall Perikles (ii 60.5), but he bases it on such trifles as a victory and extravagant display at Olympia (note τιμὴ . . . καὶ δύναμις, and the future fame, vi 16.2, 5); but more striking are such sentences as οἱ γὰρ πατέρες ἡμῶν τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους οὐσπερ νῦν φασὶ πολεμίους ὑπολείποντας ἂν ἡμᾶς πλεῖν καὶ προσέτι τὸν Μῆδον ἐχθρὸν ἔχοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσαντο, οὐκ ἄλλω τινὶ ἢ τῇ περιστάσει τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἰσχύοντες, and ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ πατέρες . . . ἐς τὰδε ἦσαν αὐτὰ (i 7.7, 18.6)—so close to Perikles' spirit, so opposed to his practical strategy! τὴν τε ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἐκτησάμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἄλλοι ἦρξαν, παραγιγνόμενοι προθύμως τοῖς αἰεὶ ἢ βαρβάροις ἢ Ἑλλήσιν ἐπικαλουμένοις, ἐπεὶ εἰ γε ἡσυχάζοιεν πάντες (Perikles' practical advice) ἢ φυλοκρinoίεν οἷς χρέων βοηθεῖν, βραχὺ ἂν τι προσκτώμενοι αὐτῇ περὶ αὐτῆς ἂν ταύτης μᾶλλον κινδυνεύοιμεν (18.2)—just as ii 40.4-5 (καὶ μόνοι οὐ τοῦ συμφέροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς τινὰ ὠφελοῦμεν) and 62.3. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι ἐς ὅσον βουλόμεθα ἀρχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐν τῷδε καθέσταμεν, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιβουλεύειν, κ.τ.λ. (18.3), and his scorn for Nikias' τῶν λόγων ἀπραγμοσύνη (τὴν πόλιν, ἐὰν μὲν ἡσυχάζη—the practical advice again—τρίψεσθαι τε αὐτὴν περὶ αὐτὴν ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι: 18.6-7) recall the famous passage in Perikles' last speech beginning ἥς οὐκ ἐκστῆναι ἐτι ὑμῖν ἔστιν (and something of his first speech too: i 142.6-9, especially the last sentence). Compare παράπαν τε γινώσκω πόλιν μὴ ἀπράγμονα τάχιστ' ἂν μοι δοκεῖν ἀπραγμοσύνης μεταβολῇ διαφθαρήναι (vi 18.7) with τάχιστ' ἂν τε πόλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐτέρους τε πείσαντες ἀπολέσειαν καὶ εἰ που ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν

²³ οἱ σώφρονες τῶν ἀνθρώπων at Athens must soon after 421 have realised that not much had been gained by their being quit of Kleon.

²⁴ Mme de Romilly, pp. 143-5, doubts this intentional connexion in language between Perikles' and Kleon's speeches; and suggests that ἀνδραγαθία may have been a

catch-phrase in party politics in Athens. Perhaps; but it is Thucydides we are discussing, and it is no catch-phrase in him, whether he is selecting from phrases Perikles and Kleon used, or attributing his own words to them (see the other instances of his use of it: ii 42.3, iii 57.1 and 64.4, v 101). The echo to my mind is unmistakable.

αὐτόνομοι οἰκήσειαν (ii 63.3). Even Alkibiades' νομίσατε νεότητα μὲν καὶ γῆρας ἀνευ ἀλλήλων μηδὲν δύνασθαι, in its context, has something in it of Perikles' τὸ γὰρ ἀπραγμον οὐ σῶζεται μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δραστηρίου τεταγμένον.

If I am right in thus making Kleon and Alkibiades the principal heirs to Perikles' policy, and in their different ways the destroyers of their inheritance, where does Nikias come in? whom, from his love of ἡσυχία, and his opposition to Kleon and to the Syracusan expedition (μὴ μετεώρω τε τῇ πόλει ἀξιούν κινδυνεύειν καὶ ἀρχῆς ἄλλης ὀρέγεσθαι πρὶν ἢν ἔχομεν βεβαιωσώμεθα, vi 10.5—yet Thucydides did not agree with him that, from the purely military point of view, it was wrongly conceived), so many have regarded as Perikles' political heir? Where else than among the ἀπράγμονες whose ideas are rejected with such fine scorn in ii 63.2–3? Who else could be so admirably described as ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδιώς ἀπραγμοσύνη ἀνδραγαθίζομενος? Perikles is not there describing a political party, least of all the small and at that time obscure group of extreme oligarchs, who were not notable either for ἀπραγμοσύνη or for ἀνδραγαθία; he would not have said of them, τὸ ἀπραγμον οὐ σῶζεται, κ.τ.λ.; he did not mean men who may have wanted peace with Sparta for their own political ends, but those who by their *characters* were ever inclined to 'appeasement', for its own sake, who would jump at any opportunity, good or bad, that is (if you will) in 425 and 421 or in 430, to make peace. τὸ ἀπραγμον is not an easy word to translate, and the danger of introducing merely topical and temporary thoughts of the present is there; but we may translate this sentence not inaccurately, 'the luxury of pacifist ideas is only possible where there are also men ready to defend the state by action; and they are of no value in an empire, only in a subject state, to be safe and a slave'.

I do not mean that Nikias was theoretically a pacifist; he was too loyal a citizen of Athens, for one thing, and too weak a character. He was one of those who are borne by the tide. I imagine a man who, whatever his own instincts or fears, voted for war, with Perikles and the vast majority, in the winter of 432–1; but, I suppose also, for reopening negotiations with Sparta in 430—though not, surely, for putting Perikles on trial: he was too generous and too honest. His nervousness, when he saw not only the physical but the moral ruin around him in the pestilence, may well have persuaded him that it would be best to give up some of the empire at least (Aigina? Poteidaia?, and a little more—i 140.3) for the sake of peace. He was a respectable and much respected man; Thucydides liked him, as we all do, as all Athens did—too well; he was loyal to his city and its constitution, none more so. But he only understood Perikles' strategic policy because it was, in the main, negative, as near τὸ ἡσυχάζειν as circumstances allowed; and he had no understanding of that adventurous and daring spirit which alone had built the empire and alone would make its continuance possible, and which, for Perikles, was sufficient in itself, for it brought glory to Athens and her citizens. What a difference between his own desire τῷ μέλλοντι χρόνῳ καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα ὡς οὐδὲν σφήλας τὴν πόλιν (v. 16.1), and Perikles' claim for Athens, γνῶτε δὲ ὄνομα μέγιστον αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, and between his νομίζων ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου τοῦτο ξυμβαίνειν and Perikles' ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν.

We tend to confuse two, or rather three things: Thucydides' likes and dislikes of *persons* (Perikles, Nikias, Kleon, and Alkibiades) and his approval or disapproval of their policies, from time to time, which do not necessarily coincide; and further his opinion of Perikles and his opinion of Perikles' successors. He can hardly have disapproved of Kleon's policy in attempting to recover Amphipolis; but that did not make him like the man any the better. His dislike of Kleon in 425 does not mean that he approved Nikias' actions in that year. He admired Perikles; but it does not follow that because he gives to Nikias, in the debate on Sicily, a wiser speech than to Alkibiades, he did not recognise the latter as Perikles' true heir. It is not unknown for rich heirs to be different from their fathers who founded the estate. It is indeed one of the morals to be drawn from Thucydides' *History* 'by future generations so long as human nature remains much the same': Perikles was a great man; but observe what may happen—for his inheritance fell into the hands of Kleon and Alkibiades; and Nikias was not only ineffective

when opposing unscrupulous men, but also did not understand what Perikles' aims had been. We must keep in mind one thing more: Thucydides thought Perikles' war strategy sound; but we do not know that he 'approved' of Perikles' conception of empire or his ideal democracy; later in life at least, he praised the constitution of the Five Thousand which was so different from the democracy and the σωφροσύνη of Chios which was the opposite of Athenian daring, indeed very near to τὸ ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν. We only know that he understood them, as he understood also Spartan merits and defects; and understanding is what we ask for in a historian.

A. W. GOMME.

NOTES ON NOSES

'There's character in noses'. . . . 'More than in any other feature', said Lady Dunstane. . . . 'It should be prayed for in families'.

Diana of the Crossways ch. xxx

WHEN we first began to read Homer we learnt with surprise that Zeus nodded with his eyebrows, and the expressiveness of the ancient eyebrow has been noted and, as I think, exaggerated by modern scholars.¹ Ancient noses have, so far as I am aware, received less attention. The modern Englishman turns up his nose in contempt or disgust, and he produces with it the sniff and snort which denote similar emotions; otherwise it plays a somewhat passive part in our lives. We follow or are led by it; fail to see what is underneath it; poke it into things and pay through it; have it pulled, or bitten off; cut it off to spite our faces, or keep it to the grindstone; and we put our fingers to it—one, if we are sententious, to enjoin attention,² more, if we have not been nicely brought up, in derisive contempt; but by itself it reacts little to our moods. The ancient nose was more responsive. Ironists wore the Attic or Socratic nose.³ Contempt, in Greek more specifically associated with the nostrils (μυκτηρισμός), derision, and disgust, were naturally at home there,⁴ but so were anger,⁵ distress,⁶ and terror.⁷ Mustard mounts to the nose of an angry Frenchman and Italian, and an Englishman, though he does not think of his nose in that connexion, may be conscious of a slight dilation of the nostril when he loses his temper,⁸ and according to Darwin⁹ the same effect may be produced by terror, but the evidence suggests that violent emotions produced in ancient noses sensations stronger than in ours and sometimes foreign to them.

Besides its value as an index of mood, and for the superstitious as a source of ominous sneezes,¹⁰ the nose is usually the most conspicuous feature in the face, and for that reason, if not also for the others, naturally attracted the attention of physiognomers. I have heard tell that a distinguished librarian whose library housed also a collection of coins was once found cuffing the youthful assistant to whose charge they were committed, and enquiring how often it would be necessary for him to say that those with straight noses were Greek and those with hooky Roman; and it was perhaps on some such general principle that Caesar was called by Falstaff 'the hook-nosed fellow of Rome'.¹¹ But this rule, though no doubt serviceable to those taking their first steps in numismatics, is useless to a serious student of noses. Caesar's, to judge from his profile on coins, showed little trace of aquilineity;¹² and although the straightness of Greek noses was remarked also in antiquity,¹³ and Leonardo might have had difficulty in finding in ancient Athens the ten types of profile and twelve types of frontal nose which he

¹ Cf. C.R. 58.38.

² As Dante *Inf.* 25.44 *acciocchè il duca stesse attento, / mi posi il dito su dal mento al naso*, but this gesture is more familiar in modern Italy than in modern England.

³ A.P. 9.188, Luc. *Prom. Es* 1, Sen. *Suas.* 1.6.

⁴ This subject is dealt with at some length in C. Sittl *Gebärde d. Griechen u. Römer* 14, 86 ff. I do not understand why Pliny should say (*N.H.* 11.158) *quem noui mores subdolare inrisioni dicauere, nasus*.

⁵ See Headlam on *Hdas* 6.37. In view of the ample evidence both Greek and Roman the absence of any mention of the nose in Seneca's elaborate description of the physical effects of anger (*Dial.* 3.1.4) is somewhat surprising. Leonardo in his recipes for the representation of emotions mentions dilated nostrils as a sign of pain but not of anger (*Notebooks*, ed. E. MacCurdy, 2.266, 270).

⁶ *Od.* 24.318 (Odysseus affected by Laertes's distress) *ἀνὰ ῥίνας δὲ οἱ ῥῖνη/δριμύ μινος προῦτυπε*. A scholiast explains *ὅτι ἡμᾶς δακρύειν προεπεμύττει τὰς ῥίνας δριμύτης τις*, but the lover maltreated by Eros, who says at *Anacreont.* 29.7 *κράβη δὲ ῥινὸς ἀχρὺς/ἀνέβηκε*, seems nearer death than tears.

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⁷ Petron. 62.5. *mihi anima in naso esse; stabam tanquam mortuus*.

⁸ Cf. [Arist.] *Physiogn.* 1.66.14 *ὅς δὲ οἱ μυκτηρὶς ἀναπτεταμένον, θυμώδης*. I cite this and other Physiognomic treatises by volume, page, and line in R. Foerster *Scriptores Physiognomoni*, and refer to that collection hereafter as *S.P.* The pseudo-Aristotelian treatise is held to be a combination of two Peripatetic works and to date perhaps from the 3rd cent. B.C. (Foerster *S.P.* 1. xviii, Ross *Aristotle* 12, Ueberweg *Præchter Gesch. d. Philosophie* 1. 369). If so, it is by several centuries the earliest of the *Physiognomica*.

⁹ *Expression of the Emotions*, 1904, p. 309.

¹⁰ See on this subject W. A. Oldfather in *Class. Stud.* presented to E. Capps, 268.

¹¹ 2 *Henry IV* iv. 3.

¹² See Bernoulli *Röm. Ikon.* 1. Munzt. 3. Caesar is nowhere credited with a hooky nose in antiquity, but I do not know what passed for his likeness in Elizabethan times. For aquiline noses in Italy see Marx on Lucil. 942.

¹³ Adamantius, *S.P.* 1.386.5

distinguished in Italy,¹⁴ not all Greeks conformed to the type which commended itself to their sculptors. "Ὁ οὐχ οὕτω ποιεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς καλοὺς; said Socrates in a famous passage,¹⁵ ὁ μὲν, ὅτι σιμός, ἐπίχαρις κληθεὶς ἐπαينهθήσεται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, τοῦ δὲ τὸ γρυπὸν βασιλικὸν φατε εἶναι, τὸν δὲ δὴ διὰ μέσου τούτων ἐμμετρώτατα ἔχειν, and in the crowd painted by Apelles in the Asclepieum at Cos a representative of one, if not of both, of these extremes was conspicuous.¹⁶ Snub noses were not admired,¹⁷ and the most famous ancient specimen, Socrates's, though its owner maintained that, the function of a nose being to smell, his was ideal,¹⁸ no doubt contributed to the unfavourable diagnosis pronounced upon him by the physiognomer Zopyrus;¹⁹ for the professors of that science most commonly interpret such noses as indicative of salacity.²⁰ Whether physiognomers attributed to the snub-nosed the character of satyrs, or satyrs are depicted as snub-nosed because they are salacious, I will not attempt to determine, but the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise, which, in the matter of noses, bases itself on animal analogies, found in such features a resemblance to deer.

The science of physiognomics however, being based, I suppose, on little solid foundation, left its professors latitude to dogmatise, and they are far from unanimous on noses. Thus Hippocrates, who disputes with Pythagoras the title of father of the science,²¹ and counted a knowledge of it essential to all physicians,²² pronounced ὁκόσοι πυρροὶ ὀξύρρινες, ὀφθαλμοὶ μικροί, πονηροί, ὁκόσοι πυρροὶ σιμοί, ὀφθαλμοὶ μεγάλοι, ἐσθλοί, and again μεγάλη κεφαλὴ, ὀφθαλμοὶ μέλανες καὶ μεγάλοι, ῥίνα παχίην καὶ σιμήν, ἐσθλοί,²³ but his successors agree in regarding both παχύτης and σιμότης of the nose as evidence of defects of character, though not always of the same defects. A thick nose is said to indicate idleness,²⁴ or stupidity,²⁵ or cowardice,²⁶ while a snub, commonly, as has been noted, held to be a sign of sexuality, may betray general depravity,²⁷ or mark the braggart and liar.²⁸ In the converse type however, the aquiline, they agree (except for a refinement to be mentioned later) with the young men in the *Republic* in seeing τὸ βασιλικόν, and they ascribe to the hook-nosed such admirable qualities as μεγαλοψυχία, μεγαλόνοια, *magnanimitas*,²⁹ and also, consistent with these but less admirable, φιλαρχία.³⁰ Of the intermediate types, perhaps because in Greece at any rate they were the norm, they have less to say, but, disregarding trifles, I note in the professedly Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*, S.P. 2.203.10, *si nasus tenuis est, eius possessor agilis est*, Adamantius, 1.376.2, ἰθύτης ῥινὸς γλώσσης ἀκράτειαν κατηγορεῖ, Pseudo-Polemon, 1.429.5, οἱ τὴν ῥίνα εὐθεῖαν ἔχοντες πρόγλωσσοι, and in an anonymous Byzantine physiognomer, 2.227.17, ῥίς ὀξεῖα ἀπλοῦ καὶ εὐθέος σημεῖον.

The *Physiognomicus* of Antisthenes, cited by Athenaeus (14.656 F.), has perished, and so has Aristotle's treatise on the subject except in so far as it may be represented by or in the pseudonymous treatise, and unfortunately our other authorities are late. But if the last-quoted opinion goes back to earlier times it would explain why in the *Captivi* that exemplary

¹⁴ *Notebooks*, ed. MacCurdy, 2.258. Leonardo's interest in this subject is made only too plain in his drawings: see Popham *Drawings of L. da V.* pl. 133 ff.

¹⁵ Plat. *Rep.* 5.474 D; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1309 b 23.

¹⁶ Hds 4.67 κῶ γρυπὸς οὗτος κῶ ἀνάσιμος ἀνθρώπος (v.l. or correction ἀνάσιλλος).

¹⁷ See, e.g., Ar. *Ecl.* 617, 705, 940, Plat. *Theat.* 143 E, Theocr. 3.8, 11.33.

¹⁸ Xen. *Symp.* 5.6.

¹⁹ Cic. *de fato* 10 *stupidum esse Socratem dixit et bardum quod iugula concaua non haberet: obstruatas eas partes et obturatas esse dicebat; addidit etiam mulierosum*, Schol. Pers. 4.24 *cum ad Socratem ueniret ait ei 'libidinosus es'*: cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.80, Alex. Aphr. *de Fato* 6. Zopyrus's judgment of Socrates's collar-bones would have been endorsed by later physiognomers: [Arist.] *Physiogn.* 1.62.12 οὗς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὰς κλειδὸς συμπεφραγμένα ἴσθιν, ἀναίσθητοι, S.P. 1.364.3, 412.5.

²⁰ S.P. 1.66.13, 376.5, 429.6; 2.153.2, 203.17. Lavater (*Physiognomy*, London 1866, p. 59) thought an open nostril a token of 'sensibility which may easily degenerate into sensuality'.

²¹ Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 13, Gell. 1.9.2; Gal. 4.798.

²² Gal. 19.530.

²³ *Epid.* 2.5.1, 6.1 (5.128, 132 Littre).

²⁴ S.P. 1.64.19.

²⁵ *ib.* 66.2; cf. 2.152.24.

²⁶ *ib.* 1.429.1.

²⁷ *ib.* 2.227.16 ῥίς σιμὴ τὸν περιέργον καὶ ποικίλον καὶ πονηρὸν ἐσθλοῖ.

²⁸ *ib.* 2.204.3 *si nasus latus est, in medio ad similitudinem inclinans, gloriosus et mendax est.*

²⁹ *ib.* 1.66.9, 376.4; 2.71.4.

³⁰ *ib.* 2.227.18. Since snub noses were condemned and aquiline regarded with comparative favour, it may be asked why Σιν- is a common, and Γρυπ- a very rare, element in proper names. Greek names however were bestowed in the cradle, and nearly all babies are snub-nosed, a fact for which a serious reason was given in antiquity (Arist. *Prob.* 963 b 15) and a facetious by Rabelais (1.40), from whom Sterne (*Tristram Shandy* 3.38) borrowed it without acknowledgment. Roman *cognomina* such as Nasica and Naso, like Γρυπός, the by-name of Antiochus VIII, were acquired by adults, but to the genuine names Γρυπός and Γρυπίων may be added 'Ρωμῖας, 'Ρωίας, 'Ρινών, and 'Ρύνχων (Bechtel *Hist. Personennamen* 480).

young man Philocrates should have a *nasus acutus*.³¹ Another misfortune that has befallen the student of noses is that Pollux in his long account of theatrical masks³² should be so reticent about them. It is plain that the masks, which prevented their wearers from exhibiting any play of emotions,³³ were primarily intended to indicate their characters, and, in Comedy at any rate, exaggerated to grotesqueness the features which served that end. It is also plain from the many representations of masks and actors that much importance attached to their noses.³⁴ In Tragedy Pollux tells us only that the white-haired servant called διφθερίας (presumably a rustic) had μυκτῆρα τραχύν, whatever that may be. In the New Comedy he says that the ἄγροικος and the οἰκουρὸν γράδιον were σιμοί, and that the παράφηστον θεραπεινίδιον was ὑπόσιμον, but in the first at least of these a defect of feature rather than of character is probably implied.³⁵ Further, the ἡγεμών πρεσβύτης, κόλαξ, and παράσιτος were ἐπίγρυποι. These last form a seemingly incongruous group, which may, however, be resolved physiognomically with the aid of [Arist.] *Physiogn.* 1.66.6: οἱ δὲ τὴν ῥίνα μακρὰν λεπτήν ἔχοντες ὀρνιθῶδεις· οἱ ἐπίγρυπον ἀπὸ τοῦ μετώπου εὐθὺς ἀγομένην ἀναιδεῖς· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τοὺς κόρακας. οἱ δὲ γρυπὴν ἔχοντες καὶ τοῦ μετώπου διηρθρωμένην μεγαλόψυχοι· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀετούς, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the popular physiognomics of the day, if not also the learned, which no doubt embraced and extended them, are reflected in the masks, which should be considered by those interested in the subject.³⁶ Of the artists, who may have influenced, or have been influenced by, the mask-makers, I remark only that painters and sculptors were much freer than the mask-makers to portray without exaggeration both character and emotion; and that if Xenophon may be believed, Parrhasius and the sculptor Cleiton, in conversation with Socrates, admitted that it was their duty to portray them.³⁷ But on this subject I shall know much more if the scholar to whom this number of the *J.H.S.* is dedicated will write us a paper on expressionism in Greek art.

The reason or excuse which has led me to poke my own nose into these dark places, and to follow it this brief distance, is a passage which puzzles editors of Theocritus—*Id.* 12.23 ἐγὼ δὲ σε τὸν καλὸν αἰνέων/ψεύδεα ῥινὸς ὑπερθεῖν ἀραιῆς οὐκ ἀναφύσω. Πεύδεα (or ψεύσματα) according to the scholia are pimples, which take their name from the vice or fault which they indicate, just as at [Alex. Aphr.] *Prob.* 4.58 they are for the same reason white marks on the toe-nails. The scholia disagree whether the pimples are on or over the nose, and ῥινὸς ὑπερθεῖν is ambiguous. The phrase however recurs at *Id.* 22.104, and as there it plainly means *on the forehead*, I assume it to do so here. On ἀραιῆς the scholia have nothing to say, and the attempts of modern scholars to explain or emend what Meineke called *ineptum nasi epitheton* are unconvincing. It seems to me however that to a physiognomer the adjective might be by no means inept. None of them uses ἀραιός of a nose, but a slender nose is plainly the opposite of a

³¹ Plaut. *Capt.* 647 *macilentio ore, naso acuto, corpore albo-oculis nigris, | subrufus aliquantum, crispus, cincinnatus*. Philocrates might therefore be thought to have worn the mask of the οὐλὸς νανίσκος of Poll. 4.146. The latter however was ὑπερθεῖν τὸ χρῶμα.

In a very different connexion ῥις ὄξεια had been enumerated among the symptoms of mortal illness by Hippocrates (*Prog.* 2: 2.114 Littré), and so also Lucr. 6.1193, Cels. 2.6—*I knew there was but one way; for his nose was as sharp as a pen*, as the hostess says of the dying Falstaff in *Henry V.* Galen (1.178, 18 B. 28) emphasises the point that unnatural sharpness alone is relevant in this connexion.

³² 4.133 ff.

³³ Two were sometimes represented in a mask, one on each side of the face: see Quint. 11.3.74, Bieber *Hist. of the Gk and Rom. Theater* 182.

³⁴ Cf. Dieterich *Pulcinella* 34: Die verschiedenen Hauptformen der Nase sind für die Gestaltung der komischen Maske fast die Hauptsache.

³⁵ On the characteristics of the ἄγροικος see Ribbeck in *Abh. Sachs. Ges.* 10.1. The conventional boor is likely to have been, like the bluff countryman in Eur. *Or.* 918, μορφή μὲν οὐκ ἐνωπός, and a snub nose would contribute (n. 17 above). Cf. Theocr. 3.8, 20.6; also Chaucer's miller of

Trumpington (*Reve's Tale* 14): *Round was his face, and camuse was his nose*.

³⁶ Many reproductions of masks and actors will be found in M. Bieber *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen und History of the Gk and Rom. Theater*, but attempts (the most recent by T. B. L. Webster in *Rylands Libr. Bull.* 32.97) to identify those described by Pollux and to assign them to characters in extant comedies do not seem very conclusive. In view of the distinction drawn in pseudo-Aristotle above, I remark that in most of the male masks nose and forehead are separated by a marked depression, which is usually emphasised in the old men by the contraction of their brows in a frown or scowl.

The chorus in the *Clouds*, according to the scholiast (on 344), wore masks with big noses. Cyrano de Bergerac (not an unprejudiced witness) claimed that *un grand nez est proprement l'indice d'un homme affable, bon, courtois, spirituel, libéral, courageux*; but those of the *Clouds* were no doubt intended, as the scholiast says, to be merely γελοῖα καὶ ἀσχημονα, as long noses plainly are at Luc. *Merc. Cond.* 35, Cat. 43.1, and in many grotesque figurines.

³⁷ Xen. *Mem.* 3.10. On Polygnatus as ἡθογράφος see Arist. *Pol.* 1340 a 37, *Poet.* 1448 a 5, 1450 a 27.

thick and snub, and might imply the sort of qualities ascribed in the passages quoted above to noses called ὀξεῖαι and λθεῖαι or εὐθεῖαι—that is to say talkativeness or honesty. Either would make a suitable point—‘If I praise you I may be a bore or indiscreet, but I shall at least be truthful’, or ‘My features show me to be an honest man, and if I praise you no crop of pimples will belie them’. The latter is the more satisfactory, and I like to think that it is what Theocritus meant. Honesty obliges me to add that the passages quoted are many centuries younger than Theocritus, but if anyone is disposed on that ground to dismiss the suggestion out of hand, σιμὰ σεσηρῶς, *contorta et uituperanti nare*,³⁸ I think he should first reflect that, as will be plain from these notes, Greeks in general and physiognomers in particular had been nose-conscious since the fifth century B.C. at least, that masks in the theatre must have made the public attentive to physiognomy,³⁹ that the lore retailed in these books may be much older than the retailer, and that in view of the prejudice against nasal σιμότης and παχύτης a slim nose is likely to be a sign of grace, if not of the particular grace mentioned. I add as some slight confirmation that according to Galen οἷς μὲν ἡ ῥίς ὀξεῖα ἢ γρυπὴ, οὗτοι ξηροί· σιμῆς δ’ οὖσης, ὑγροί,⁴⁰ and that in the treatise in which he relates the κράσεις of the body to τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἥθη he connects ξηρότης with σύνεσις and ὑγρότης with ἄνοια.⁴¹ But this is a region into which I will venture no further.

A. S. F. Gow.

³⁸ *A.P.* 5.178, *Apul. Met.* 7.9.2.

³⁹ Theocr. *Ep.* 11, an epitaph for the physiognomer Eusthenes, whether by Theocritus or not, seems Hellenistic

and evidence for the continued existence of professional physiognomers.

⁴⁰ 1.638.

⁴¹ 4.781, 786.

THE DATE OF THE EPHESIAN FOUNDATION-DEPOSIT

[PLATES XXXI-XXXVI]

NEARLY fifty years have passed since Hogarth wrote, and it would be useful and pleasing to comment afresh on the votive offerings from the Artemisium, this treasure of gold and silver, of ivory and amber, with a touch of the gynaikonitis and the East. My purpose is narrower: a study of the objects from the Basis, and narrower still, their chronological implications for the date of the coins found with them. These coins are the only ones from the excavation found in what might be called a closed context. They can in principle be later than their latest co-finds; they can be earlier than the earliest, but it is reasonable to assume that they are contemporary with the majority of the objects associated with them.

A few objects were found outside the Basis under stratigraphical conditions which make their inferior limit of time almost as certain as that of the objects from the Basis, and many pieces from outside resemble Basis types so closely that they can with certainty be dated to the same period (Hogarth p. 235): I think it, however, prudent and safe to leave these, where possible, on one side and to keep to the specimens from the Basis.¹

The objects from the Basis are almost all of them of the seventh century B.C., a very few are later, and one piece only is possibly of the eighth century, pl. 4. 34.² It is silver, gold-plated, 'most probably detached from a hilt' (Hogarth p. 114). The description gives no clear idea of technique and purpose: it is too small for a hilt.³ The decoration consists of engraved zigzags and compass-drawn 'wheels': these are no indication of an early date, as they still occur as border-decoration of the chiton of an acroterion figure from the Acropolis,⁴ but the whole somehow recalls those aimless designs on Late Geometric bronze sheets from Argos (Waldstein pls. 103, 104).

I begin with objects for which a general attribution to the seventh century, but no more exact date can be established.

The majority of the Ephesian fibulae, gold, electrum, silver, and bronze, belong to Blinkenberg's class XII, of which more than half of the total come from Asia Minor (Blinkenberg *loc. cit.* 206). This is a very large class, very long-lived and with many varieties. For the gold and electrum fibulae from the Basis pl. 5. 3 and 4 (Marshall pl. 10. 1038) (Blinken-

¹ These pages are intended to be a supplement to the article here on pp. 156 ff. They reflect Ephesian dialogues with Stanley Robinson, horae ferales in Christ Church in the war years and after. Bernard Ashmole repeatedly looked with me at originals and casts of Ephesian objects in his Department, and we discussed problems. The photographs of the ivory statuettes, Pls. XXXIV, f, g, h, and XXXV, a, b, d, are his. Frank Savory kindly read and improved my manuscript. Mrs. Ellen Ettlinger, née Rathenau, obliged me and other students of the subject with a concordance of plates and text in Hogarth's book: copies of this useful instrument are in the Ashmolean Museum and in the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum. Dr. Azis Ogan most kindly contributed the photographs Pl. XXXV, c, and XXXVI, d and f.

I refer to the plates and text of *British Museum Excavations at Ephesus* without the title of the book and mostly without the name of Hogarth. *Catalogue of Jewellery in the British Museum, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman*, is quoted by the name of the writer, Marshall.

² Bronze objects earlier than the seventh century from outside the Basis are the following: the pin pl. 18. 22, insufficiently illustrated and not described; it looks strangely primeval. The pin pl. 18. 24, seems to be Late Geometric. The fibulae pl. 17. 12, and 13, have been classified by Blinkenberg *Fibulae graecae et orientales* (p. 62 II, 2 f.; p. 64, II, 4 f.) as 'submycénien'—which would have consequences for the history of the Ephesian cult, yet this

group comprises heterogeneous types: Blinkenberg himself (p. 209) says that Ephesian fibulae such as that pl. 5. 1 (p. 209 fig. 229, group XII, 1 b)—which are obviously of the seventh century—are related to his sub-Mycenaean group II: the two bronze fibulae pl. 17. 12, 13, are no doubt coarse versions of archaic electrum pieces of the type pl. 5. 1, and thus of no interest for the early history of the sanctuary.

The bronze bird pl. 19. 8, looks Late Geometric: its closest analogy is a bronze bird from the Athenian Acropolis, de Ridder p. 85 fig. 55; the bronze birds from Olympia to which Hogarth and de Ridder refer are different in style and purpose.

These Ephesian bronze objects, like the sub-Geometric bronze fibulae pl. 17. 3, 14, 21-5 (Blinkenberg *loc. cit.* p. 86, III 11 g; p. 101, IV, 11 m; p. 98, IV, 10 e) are votive offerings of people from the islands or from mainland Greece. To the fibulae enumerated by Blinkenberg those from Kato Phana, Chios, *BSA* XXXV pl. 31 should be added.

³ Hogarth's suggestion (pp. 111, 114 and 197) that the electrum-plated silver ornaments pls. 4. 5, 7; 7. 8, 15; 8. 19, are the caps of dagger-hilts, and the ivory (or bone?) tubes pl. 41. 1, 4, mountings of sword-handles is unfounded. The electrum pin pl. 5. 38, is not a 'miniature sword' (see my p. 86 n. 5). The glass handle-knobs pl. 45. 34, 35, are too small for having been pommels of daggers (Hogarth p. 209).

⁴ Payne and Young pl. 13. 3 and 5; Schrader *Marmor-bildwerke* text pp. 321 and 322, figs. 369 and 372.

berg 224, XII, 14 f; 220, XII, 13 d) Blinkenberg refers to fibulae from Gordion, but the tumuli in which they appear cover not only the seventh century but at least the first half of the sixth as well so that they are of little help for dating related pieces from the Ephesian basis.

The same is true of gold, electrum, and silver pins (of the last none were found in the Basis). Their forms are peculiar to Ephesus, and similarities to Dorian ones, which are more or less dateable, are slight. 'Pear' or 'bud' heads (pl. 5, 8, 11, 22, 28) occur in the Peloponnese, but they differ in details and cover too long a period to provide precise dates for the Ephesian ones.⁵

Fourteen ivory (or bone) two-disc brooches were found in the Basis, pl. 32, 1-9 (p. 187). Very similar pieces come from other sanctuaries and a few from tombs: the former are not stratified, and the latter lack telling co-finds.⁶

Ivory and bone pins are more numerous than in other sanctuaries.⁷ Nearly all types are represented in the Basis (pl. 33, 1-14, 21-2, 30, 33 and many of the pins on pl. 34). Pomegranate and poppy pins and 'pear' or 'bud' heads have plentiful analogies in bronze, gold, and silver elsewhere, but differ from them in essential features.

Next, objects for which a date in the first half of the seventh century can be established.

The electrum roundel with a griffin, pl. 8, 3; Marshall no. 904, p. 68 fig. 10, impressed on the front cover of Hogarth's book, here Pl. XXXI, a. Three specimens were found in the Basis, one fragmentary: here an analogy may be seen to three plaques with the man-eating lions, Pl. XXXI, b.

Hogarth (p. 110) called the griffin a lion and suggested that he was 'snapping at a butterfly or bee, which is conventionally represented high up in the field on the right'. The insect is in fact only one of those filling ornaments which cover all the background as well. The right answer to Hogarth was given by Martial *Epigr.* 12, 61

In tauros Libyci ruunt leones
Non sunt papilionibus molesti.

Hogarth felt himself vaguely reminded of 'Hittite' art in Cappadocia or of mid-European art. It is indeed a strange piece, difficult to place in the arts of the seventh century. The griffin has the curves of Orientalising animals of the earlier century: lions on Protoattic vases of the second quarter might be compared. The field round the griffin is covered with filling ornament, cross-hatched configurations, and what might have been intended to represent cable patterns. This recalls Ephesian electrum coins, pl. 1, 19-27, on which cocks stand against a background of 'basketry work'—to use this convenient but misleading term, misleading, because these cross-hatched squares do not render basketry or woven patterns but are abstract ornaments, found in the repertory of Geometric and post-Geometric styles in Italy and the North: they had their great vogue in Celtic art in the British Isles.⁸ I do not remember to have seen such a treatment of background in Greek metal work. Notwithstanding the abstract origin of the design it may be asked if the die-sinker took his inspiration from a κισίων Λύδιος.⁹

⁵ Very close to the Ephesian type comes the pin *Perachora* pl. 76, 8 (p. 175). The electrum pin pl. 5, 38, not from the Basis but from the West Area, is a miniature copy of sub-Geometric Peloponnesian ones such as that from Argos, Waldstein pl. 137, no. 345, or that from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia *BSA* 13, 110 fig. 1, k: a woman from Argos or Sparta, πατρώιον ἄστν λιποῦσα, had her—or her mother's or grandmother's—peplos-pin copied by an Ephesian goldsmith, wore it with her Ionian dress, and dedicated it to Artemis: the copy of course defies dating.

⁶ Blinkenberg pp. 262 ff. gave a list, which could be enlarged. He still dated the fibulae from the Ephesian Basis and from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia before 700 B.C. This is ruled out by the cable patterns and by other considerations. At Olynthus, tomb 516, a bone disc

brooch, *Olynthus* X, 101 no. 340, similar to pl. 20 no. 339, was accompanied by a Corinthian aryballos, similar to the one figured in *Olynthus* V pl. 44, 3. This would date the burial to the second quarter of the sixth century, but provide only a terminus ante quem for the brooch.

⁷ Two ivory pins in Cambridge said to come from Ephesus, *RA* 31 1930 pl. 6, one with a cross-hatched bud, the other with a hand as head, might be Roman: compare *Expl. arch. de Délos* XVIII pl. 85, and possibly Waldstein *The Argive Heraeum* II pl. 140, 61, 62, 64.

⁸ Jacobsthal *Early Celtic Art* 74; Sir Cyril Fox *Antiquaries Journal* XXVIII (1948), 123 ff.

⁹ Inventory of the Samian Heraeum, Michel 832; Bechtel *SGDI* 5702; Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* 404; Buschor *Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Textilkunst* 44.

The griffin relief is not Ephesian. The likeness of the griffin to Protoattic lions, to which I have pointed, is perhaps more than a general resemblance of contemporary works. Is the tondo Attic? An Attic bronze relief of pure Protoattic style has been found outside Athens at Dodona, *Ἡπειρωτικά Χρονικά* pl. 19. α, 2: it is decorated with plants identical with those on the Analatos hydria *JdI* II (1887) pl. 3; Kübler, *Altattische Malerei* p. 39, 10.¹⁰

On the Ephesian relief the whole ground is densely covered with fillings; on Geometric and Early Orientalising vases as a rule the filling ornaments keep clear of the contours of figures: vases on which they touch or almost touch them are not entirely missing: I am thinking of Protoattic vases such as the fragmentary krater with the Sphinxes, *BSA* XXXV, pl. 51. c; Kübler, *loc. cit.* fig. 21.¹¹ Of the filling ornaments on the relief the guilloches recur on Protoattic vases from the Analatos hydria onwards; for the cross-hatchings they offer no analogy. Nevertheless it seems to me easier to translate the tondo into the style of Protoattic vases than to look out for analogies in Hittite or central European arts.

Three specimens of an electrum relief, pl. 3. 10 more nearly complete than pl. 8. 4, here Pl. XXXI, b, and that in the British Museum, Marshall no. 908, p. 69 fig. 13. Did they all three decorate the same object, perhaps a wooden casket or were they sewn on a textile?

The plaques have a border of bosses on all four sides, and there is above the figure panel a band with what looks like three two-leaved plants with a bud in the axil of the leaves (preserved in the first specimen). Two antithetic rampant lions and between them a figure are represented. The near hind legs tread on the ground, the off hind legs appear higher up, obviously resting on a support, which, however, is not represented here: in other groups of this kind it is a rock, a pedestal, a flower or the like.¹² The near forelegs touch the figure's breast, the far ones its knees. The heads are very large. There is a blob on the shoulder, and another on the haunches, an abbreviation of elaborate patterns, often marking these spots in Oriental and Orientalising lions. The figure, drawn in profile, stands to the right; the feet remain in the air, at some distance above the far hind paws of the lions. The right arm touches the raised forepaw of the right-hand lion. The figure is nude, male rather than female. Quite apart from its sex, this miserable dwarf is not, as has been suggested by Hogarth (pp. 110; 326, III) and accepted by other writers, the Mistress of the Beasts but the victim of the lions. This story was popular in eighth- and seventh-century Greece: (a) Attic Late Geometric gold bands.¹³ On these as on the Cretan shield Kunze *loc. cit.* no. 6, pls. 10-20; Beilage 1, the victim is helmeted. (b) Late Geometric Attic kantharos in Copenhagen,¹⁴ Pl. XXXI, c: the man's head is in the mouth of one of the lions, the buttocks in that of the other. (c) Bronze fibula Berlin, Hampe *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Boeotien* pl. 11 no. 58, Pl. XXXI, d, beginning of seventh century. The composition is similar to that of the Ephesian electrum plaques, but an advanced phase of the story is shown: only head and chest of the man remain, the rest is in the bellies of the lions.¹⁵

These three plaques and the relief in the British Museum, Marshall no. 907, p. 69 fig. 12 (*Ephesus* pl. 3. 6 and 8. 9), range very low among Ephesian gold work and have a strange, provincial look. Bad works are difficult to date: origin in the second quarter of the seventh century seems likely.

¹⁰ John Cook *BSA* XXXV, 205 'about 700'; Kübler *loc. cit.* 10 '730-720.'

¹¹ John Cook *loc. cit.* '675'; Kübler, p. 12, dates the vase a little earlier.

¹² Omitting the well-known Mycenaean examples I mention a few of the seventh and sixth centuries. Most of the lions turn their heads back, and there are other differences of posture. Amphora, *Thera* II, 213 fig. 420. Ivory, *Artemis Orthia* pl. 111. Corinthian bronze mirror, Payne *Necrocorinthia* 227 fig. 102, B. Bronze plaques from shields, *AM* XLI (1916) pl. 4 (Noicattaro); *Perachora* pl. 50. 1, 2 (p. 148). Gold pectoral, Filow *Die archaische Nekropole von Trebenische* p. 14 fig. 10 (pl. 2. 2); p. 16 fig. 12 (pl. 4. 1). Electrum coin of uncertain Ionian mint, Hill *Guide to the principal coins of the Greeks* pl. 1. 13. Clay relief, Waldstein

The Argive Heraeum II, 28 fig. 42 (not Mycenaean but sixth century B.C.). Middle Corinthian column crater, Louvre E 628, Payne *Necrocorinthia* no. 1169: the lions tread on a bema, as if performing in a circus. Bronze plaque, de Ridder *Catalogue des bronzes trouvées sur l'Acropole d'Athènes* 40 fig. 14. Tile, *Sardis* 10, 1 pl. 5.

¹³ Kunze *Kretische Bronzereliefs* 265; Reichel *Das griechische Goldrelief* 55, which should be read with Kunze's review *Gnomon* XXI (1949) 5-6.

¹⁴ *CVA Copenhagen* 2, III H pl. 73 (= Denmark 74), 5 b, and clearer in the drawing *AZ* XLIII (1885) pl. 8. 2, whence Furtwängler *Kleine Schriften* II, pl. 24. 2.

¹⁵ In *Early Celtic Art* 32 ff. and 57 I have said something on other representations of the story.

POTTERY

Three sherds, p. 220 figs. 46, 47 (whence Lambrino *Les vases archaïques d'Histria* 344 fig. 341, 9), 48,¹⁶ belong to a class of vases termed Samian-Ephesian by Technau *AM* LIV (1929) 22: there on Beilage 11, 12, and 13 Samian pottery showing the same or similar motives is illustrated.¹⁷ Other sherds of such style found at Ephesus outside the Basis are pp. 228 fig. 54; 229 fig. 56 (Lambrino *loc. cit.* 341 fig. 10). The date of these vases is about the middle of the seventh century B.C.¹⁸ The large vases of which the sherds formed part were no votive offerings: the fragments obviously slipped into the Basis with the filling earth (Gjerstad *Liverpool Annals* 1937, p. 30). Besides these sherds there are from the Basis three small, plain jars, mentioned on p. 234, but not described or illustrated. As such cheap articles have otherwise not been found in the deposit, the presence of the jars would be best explained if they had not themselves been dedicated but had served as the containers for the offerings proper, coins or gold ornaments, or perhaps ointments or perfume.

SCARABS

I here append eight scarabs, found in the filling earth of the Basis, pp. 204-5, fig. 43, 1-4 and 6-9, which are generally assigned to the 26th dynasty, 660-25.¹⁹

The following ornaments can, with more or less precision, be assigned to various phases of the second half of the seventh century.

GOLD LION FIBULA

Pls. 3, 2; 4, 35; Blinkenberg *loc. cit.* 279, XVI, 17 a, here Pl. XXXI, e. The fibula measures in length 2.5 cm. It is closed on the reverse by a flat, half-circular plate, on which pin and pin-catch are fastened. The structural parts are hidden; the bow and the area within are covered with ornament: the same tendency is at work in the Ephesian ivory brooch of unique type, pl. 32, 12. The bow ends on either side in a lion's head. This feature recurs in a bronze fibula from the Caucasus, Kalitinski, *Receuil Kondakov* pl. 7, 21, whence Sundwall *Die älteren italischen Fibeln* 23 fig. 13, d. Sundwall noticed the Anatolian character of the pin-catch: the fibula is in fact more likely an import from Asia Minor than of Caucasian origin. The only other Greek fibula with an animal head at either end of the bow is the seventh-century piece with snakes' heads from Pherae, Blinkenberg *loc. cit.* 126 fig. 157. Two fibulae show a lion's head at one end of the bow only, Blinkenberg 226 fig. 259, from Pherae, and 224, fig. 257, from Dodona, the former of the sixth century, the latter probably of the fifth.

The arc of the bow is set with upright 'barley-corns' and four-petalled flowers alternately: there are from the Artemesium other gold ornaments, decorated in the same taste. The large flower in the middle has six leaves, which have the shape of a double lancet: three are plain, three are foliated. In the centre of the flower is a matrix for inlay. The foliated leaves have three Ionian analogies: the first is in the gold quatrefoils from Delphi *BCH* LXIII (1939) pl. 34 (p. 103 no. 49), here Pl. XXXI, f: here the leaves are more like palmettes with a long kernel. The second is a gold diadem with rosette-leaves of this form from Kelermes, *AA* XX

¹⁶ The fragment fig. 48, with no indication of provenience on p. 220, is no doubt the third of the 'three fragments of painted pottery from the Basis', enumerated on p. 234.

¹⁷ Of the two bands which decorate the fragment of the bowl, fig. 47, the bottom one occurs in various styles of the seventh century (Johansen *Les vases sicyoniens* 117-8); it is found in the Samian-Ephesian group, *AM loc. cit.* pl. 11, 1 and pl. 12, 3-8 (Rumpf *Jdl* XLVIII (1933) 70, III, a, 4 and 5). The upper band is formed by serpentine with fillings. A roughly contemporary example occurs on a

bronze shield from Idalion, Perrot 3, fig. 636, whence *AJA* 54 1950, 294 fig. 2. Sixth century: Late-Clazomenian Northampton vase (Beazley *PBSR* XI (1929) pls. 1, 2, 4; the pattern, Endt *Jonische Vasenmalerei* pl. 2, 16). More floral, on the Droop cup *JHS* LII (1932) 69 fig. 11: the cup might have been painted in the second quarter of the sixth century; the Northampton vase is dated by Beazley to 540 B.C.

¹⁸ Rumpf *Jdl* XLVIII (1933), 65.

¹⁹ P. 207, and Pieper, quoted by Gjerstad *op. cit.* 30.

(1905) 59 fig. 4; Ebert *Reallexikon* 13 pl. 27 A, b: there is the same alternation of plain and foliated leaves. The third is found on a fragment of a Vroulia cup, *JHS* XLIV (1924) 189 fig. 13. I shall presently mention another motive occurring on these cups and in Ephesian jewellery.

The lion heads belong to a group of Greek seventh-century lions characterised by a flower-like pattern of wrinkles on the nose. The clearest examples are the bronze gargoyle lion with a frog from Samos,²⁰ Pl. XXXII, a, and the 'Menekrates' lion from Korfu.²¹ Rodenwaldt dates the latter to the last decade of the seventh century, and thereabouts the Ephesian lion fibula, the finest ornament from the Artemisium, a marvel of μικροτεχνία, might have its place. This and related formulae for the nose-wrinkles of lions follow Oriental models²² but all render nature: Pl. XXXII, b shows two three-months-old lion cubs in the Chessington Zoo.²³

The lion heads forming the terminals of two gold foil tubes from the Basis, pls. 7. 29; 9. 1, are described by Hogarth (p. 114) as similar to the fibula lions: the photographs are not good enough to check this. The purpose of the little tubes is not clear; Hogarth thought of pin-heads, hilts, or miniature sceptres: none of these are likely.

CUP SPIRALS AND LOZENGES

Of Ephesian ornamental motives one offers itself for treatment here: it was a favourite pattern of Ephesian jewellers, it is, within certain limits, dateable, and sheds light on the connexions of the arts of seventh-century Greece with Minoan art and the Near East. The ornament is a configuration of cup spirals turning their backs to the centre; another version, at Ephesus less frequent, is a lozenge with scrolls or 'maeander hooks' at the corners. At Ephesus the cup spirals and the lozenges are divided clearly from one another, but often enough a specimen cannot with certainty be assigned to either version. It is probable that from the beginning the two versions existed side by side, often fusing.

The objects on which these ornaments appear are most of them gold or electrum; they were found in the Basis and elsewhere in the sanctuary.²⁴ Pl. XXXIII, a, b, c, e (Marshall 827; Hogarth pls. 4. 31; 8. 25. 27) give examples of the cup-spiral design, Pl. XXXIII, d (pl. 10. 16) of the lozenge pattern. Pl. XXXIII, c and e are plaques with repoussé decoration, the others have a cut-out contour. The pieces of the first group, as nail-holes in some show, were mounted on wood or leather; those of the second group sewn in textiles; pl. 4. 26, and pl. 4. 31, my Pl. XXXIII, b, are brooches: the reverse is illustrated on pl. 10. 34.

In ivory there are two roundels, pl. 38. 12 and pl. 40. 11, with cup spirals, reminiscent of the gold roundel, Pl. XXXIII, e.

The ivory seal, pl. 27. 3, a, b (Barnett, *JHS* LXVIII (1948), pl. 6. d), a work of the first half of the seventh century, not from the Basis, also belongs here. In the roundel three wiry cup spirals are inscribed, and in each of the three resulting compartments a seated griffin is seen.²⁵

In the Appendix (pp. 93-5) I give a list of these ornaments, which illustrates their chronology and regional distribution. Both types are centred on the islands; examples from mainland Greece are scarce: the gold band from Delphi is an import from Ionia. Other imported

²⁰ Buschor *Altägyptische Standbilder* 213, 216, 217 (p. 57); Dunkley *BSA* XXXVI 194.

²¹ Rodenwaldt *Korkyra* II, 177 ff. figs. 154-165.

²² Relief from Khorsabad, Louvre, *Enc. Photogr.* I, 304, 305; stone head of a lion from Sippar (Abu Habbah) in the British Museum, fig. 2 on p. 160 below; both are of the later seventh century, B.C. See also Rodenwaldt *loc. cit.* 143 ff.; Ekrem Akurgal *Späthethitische Bildkunst* 52 ff., 56, 57, 78.

²³ From a photograph by Raymond S. Kleboe, by permission of *Picture Post*.

²⁴ Besides the pieces illustrated here there are the following others:

Cup spiral plaques, pl. 8. 11 (Marshall pl. 9. 880), 12, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29; pl. 10. 33.

Cup spirals in openwork, pl. 9. 33-6, 38, 41-8 (Marshall pl. 9. 840).

Lozenges, pl. 8. 5 (Marshall pl. 9. 883), pl. 12. 26 (Marshall pl. 10. 1049), silver.

Engraved on the chiton of the hawk-priestess, p. 136 fig. 30.

²⁵ Cecil Smith (p. 169 no. 39) says that the griffins with wide-open jaw look back over their shoulder: in fact they are looking straight on, and what Smith took for an open jaw is an aigrette.

pieces with such ornaments only reflect Ionian models. For textiles and ivories it should be remembered that weavers and ivory-carvers came over and were the agents of Ionic designs.

None of the Greek examples are earlier than 700 B.C., and a few only are later than 600 B.C. Of these the latest are on two nesiotic korai from the Akropolis of the close of the sixth century, one being a dress pattern, the other on an earring: textile patterns are long-lived, and the earring might have been a family piece.

The Ephesian lozenges with 'maeander hooks' have their analogies on Rhodian and Parian vases of the first quarter of the seventh century, the cup spirals on vases of the later part of the century: thus the first would be among the earlier, the second among the later objects from the Basis.²⁶

Sam Wide, *AM XXII* (1897), 233 ff., was the first to deal with these ornaments, and in *Early Celtic Art* pl. 268, 186-212 (pp. 63-4; 74-5), I illustrated their history from Mycenae to the Celts. Wide sought the origin of the Greek patterns in Mycenaean art, where, however, they are not very frequent. We both of us disregarded the fact that the ornament was popular in the arts of the Near East in the second millennium and the first four centuries of the first. The Cretan-Mycenaean ornaments and the Greek archaic ones both reflect Oriental prototypes. It may be asked if there was continuity between the two phases in the West, or whether there were two separate waves, carrying these motives and other artistic goods westwards: I for one believe in the second alternative.

Finally one more gold ornament from the Basis for which Greek analogies of the seventh century can be found, the narrow strip, pl. 9. 50, hardly a diadem, as Hogarth (p. 109) was inclined to believe. It is decorated with a row of unconnected *pretzels*. The Cretan gold strips from Thera, *AM XXVIII* (1903), pl. 5. 13, 14, p. 228 (Reichel *Das griechische Goldrelief* 56 nos. 46, a, b; Kunze, *Gnomon* 1949, 9), to which Hogarth refers, bear only a general resemblance: they show continuous cables, not single closed *pretzels*. The Ephesian ornament has analogies in painted pottery of the very early seventh century from Knossos (*BSA XXIX* pls. 20. 1; 23. 2; p. 279 fig. 34, no. 54 (and related 43); *BSA XXXI*, 76 fig. 17). The Ephesian gold strip might be as early as the Cretan vases, but it might equally well be later: the motive, in a more ornate form, still appears on the Fikellura oinochoe in the British Museum A 693, *BSA XXXIV*, pl. 16. a (p. 37).

FIGURINES OF THE EARLY SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

There are from the Basis four tiny electrum statuettes of women in sphyrelaton technique, measuring in height between 1.5 and 3 cm., pl. 4. 4, here Pl. XXXIII, g, 13, 14, 15. The first, in the British Museum, was well described by Marshall p. 80, 1040 'a shell, stamped with the figure of a woman, in two halves, one for the front, the other for the back. They were originally joined by being folded over one another'. There was a core: that of pl. 4. 15 is silver (Hogarth). The pieces pl. 4. 13, 14, were, as traces show, fixed on a pin: if they were dress-pins, they would be the only examples of this type from archaic Greece. Hogarth took the other figurines for pendants, but this is doubtful. The women are commonly said to be Artemis, which is incapable of proof. The statuette in the British Museum, like the hawk-priestess, holds a jug in her right hand and a patera in her left.

These four electrum figurines, closely related to one another, are in all probability the works of Ephesian jewellers. The heavy, gloomy faces with big noses recall that of the Sphinx on three gold reliefs from the Basis, pl. 8. 2 (Marshall no. 905, p. 69 fig. 11), here Pl. XXXIII, f, which, as Kunze (*loc. cit.* 259) saw, are of the first half of the seventh century, and of the ivory

²⁶ I have on p. 89. quoted the Ephesian ivory roundel pl. 38. 12—not from the Basis—because of the cup spirals on its obverse, but not mentioned the coarsely engraved decoration of the reverse, pl. 38. 10, an alternation of lotus flowers and buds: the flowers with five leaves are the

type common in Milesian-Rhodian pottery of the late seventh century; the buds have ovaries, characteristic of roses, frequent on Chalcidian vases (Jacobsthal *Ornamente griechischer Vasen* 165). I do not know earlier examples and am at a loss to date the roundel.

statuette, pl. 24, 5, here Pl. XXXIII, h, i,²⁷ and there is perhaps still a family-likeness in the slightly later bronze statuette, pl. 14, a woman with a large aquiline nose, the portrait of an aged head-priestess rather than Artemis.²⁸ The chitons of nos. 4, 13, 15 show folds; no. 14 wants them but need not for that reason be earlier than the others.²⁹ Langlotz in Schrader *Marmorbildwerke* p. 11 pointed out that drapery-folds are an innovation of the sixth century, and on p. 33 n. 15 cited examples, the first of them being the just-quoted bronze statuette, which he took for Samian, as already Hogarth had done.

Of larger size are the electrum shells of heads or busts pl. 4. 1, 2, here Pl. XXXIII, k, l, and pl. 4. 6. The first recalls the ivory head *Sardis* XIII, 1 pl. 8 (whence *JHS* LXVIII (1948) 23 fig. 20) and is Lydian or mixo-Lydian. There is also something un-Greek in nos. 2 and 6.³⁰

Next, a fragment of an ivory 'hawk-priestess', pl. 25. 1, here Pl. XXXIV, b: preserved are the hawk and the top piece of the pole.³¹ This is the only ivory sculpture and the only hawk-priestess from the Basis; the others, the complete statuette, pl. 21. 6 and pl. 22, here Pl. XXXIV, f, g, h, and those of which only hawks and fragments or traces of poles survive (pl. 25. 6 and possibly others on the same plate)³² were found in the West Area of temple A.

There are many hawks from the Artemisium, gold, solid and sphyrelaton, silver, bronze, ivory, terracotta, and fayence.³³ A few of the hawks are in low relief or flat, gold or silver, pendants or fibulae: they show the birds with wings spread. Compare them with the ivory eagle fibulae of the first quarter of the seventh century, *Orthia* pl. 134, and with the eagle on the contemporary Protocorinthian aryballos in Boston, Johansen *Les vases sicyoniens* pl. 22. 2; Payne *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* pl. 11. 1-5. The majority of the birds are wrought in the round,³⁴ and devised for profile view.

Some of the hawks (pl. 6. 62, here Pl. XXXIV, d; pl. 15. 16; pl. 25. 3) grip a round perch: thus would the artists see the sacred birds of Artemis in the aviary of the temple. That the hawks wore jewellery may be concluded from the beads round the neck of the gold hawk, pl. 4. 23, and the silver hawk, pl. 11. 5; the bronze hawk in the British Museum, pl. 15. 16—badly corroded but a much better work than the illustration would suggest—also wore a necklace. Is the woman with the two birds, pl. 24. 8, here Pl. XXXVI, d, e, a neokoros, a novice entrusted with the care of the sacred hawks³⁵? Did the maidens at the feast of the goddess go in procession, carrying on their heads a pole with a hawk perched on it? Athenian women in the Panathenaic procession did not carry owls on poles or hold owls at their waist.

Cecil Smith has adduced examples of hawks on poles or columns from Asia Minor and Egypt, which, however, are not very helpful. More pertinent is the image of the Potnia Theron with an eagle on her head in the bronze hydria from Graechwil (Bloesch *Antike Kunst in Schweizer Privatbesitz* pls. 3-5; pp. 22 ff.; 148 ff.), a Greek work from South Italy, a little earlier than the Ephesian hawk-priestesses. Another analogy worth mentioning is the

²⁷ See p. 93.

²⁸ Miss Richter *Archaic Greek Art* fig. 70 (where the caption should read Istanbul instead of London); Matz *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* I pl. 70, a (pp. 162 and 516 n. 140); Riis *Berytus IX* (1949) pl. 19. 3 (p. 86). Rumpf *Griechische und römische Kunst* 18. The very carefully executed facsimile in the British Museum shows traces of gilding: it is at present not possible to check this in Istanbul.

²⁹ The chitons of the ivory statuettes, Pl. XXXVI, d-e, f, made at a time when drapery-folds were current, are now foldless but it is likely that the folds were painted on.

³⁰ Kunze *loc. cit.* 259 noticed the un-Greek character of no. 6.

³¹ On p. 161 no. 12 Cecil Smith classifies it under ivories but says that the material of this and of the similar bird, pl. 25. 6 (p. 161 no. 13) appears to be wood. Hogarth in the list of wooden objects (p. 217) has omitted both, and the hawk, pl. 25. 1, is not in his list of the contents of the Basis (pp. 233-4, nos. 7 and 13).

³² Cecil Smith (p. 172) thinks it possible that the ivory statuette of the spinning woman, pl. 24. 1 (here Pl. XXXV,

a, b), carried a hawk-topped pole, fitted into a hole sunk in the crown of her head. This is unlikely, if my interpretation of the maidens with hawks is correct.

³³ Hogarth, p. 342, index s.v. 'hawks'. Stanley Robinson draws my attention to a bronze hawk (sixth century?) from the Artemisium at Cyrene, *Africa Italiana* IV (1931), 196 no. 2, figs. 22, 22a.

³⁴ Hawks displayed. Flat: pl. 4. 16; pl. 7. 19, 20; Marshall pl. 9. 1041, whence Pl. XXXIV, c. In relief: pl. 4. 21-4, 27, 28; pl. 7. 27, 28; pl. 11. 10 (silver).

Hawks in profile. Only pl. 11. 9 (silver) is a cut-out silhouette; the others are in the round: Gold, pl. 4. 36; pl. 6. 62 (Marshall 1042), here Pl. XXXIV, d, both from the Basis. Silver pl. 11. 1-6, 8. Bronze, pl. 15. 14-6. Terracotta, pp. 200, 201, figs. 39, 40. Fayence, pls. 43 and 44, several. On the ivory hawks see above in the text.

³⁵ Picard, *Ephèse et Claros* 490 'deux éperviers entourés de bandelettes et tenus sur chacune de ses mains: the bandelettes are in fact the crossed tips of the wings, for which the gold hawk, pl. 4. 36 (p. 96), gives an analogy.

Luristan bronze figure, Godard, *Les bronzes du Luristan* pl. 56. 205, 205 bis: a man, carrying on his head a short profiled pole, which is topped by a displayed bird-hawk or eagle. Identical birds on similar stems form the head of Luristan bronze pins, Godard *loc. cit.* pl. 33. 125, Ashmolean Museum; Sydney, Nicholson Museum, Trendall *Handbook* 112, fig. 15, a; pins of another type with such a bird are *Bulletin Bruxelles* 1932, 102 fig. 28, and New York Metropolitan Museum 131592/53 g. It is difficult to say whether the likeness between the bird-carrying Ephesian women and the Luristan man is more than one of motive.

What is the date of the statuette of which the hawk from the Basis formed part? The woman—if she were preserved—would answer this question, the bird does not. These hawks are of various types: some, such as that of the hawk-priestess, Pl. XXXIV, a, or the gold hawk, Pl. XXXIV, d, are slender and sit erect; others are sturdy; that from the Basis, Pl. XXXIV, b, stands between them. The build of the birds is no chronological criterion. Only the bronze hawk on a hare, pl. 15. 14, can by its style be assigned to the second half of the sixth century; of the others only those which are preserved with the women who carry them, the pair of the statuette, Pl. XXXVI, d and e, and the hawk of the hawk-priestess. These statuettes, as I shall point out presently, are works of the second quarter of the sixth century. This is no reason for dating the hawk-priestess from the Basis as late as this, and to upset the well-established chronology of the contents of the Foundation Deposit. The hawk from the Basis just proves that ivory statuettes of maidens with hawks were dedicated to Artemis already in the seventh century or in the early sixth.

The hawk-priestess from the Basis, of which the hawk alone survives, calls for some remarks on the other Ephesian ivory figurines: none of them comes from the Basis, but it will appear that their study sheds light on finds from the Basis, which are the subject proper of my paper.

First, the hawk-priestess, Pl. XXXIV, f, g, h.

No marble statue expresses the East Greek ideal of a kore more clearly than this ivory statuette, only just over 4 in. high. Modesty and composure are virtues seen in the korai from the Athenian Acropolis, but the vitality and naiveté on this face have not their like in Athens. Such might have been the looks of the maidens dear to Sappho; and one might feel oneself reminded of her by Foolish Virgins in a French Cathedral of the early thirteenth century.

She is of purest Greek style. Her sister is the marble head, Berlin 1631, Langlotz *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* pl. 70. b. Her twin-brother is the bronze kouros in Stockholm, Richter, *Kouroi* pl. 26 no. 21. Other relations of hers are the marble head of a kouros from Rhodes (?) in Istanbul, Richter pl. 83 no. 111, and those clay perfume-pots in form of a female bust, of which three well-illustrated pieces may be quoted, two, *CVA Oxford* 2, 2 D pl. 7 and one in Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, Riis, *Orientalisk og Klassisk Oldtid* fig. 16. There are more, but it is not always clear whether the likeness is one of style or physiognomy.³⁶

There is to-day agreement that the hawk-priestess is a work of the second quarter of the sixth century, more likely of its later part.³⁷

Of the nine ivory statuettes illustrated by Hogarth on pl. 24 two have to be left on one side: no. 2 is one of the eastern copies of Syrian Astarte plaques, recently dealt with by Riis, *Berytus IX* (1949), 69 ff., and no. 4 is an unfinished, abandoned piece, perhaps the votive offering of a poor woman: it is not possible to say what it would have looked like when

³⁶ Langlotz *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* 118 ff. gave a list of these works, which he then attributed to Samos.

³⁷ Kunze *Kretische Bronzereliefs* 258. The oinochoe in her right hand and the dish in her left neither confirm nor contradict this date. The dish is of a type of which three examples, bronze, have come down to us: New York, Richter 538, from Cyprus. Ekrem Akurgal, *Bayrakli (Zeitschrift der philosophischen Fakultät Ankara VIII, 1950)* pl. B, two, one from Ankara, one from Manisa. Akurgal adduced the dish of the hawk priestess. The vessels are Greek rather than Phrygian, as Akurgal is inclined to believe: Payne's remarks, *Perachora* p. 161 are instructive. Such a dish with studs on the top surface of the rim, is

carried upright by a woman represented in an ivory statuette, *Olynthus X* pl. 2. 8; pp. 14, 15 figs. 1a, 1b. The piece, possibly Ionic, is not much earlier than 480 B.C. David Robinson considered phiale, wreath, or tympanon as possible interpretations of the object and decided for the second. By the way, comparison of the statuette with the marble statue, Buschor *Altgriechische Standbilder* 160-2 (p. 14, n. 73) is misleading. The handle of the vessel has nothing to do with those of the bowls referred to on p. 15, n. 76, nor can I see what the studded dish of the ivory figure has in common with the lead disc *Olynthus X* pl. 159 no. 2536.

finished. There remain seven more. Of these pl. 24. 5, here Pl. XXXIII, h, i, only 3 cm. h., resembles the little electrum sphyrelaton, pl. 4. 14, in a lesser degree also pl. 4. 4, here Pl. XXXIII, g: it is the modest work of an Ephesian ivorist, untouched by Oriental influence.

The Eastern element is strongest in the spinning woman,³⁸ pl. 24. 1, here Pl. XXXV, a, b, which is almost indistinguishable from Oriental work, and, very little tempered, in the 'Megabyzos', pl. 24. 7 and 11, here Pl. XXXV, c, d. The kore in Cambridge,³⁹ pl. 24. 9 a-c, here Pl. XXXVI, a, b, has still a slight Eastern note in her face, but compare her with the statuette, Pl. XXXV, a, b: body, stance, and gestures of the spinster are of an Oriental languid grace; the kore in Cambridge at a first glance seems to be tied with invisible chains of archaic convention, but soon you come to see how she is conscious of her body, full of latent energy: that is Greek. She has her place somewhere after the statue from Auxerre in the Louvre, which was made not long after the middle of the seventh century, and not far from such statues as that from the Ptoion, Athens, National Museum no. 4; Langlotz in Schrader *Marmorbildwerke*, text 12 fig. 1, left, dated (p. 33 n. 17; p. 41) to the end of the century. She has nothing of that motley which makes Cypriote or Naucratic sculpture unsavoury.

This cannot be said of a second group which comprises the figurines, pl. 24. 3, 8, 10, here Pl. XXXVI, f, d-e, c: in these the Greek element comes to the fore, and of the Eastern ingredient just enough is left to make Pl. XXXVI, d-e, and f repulsive.

The spinster and the Megabyzos were carved by Oriental ivorists who came in the second half of the seventh century and made votive offerings for the Ephesians: they depicted the garments of their patrons with Greek patterns (Hogarth p. 156 fig. 30). The kore, Pl. XXXVI, a, b, might be the work of a gifted Greek apprentice. In the course of the sixth century the school hellenised: on the one hand there is the hawk-priestess, a masterpiece of pure Greek style; on the other hand those hybrids.⁴⁰

The strong point of this school of Ephesian ivory-workers was not human but animal sculpture, but this is outside the scope of these pages.

PAUL JACOBSTHAL.

APPENDIX

(to pp. 89-90)

THE NEAR EAST

Chains of lozenges

On painted pottery: Bittel *Prähistorische Forschung in Kleinasien* pl. 7. 3 (Bossert *Alt-Anatolien* pl. 74. 372), from Kültepe, first half of second millennium. Ghirshman *Fouilles de Sialk* 1 pl. 62; p. 448.

Cup spirals

First half of second millennium. Lid of clay vase from Troy III, H. Schmidt *Schliemanns Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer* 2470.

Second half of second millennium. In the context of Sacred trees or in lieu of them, on numerous cylinder seals (Weber *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* 479. E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* 64 fig. 55. Frankfort *Cylinder Seals* pl. 31. i, and others). Examples of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1260-30): lead plaques from his temple, Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ischtartempel in Assur* pl. 46. a-e. Wall-painting from Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, Andrae *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur* pl. 1, very elaborate.

First centuries of first millennium. Relief from the palace of Ashur-nasir-pal, Budge *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum* pl. 52. 4. Cylinder seals: Weber *l.c.* 481. H. Carnegie *Southesk Collection* 2 pl. 7 fig. Q C 11. Enamelled brick from Babylon, Koldewey *Das wiedererstehende Babylon* (1931) fig. 64.

Minoan

Sealing from Zakro *JHS* XXII (1902) pl. 10, 134; Matz *Frühkretische Siegel* pl. 12. 3. Gold plaque from the fourth shaft-grave, 669, Karo *Schachtgräber* pl. 66. Tomb-stele, 1429, Karo, pl. 6. Gold band from Enkomi, tomb 73, *Excavations in Cyprus* pl. 10. 401, whence *Jdl* XXVI (1911), 246 fig. 31. Stirrup vase *CVA Rodi* 2, II A c pl. 11. 2 (Italia 467).

³⁸ Barnett *JHS* LXVIII (1948) 20, took the figure for a male eunuch, spinning as Herakles did when in the bondage of the Lydian Omphale: I wonder whether this is not disproved by the breasts.

³⁹ I owe the photographs to the kindness of Mr. Carl Winter, Keeper of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

⁴⁰ My sketch differs from the views put forward by Lan-

glotz and Barnett. Langlotz *loc. cit.* 118, 119 (nos. 16, 18) included Pls. XXXIII, h, i, and XXXVI, a, b, c in his list of Samian works. Barnett's last contribution to the subject is in *JHS* LXVIII (1948) 17 ff. I can here only refer to this important paper without entering into a discussion of the points on which we disagree.

EARLY NORTHERN EUROPE

WPZ XXVII (1940) 1 ff. Late neolithic clay vase from Strzelitz, South Moravia, of the so-called Lengyel II phase. The pattern and four plastic animals, climbing up to the rim of the vessel, are evidence of influence from the Mediterranean and the Near East: see Hawkes *Prehistoric Foundations of Europe* 115; 242.

GREECE, ITALY AND OUTSKIRTS ⁴¹

(A) Lozenges

Protogeometric

BSA XXXI, 17 fig. 6, 28; from Marmariani.

Early Orientalising

Rhodian. *Clara Rhodos* IV, fig. 336. *CVA Rodi* 2, II D e pl. 6. 1 (Italia 472). *Ib.* pl. 5. 1 (Italia 471). *Jdl* I (1886) 135; *AM* XXII (1897) 237 fig. 5. *AM* XII (1887) pl. 6; p. 226 fig. 3, from Stratonicea Cariae, local, barbaric version of Rhodian.

Cretan. *AM* XXII (1897) 236 figs. 4, 4a. *BSA* XXIX, 279 fig. 34 no. 47, and pl. 13. *Ann.* X/XII, 359, 360 figs. 472, a, b, whence Doro Levi *Early Hellenic Pottery of Crete* pl. 15. 2. Levi *ib.* pl. 21. 5. *CVA Oxford* 2, II, A, pl. 3 (Gr. Brit. 383), on the handle of a Siamese-owl vase.

Theraean. *Thera* II, 143 figs. 341, 342, b.

Parian. Munich, Sieveking-Hackl 456, fig. 58 (*AM* XXII (1897) 238 fig. 6), given to Paros by Buschor, *AM* LIV (1929) 144 n. 1.

Protoattic. *Hesperia* I/II, 577 fig. 25 no. 143. *CVA Berlin* 1 pl. 8. 2.

Boeotian. Hampe *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Boeotien* 24 fig. 5. Perrot 10, 29 fig. 16 (Ure, *CVA Classification* 12, p. 2).

Olympia IV *Bronzen* pl. 42, 748, embossed on a sheet, possibly from a belt.

Sixth century

Boeotian terracotta statuettes with the patterns painted on the garments, Grace *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia* figs. 38 and 41.

Gold finger-ring, Berlin, Furtwängler *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine* no. 150 (see Jacobsthal *Early Celtic Art* 55 n. 5; 125).

Fragment of gold bracelet (?) *Perachora* pl. 84. 33.

Thin gold disc, New York, Myres, *Cesnola Collection* no. 3018, no provenience, archaic Greek, sixth century rather than seventh, and not, as suggested by Myres, to be connected with gold plaques from the shaft-graves.

Rhomboid bezel of bronze finger-ring from tholos tomb at Praisos, *BSA* XII, 67 fig. 2, c; the drawing is too sketchy to give a clear idea of style and date.

(B) Cup Spirals

Seventh and sixth centuries

Cretan. Pithoi: from Knossos *BSA* XXXI, 84 fig. 21, 3, and from Stavrakia *AM* XXII (1897) 234 fig. 2. Globular figure aryballos, Berlin F. 307, Pfuhl fig. 56; Levi *Early Hellenic Pottery of Crete* pl. 26; the head, Jenkins *Dedolica* pl. 6. 6.

Euphorbos plate, Pfuhl fig. 117; Rumpf *Jdl* XLVIII (1933) 76, II d 1; advanced phase of the group, late seventh century. On the inner side of Menelaos' shield.

Plate *Mon. Ant.* XIV (1905) pl. 26; pp. 279 ff.

'Vroulian'. Cups, Kinch *Vroulia* 181 fig. 62; 183 fig. 65; *CVA Rodi* 2, II D m pls. 3 and 4 (Italia 483, 484). Pomegranate vase, Bochlau *Aus jonischen und italischen Nekropolen* pl. 2. 2. Latest seventh century or early sixth.

Olympia IV, *Bronzen* pl. 43. 754, fragment of a diadem with embossed decoration.

Electrum coin, Jonia, not attributed, Babelon *Monnaies grecques et romaines* pl. 3. 4.

Gold band from Delphi, *BCH* LXIII (1939) pl. 32: Amandry, p. 102 (no. 42), saw its Ionic character and quoted analogies. The bead-and-reel frames resemble those of the gold relief *Ephesus* pl. 8. 18.

Orthia pl. 179. 15 and 16, miniature lead copies of gold or silver disc pendants.

Orthia pl. 143. 2, round ivory seal.

Excavations in Cyprus 14 figs. 22 (three spirals) and 23, from Enkomi, ivory discs, not stratified, but very probably seventh century.

Terracotta revetments, *Sardis* X, 1, pls. 18, 20; sixth century.

Cypriote spout jug, *CVA British Museum* 2, II C c pl. 18. 8 (Gr. Brit. 62).

Earrings of the Chiot kore Akropolis 675; Payne and Young pls. 49, 50; Schrader *Marmorbildwerke* no. 43, pls. 60, 61 (pp. 91-3), pl. II; Langlotz and Schuchhardt, *Archaische Plastik auf der Akropolis* pp. 21, 22; Lermann *Altgriechische Plastik* pl. 10; Alexander, *Metropolitan Museum Jewelry* 24. Langlotz noticed the Ionic style of the earrings: he dates the statue about 510 B.C.

Dress pattern, Kore 594, Payne and Young pls. 46-8 (pp. 29 ff.) Schrader *Marmorbildwerke* pls. 76, 77, no. 54; Langlotz and Schuchhardt *l.c.* no. 30. Cycladic, about 500 B.C. The pattern alone Lermann *l.c.* pl. 13. Still later, of the seventies of the fifth century, is the pattern on a Clazomenian sarcophagus in Cambridge, *JHS* LVI (1936) pl. 1.

⁴¹ In the following list the objects, if not stated otherwise, are pottery. I owe valuable additions to this list to the interest of Mr. Llewellyn Brown.

Sword from Melgunov, Ebert *Reallexikon* 13 pl. 34 A, d, an Assyrianising work, dateable to the sixth century. Small gold disc, Louvre, De Ridder, *Catalogue sommaire des bijoux antiques* pl. 1. 22, from South Russia.⁴² Four tiny gold plaques in New York, Alexander *Jewelry* no. 102, belonging to a set from South Russia, which is Graeco-Achaemenid of the fifth century rather than of the sixth.

From sixth-century Etruria there are two examples: on the Pontic oinochoe, Munich, Sieveking-Hackl 923 (Ducati *Die pontischen Vasen* 25, IV, 4; Dohrn *Die schwarzfigurigen etruskischen Vasen* 147 no. 86 a), and a dress-pattern on the chariot from Monteleone in New York, Richter *Bronzes* no. 40.

The gold disc in the British Museum, Marshall pl. 16. 1264, ex Blacas, was probably rightly classified as Italic. In Etruria of the early seventh century the lozenge version of the ornament is predominant: gold pendant in Hamburg *AA* XLIII (1928) 409-10 figs. 125, 126, with 'maeander hooks' at the corners. Bronze fibulae, Montelius *La civilisation primitive en Italie* pl. 250. 2 (serie A pl. 2. 14); Sundwall *Die älteren italischen Fibeln* 129, C I 8 c 2, from Norcia, and Montelius pl. 307. 7, from Falerii. A contemporary example of the cup-spiral type is the cast handle of a miniature bronze axe from Bologna, Fondo Arnoaldi, Montelius pl. 82. 6.

Outside Etruria a lozenge appears on a North Apulian Geometric vase *CVA* Taranto 1, IV D b 1 (Italia 757). Both versions of our pattern reached the North about the seventh century; they became popular in Hallstatt and Celtic arts,⁴³ and sporadically survive into Roman times.⁴⁴

⁴² I owe a photograph to the courtesy of M. Charbonneaux.

⁴³ Jacobsthal *Early Celtic Art* pl. 268, pp. 74-5.

⁴⁴ Bronze coins, John Evans *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* pl. 4. 2, 3. Cast handle of bronze implement,

Strena Buliciana p. 198, strangely reminiscent of the piece from Fondo Arnoaldi just quoted. In mosaics of the second century A.D. the rhythm is latent in some of the then popular peltic ornaments: *Jdl* XLIII (1928) pl. 14.

AN EARLY CLASSICAL DISC RELIEF FROM MELOS

[PLATE XXXVII]

IN the islands surprises seem to be as ἀνήριθμοι as the γέλασμα of the waves. If news came from anywhere else of the discovery of a circular marble slab carved with a head in relief, experience would lead the archaeologist to expect a late portrait or one of the so-called *oscilla*. Not so on Melos: here he finds himself confronted with the splendid head of a goddess carved in the purest Early Classical style.

For such in fact is the fragment of a circular marble disc (Plate XXXVII and fig. 1) discovered in 1937 on the slopes of Klema, the site of the ancient town of Melos. It was found lying on the surface of the ground, on the property of Panagioulis Vikhos, to the north-east of Kalyvaki. The distinguished lawyer of Plaka, Mr. N. Kyritses, to whom we must again express our gratitude for having rescued it, readily offered it to the State.

The disc is of Parian marble. Its convex obverse is decorated in relief with a head in profile to the right—an unusual subject. The reverse (fig. 2) is flat and smooth. The flat rim joining the two faces is 0.016 m. wide, but at the centre, where it is broken, the disc is 0.073 m. thick, not counting the height of the relief. The greatest preserved height of the fragment is 0.325 m., the greatest width 0.335. The diameter would have been about 0.448 m.¹ A hole, 0.0265 m. deep, cut exactly in the centre of the reverse (fig. 2) was, as its position and depth show, intended for a support to the disc. The practically horizontal cutting of the hole's edges, especially the top edge, allows the disc to be set correctly—an important factor when considering the front face, for it gives the true inclination of the head: slightly tilted, as Plate XXXVII shows with only a small possibility of error.

The head is female. Most of the hair is gathered into a *sakkos*, of which the front edge may be recognised in the curved line beginning above the ear. This is a normal feature, known from many other monuments. Normal, too, are the strands of hair which originally emerged from the *sakkos* in front of the ear and on the forehead. Being worked separately and attached, they have not survived, but their outline remains between ear and eye and in a clearly visible curve on the forehead adjoining the broken edge of the relief above the eye. The separately worked hair was attached by means of a hole, 0.025 m. deep, set close to the ear, the outline and modelling of which were modified to conform with it; and there is a second hole, not so well preserved but unmistakable, at the point where the outline of the locks on the temple meets the curve on the forehead (cf. the restoration, fig. 5).

These holes held the pins for attachment, known to the ancients as ὀβελίσκοι.² The separately worked piece of hair (small, but still appreciable in bulk) cannot have been carved in marble; it would have required too thin a slice. It must have been made up of metal: either of bronze (perhaps gilded), or, as Mr. A. Panagiotakes, the sculptor of the National Museum, suggests, of gold, since bronze would have oxidised the marble. Technically, metal hair is associated with acrolithic statues.³ This gives some special importance to our relief, for usually, so far as I know, only secondary details, such as wreaths and weapons, are attached in metal: it is as if we had the epitome of a statue (itself an ἄγαλμα in another sense) of some goddess χρυσοπλόκαμος and—if we may suppose a diadem in the hair—χρυσάμπυξ.

But, quite apart from such considerations, it is the impressive design and the surprising quality of its execution that make this head so moving. The tense oblique of nose and forehead, the large eye in its clear-cut hollow, the elegant charm of the lips, the gentle, almost indolent,

I am greatly indebted, for the English translation of my Greek manuscript, to the kind patience of Mr. B. Theophrastides and Mr. J. M. Cook:

¹ I owe the calculation to Professor A. Orlandos. Professor K. Rhomaios observes that this is almost exactly 1

πῆχυς (= 1½ foot), the foot being 0.296 m.

² As Professor A. Orlandos kindly informs me, referring to his remarks in *ADelt* I (1915) 26 ff.

³ See recently P. Orsi, *Templum Apollinis Alaei*, 135 ff.

curve of the jaw rising softly to the ear, the corresponding but fuller, more vigorous curve of the *sakkos* behind—these are the things that strike us first and most forcibly. The face is notably tall, even the part below the nose being unusually deep. Yet the height is balanced by the width; the more so since the width is increased by the *sakkos* and further accentuated by the rather slender neck. In both outline and internal drawing the composition stresses the horizontal: for example, in the correspondence between the lower edge of the *sakkos* and the chin, between the nose and the ear, and in the line of the lips. The perpendicular, by contrast, is hardly emphasised at all. Even the sterno-mastoid—a dominant line in such a composition—slants a little. In fact the main effect of the design depends on the interplay of diagonal



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

or oblique lines which continually tend to run off into curves: the line of the jaw, for instance, in relation to the lines of the neck; or the lines of the neck in relation to those of the ear and the hair on the temple; or, again, the lines of ear and hair in relation to the regions of the eye and nose. The various parts of the design are harmonised, not in a static pattern, but in a momentary, unstable equilibrium in which an underlying tension is always perceptible. It must be remembered however that the head would give an impression of greater stability if the top of the skull were not missing.

Turning now to the sculptural execution, the more one studies the carving, the more its fascination grows. The artist delights in subtleties. Prominent features—the cheek-bone, for instance, the lobe of the ear, the upper end of the jaw, the bulging *sakkos* next to it, the chin, the lower part of the sterno-mastoid—all are in relief of the same height, apart from insignificant local variations. When we consider them as a whole they suggest a front plane which we may regard either as repeating the convex ground-plane, or (better still) as preserving in the finished

work a memory of the convex surface of the original, unworked disc. In the intermediate planes between front plane and ground the depth of relief is varied with astonishing complexity, now conforming with the rise of the ground, now contradicting it (as on the *sakkos*, the ridge-like sterno-mastoid muscle, the regions of the eye, nose, lips and chin).

Lastly we may note the curved and sloping fillet by means of which the organic part of the neck passes into the geometrical form of the circular frame. As my sculptor colleagues have observed, modern artists might well enjoy this solution of a problem which often baffles them.

From whatever aspect we regard it, then, the design and execution of this relief leave us with an impression of exceptional firmness and completeness. Yet all the time we are aware of a vibrant quality, a living pulse within it (figs. 3 and 4).

Notable among the details is the eye. Drawn between full-face and profile, it forms a triangle with rounded sides, its apex coinciding with the junction of the full-face and profile planes of the eyeball. The fold in the upper lid gives it a more emphatic line than the lower lid. Set somewhat obliquely the eye looks forward and a little upwards; an incised line faintly visible on the eyeball probably marked the iris. The eye is framed by the oblique plane between brow and upper lid and a curious furrow which runs below the lower lid, meeting the plane at the outer corner of the eye. This repetition of its shape on a larger scale greatly enhances the eye's expressiveness. At its inner corner the junction of plane and groove is lost in the shadow cast by the projection of the nose: a noteworthy point in the modelling. The almost intact design of the eye, its consequent freedom from chance foreshortenings, the softness of the surrounding shadow—all these combine to produce an impression of remote purity and benevolence.

Lack of comparable material makes the interpretation of this new work of art from Melos difficult. Even its form is unusual; a large marble disc carved with a head in relief is unique, so far as I know. True, we may class it generally among those monuments (votive, sepulchral or documentary) in which 'die Scheibenform nicht mehr die Nachbildung eines mit dem Sinn der Weihung im Zusammenhang stehenden kreisrunden Gerätes wie Diskos oder Schild ist, sondern der durch Sitte oder Kult motivierte Träger eines in Bild oder Schrift ausgedrückten Inhalts' (Jacobsthal). But though several scholars have made excellent detailed observations about them, these monuments have not yet been systematically studied and little light has been thrown on their evolution either as cult objects or as works of art.⁴

The oldest surviving parallels in marble are, if I am not mistaken, two roughly contemporary discs of about 500 B.C.: the painted *pinax* (votive, as I think) of the physician Aineios, and the funerary disc, with inscription only, of Gnathon.⁵ The first of these discs, at all events (I have not seen the second), is shaped just like the Melos disc with flat back and convex front joined at the circumference by a flat fillet. If we had more such early monuments we might know more about the ideas behind the Melian disc; why it was made and how it was set up. Among later examples those connected with the cult of Asklepios are known to us chiefly from representations on Asklepien reliefs. We cannot be sure of their real shape, nor of what is represented on them.⁶ The only certain disc of this sort which has survived comes from the

⁴ See A. Maiuri, *Ausonia VI* (1911) 10 ff.; J. Svoronos, *Journ. intern. d'arch. Numism.* 1920-21, 7 ff.; K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Arch. f. Religionsw.* XXIV (1926) 21 ff.; E. Kunze, *Kret. Bronze-rel.* 50 ff.; P. Jacobsthal, *Diskoi* (93 Winkelmannsprogramm, 1933) 23 ff. especially 27 ff. To the monuments referred to in those studies, the following examples, not all of the same kind, can be added (the list is not exhaustive). Bronze discoid sheet: Daidalic frontal head of woman, in repoussé; E. Kunze, *Olympia-Bericht IV* 126, fig. 95/6. F. Matz, *Gesch. d. Gr. Kunst* (1949) I pl. 93a.—Clay disc in the Museum of Corcyra; incised decoration: sacrificing woman, protome of a horse, part of a funeral banquet (?): H. Bulle in Arndt-Amelung *E.A.* 1328 ('Zeichnung nicht zu spät'), compare P. Wolters *AJA XI* (1896) 147 n. 6.—Poros disc from the Athenian Agora; relief representation of Demeter and Poseidon (end of 2nd c. B.C.?) *Hesperia X* (1941) 4 fig. 4.—Different is, of

course, the spiritual and artistic origin of the series of the round marble pedimental akroteria of which we have an archaic example with a Gorgoneion from Sparta: *AZ XXXIX* (1881) pl. 17, 1, *ÖJh II* (1899) 10 fig. 8, Tod-Wace, *Sparta Museum* 654 (compare K. Rhomaios *AE* 1933 22, 5); another similar, but earlier, from the 7th c., is in the Tegea Museum; it comes from a temple excavated by K. Rhomaios above the village of Mavriki.

⁵ *Almos: Jdl XII* (1897) pl. 1, Pfuhl *MuZ III*, fig. 485, Jacobsthal, *loc. cit.* 28, 1.—Γωάων: *JHS XXIX* (1909) 153, fig. 4 Jacobsthal, *loc. cit.* 28, 2 fig. 19.

⁶ The two monuments which show most clearly how the discs were placed on the stelai are: Relief in the Nat. Museum Svoronos, pl. XXXV 3, *EA* 1228, Süsserott, *Gr. Plastik d. 4 Jhs* pl. 25, 3, Hausmann, *Kunst und Heiligtum* nr. 144, fig. 9 (K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *loc. cit.*); and relief in the Louvre S. Reinach, *Rep. d. Rel.* II 280, 2, Giraudon

Athenian Asklepieion and bears a snake in relief and the inscription Πυθόδηλος Αἰθαλίδης ἀνέθηκε (Epigr. Mus. 9004a); it is a circular slab, flat on both faces.⁷ On the similar piece, Nat. Mus. 2410, the obverse, on which the two goddesses and the worshipper are carved in relief, is flat while the reverse is convex.⁸

It is not yet clear if we should be justified in connecting the Melian disc with other circular reliefs, nor how the connections would be made—e.g. with such works as the hollow medallions with the head of Kore (?) and Pan on Kyzikene stelai of the fourth century B.C., the rock-cut portrait medallion of Artemidoros of Perge at Thera (mid third century B.C.), the medallions of the busts of the Heron at Kalydon which copy various classical statues of gods and heroes (end of the second century B.C.), and lastly the portrait medallions of Mithridates' generals in the Kabeirion at Delos (about 100 B.C.).⁹

I know of only one monument (or perhaps two) which can be compared with ours in form, religious content and date. It is a clay disc from Kyme in the Naples Museum, similar in shape and decorated in relief with a female head wearing a *sakkos* over the hair. It is much smaller (diam. 0.105 m.) and the head, which, as E. Boehringer remarks, imitates Syracusan coins of series 23, seems to be ten or fifteen years later; but, despite these differences, one has the impression that the Kyme disc was dedicated with much the same intention as the Melian disc, and to a similar goddess.¹⁰

We may ask in passing how the Melian disc would have been mounted in antiquity. It might have been fixed to the wall by a rod inserted into the hole in the back, or the rod might have been bent downwards at right-angles and the disc fixed on top of a stele or column (cf. the monuments mentioned in note 6). This second possibility reminds us that Melos, where so few archaic and classical monuments have survived, has yielded nevertheless two votive columns—one the famous late archaic Doric *Columna Nanniana* in Berlin, dedicated to Athena(?); the other an Ionic column now in Olympia, dating from near the mid fifth century and dedicated to Zeus.¹¹ Neither capital survives to show what was on top of the shaft; but the columns might well, I think, have carried reliefs similar to our disc. If so, it would explain why the artists (Ekphantos and Καγω(-)ης respectively) use the word γρόφων = γράφων of their work. In any case γρόφων seems to me more intelligible as a verb than a proper name (since the two inscriptions are separated by about fifty years, it would have been difficult for the hypothetical Grophon to be the author of both).

There is perhaps only one general observation that we can make on all these monuments, whose only common factor is their circular form. As all previous students have noted, it can scarcely be accidental that these circular reliefs seem most closely connected directly or indirectly, with the cults of deities whose chthonic character had not been forgotten in classical

1009, Süsserott, *loc. cit.* pl. 25, 4, Hausmann, *loc. cit.* nr. 146, fig. 5 (K. Lehmann, *loc. cit.*; E. Kunze, *loc. cit.*).—A terracotta from S. Russia shows a Corinthian column with such a round monument on it beside a goddess: S. Reinach, *Ant. du Bosph. Cimmérien* pl. LXVII 2 p. 114; Winter, *Typen II* pl. 94, 5 (P. Jacobsthal, *Diskoi* 27, 7).

⁷ P. Jacobsthal, *loc. cit.* fig. 18 and p. 27. Similar seems to be the shape of the disc on the reliefs of the preceding note.

⁸ K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *loc. cit.* fig. 2 and p. 22 ff.

⁹ Stele from Kyzikos with head of Kore (?): *JHS* XXIV (1904) 38 fig. 3. Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, vignette; with head of Pan: Mendel, *Cat. d. Sci. pt. II*, no. 571; M. Schede, *Meisterw. d. türk. Mus. Konstantin.* pl. XIa; W. Züchner, *D. Berl. Münzenkrater* (98 Winckelmannsprog., 1938) 26 fig. 19.—Artemidoros Pergaios at Thera: *Thera III* 89 ff. pl. 5.—Protomai from the Heraion at Kalydon: Dyggve-Poulsen-Rhomaiois, *D. Heron v. Kalydon* 73 ff. (for the Protome of the Pheidon Aphrodite see E. Langlotz, *Phidiasprobleme* 84 ff. pl. 29 c.).—Protomai from the Kabeirion at Delos: *Delos XIII* 9 ff. pl. 8, *ibid.* XVI 29 ff.—It is also not certain what is the origin of monuments such as e.g., the 'ἀσπερίσκη χρυσή ἔχουσα ἀγκάστον ἐν ἡ πρόσωπον Ἀρτίμειδος' which appears many times in the

Inscription from Perge *Annuario* 6/7, 1923/4, 402 ff. (B. Pace).—To the Greek evidences for the *imago clipeata*, 'εἰκὼν ἐν σπιλῶ', add the inscriptions from Lindos: *Lindos II* nos. 420–421 (I have not seen the thesis of J. Bolten, *Imago clipeata*).—Still more removed in spirit and provenience, are the painted clay tondi from Centuripe.—In general we have not yet the history of the concept and the form of the protome; the article of S. Ferri, 'Archeologia della protome' in the *Ann. d. R. Sc. Norm. d. Pisa II* (1933) 147 ff. does not advance the problem essentially.

¹⁰ A. Levi, *Terracotte di Napoli* no. 484 fig. 93 = E. Boehringer, *D. Münzen v. Syrakus* 83 fig. 7.—Possibly another disc in the same Museum from Locroi, A. Levi, *loc. cit.* no. 61 ('con foro per la sospensione, testa muliebre di stile bello') is similar, but there is no illustration of it. (Compare *ibid.* Index s.v. 'Disco' and no. 771 ff.).

¹¹ *Columna Nanniana* = *IG XII* 3, 1075; *IG XII Suppl.* (1939) p. 91 and 211. *SEG III* 135 nr. 738. O. Kern, *Inscr. Gr.* pl. 4. 'Επιτύμβιον Τσοῦντα 558 (MB) and 575.—Column from Olympia: *Inscr. v. Olymp.* no. 272.—For this kind of column in general: A. Raubitschek, *Bull. Inst. arch. Bulg.* XII (1938) 160 ff. *Idem*, *Dedications from the Athen. Akrop.* 3 ff.

times. But apart from this the differences of form and content which we find in detail are too obvious to allow us (in our present state of knowledge) to place great trust in comparative methods for the elucidation of a particular example. This, at all events, will be the view of those of us who are alarmed at the ease with which historians of religion leap in their comparisons from the particular to the universal.

Another line of study bearing directly on the artistic form of the Melian disc and its interpretation is that of Greek methods of tondo composition, especially where a head is concerned. For it we should need to review many works besides those already mentioned—particularly coins and vases. Medallions (*i.e.* specially painted circles containing heads or busts) are, it is true, rare on vases;¹² but there are many instances where the vase shape itself creates the circle round the head, as does the shape of a coin (*e.g.* the interior of a kylix or phiale, or a pxyis-lid).¹³ Even the Diskophoros stele (Nat. Mus. no. 38), a work of the Rampin master,¹⁴ has its place here; for although the placing of the young man's head within the circle of the diskos seems accidental, yet the artist shows a fine feeling for the problem of matching the living form with the perfect figure of a circle, and of detaching one from the other. But tondo composition is another subject, for which a systematic study of the monuments is still needed; the few observations made by scholars so far cover only sections of the field.¹⁵

As an example of tondo composition the Melian disc presents one unique feature. On no other circular monument, not even the clay disc from Kyme (note 10 above), is the head pushed so far out from the centre of the circle towards its circumference. This peculiarity of the Melian disc must certainly have an explanation, and to find it we must decide what occupied the rest of the field opposite the head. This brings me to the restoration of the disc as a whole. Believing with Buschor that 'ein Haltmachen bei Fragmenten wäre grösserer Selbstbetrug als die misslungenste Rekonstruktion'¹⁶ I think that the problem should not be avoided (fig. 5).¹⁷ We are of course dealing with a work of art, where τὸ εὖ παρὰ μικρὸν διὰ πολλῶν ἀριθμῶν γίνεται, and I need not emphasise that my reconstruction is only valuable as an approach, intended mainly to draw attention to the problems which arise in filling the circular, convex field. If we complete the circle of the field with its given diameter of 0.448 m. there is not room for a second head of equal size such as we might expect to find confronting the first. What I think the spirit of early classical art calls for here (judging from other monuments) is some attribute set in front of the goddess' head as a symbolic expression of her world, and perhaps, in addition, a votive

¹² Medallion under the handle of Sosias cup, with Selene: FR pl. 123; ARV 21, 1 (mentioned also by F. Lorentz RM LII (1937) 186 n. 1). The medallion with Helios Mon. Inst. II pl. 55, mentioned by O. Deubner, AM LXII (1937) 80 note 2 (illustrated also in Roscher I 1998 and Reinach, *Rep. d. Vases* I 109) does not seem to be either Attic or earlier than the end of the 5th c. B.C. (I have not seen the publication by Albizzati in *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.* XXXVII 168 fig. 24). Compare F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele* 78 no. 172 and 179.

¹³ See the references collected by R. Hackl, *JdI* XXII (1907) 89 ff. and C. Watzinger, FR III 370 ff. (text to pl. 180, 1), where the previous bibliography is given.—Some examples: Cups: Elpinikos cup, Bonn, AZ 1885, pl. 12, 1; CV pl. 3, 5 and 4, 5; ARV 86, 2 ('Selene'). Cup, Bonn, by the Jena painter CV pl. 11, 3; ARV 882, 45: bust of Amazon with one hand (and 46: London F. 134, instead of hand, tendril).—Miniature plate, Langlotz, *Akrop.-Vas.* II no. 36 (Pl. 2 female head) and 37 (female head and tendril in front of it).—Phiale, Berlin 2310 by the Telephos painter, Luschey, *Phiale* fig. 11; ARV 544, 34 (female head).—Onos, Bonn CV pl. 28, 7 (female head), where are also mentioned onoi, according to Beazley, by the painter of Berlin 2624, ARV 758–759. Compare D. Robinson, *AJA* XLIX (1945) 488 ff. passim.—The upper medallion of the oon in the Stathatos Collection: H. Metzger *Mon. Piot* XL (1944) 69 ff. fig. 5/6 (female head).—Lids of pyxides: unpublished fragment in the Nat. Museum, Inv. no. 16442 (provenience unknown), probably from the circle of the Altamura painter according to Mrs. Karouzou, *here* fig. 6: head of a youth wearing a laurel wreath (Apollo?).

Tübingen E 157, *Catal. Watzinger* pl. 36 (female head) ARV 625, 3 (the Long-Chin group). Tübingen E 158 Watzinger, *ibid.* (bearded head wearing a laurel wreath, Zeus?); Bonn CV pl. 27, 5 (female head); Copenhagen CV pl. 163, 7 (head of Athena); Berlin, *Sammlung Sabourff* I pl. 65, 2 (female head and tendril in front of it); *Olynthos* V pl. 108, 202 and p. 139 (female head and thyrsos in front of her). Boeotian examples: R. Lullies, *AM* LXV (1940) 21 (and pl. 25, 3).

¹⁴ Better reproductions: E. Buschor, *Plastik d. Griechen* 46 W. H. Schuchhardt, *D. Kunst d. Griechen* fig. 81 B. Ashmole, in *Transactions of the Intern. Numism. Congr.* 1936 pl. III 14. Compare *BSA* XXXIX (1938/9) 99 ff. H. Schrader (Langlotz-Schuchhardt), *D. arch. Marm. d. Akrop.* 30. K. Schefold *Gr. Plastik* I 43, 72 fig. 35a.

¹⁵ The study by T. B. L. Webster, 'Tondo Composition etc.' in *JHS* LIX (1939) 103 ff. and K. Schefold's remarks in *Orient-Hellas-Rom.* 146 do not touch our special subject. Compare also F. Lorentz, *RM* LII (1937) 185 ff. O. Deubner *AM* LXII (1937) 78 ff.

¹⁶ *Handb. d. Archäol.* I (1939) 6/7.

¹⁷ The restoration is due to the artists of the National Museum Al. Papaïliopoulos (painter) and N. Perantinos (sculptor). It is not certain in all details: *e.g.* in the top of the sakkos above the skull (which could, and possibly ought, to be higher and more round); in the hair over the forehead (which could project more against the background); in the termination of the bust at the front. The position of the circle of the iris seems certain, if our interpretation of a circular incision is right, but that of the pupil is not certain.

inscription. More than this would not have been tolerated. Our restoration has been made accordingly, on the analogy of a number of vase-paintings, some of which are mentioned in note 13. Some of these—and others where the bust is not framed in a circle¹⁸—show that a hand is not indispensable for holding the flower; in fact it would, I believe, be irreconcilable with the formal implications of the termination of the bust at the circumference of the circle and also with the non-realistic character of the whole.

The restoration of the design brings us back to the question of its interpretation—to the identification of the goddess. For there can be no doubt that we are concerned with a goddess or at least a divine being. The range of our inquiry is limited by two considerations. The circular form of the relief links it, as we have seen, with the cults of chthonic deities, while the *sakkos*,¹⁹ an index of self-conscious beauty, is better suited to a youthful goddess than to a matriarch. Artemis, Kore, Aphrodite, or perhaps some local nymph such as the coins of Syracuse figure, are possible candidates. The find-spot tells us nothing, close though it is to the find-spot of the Louvre Aphrodite; for too little is known of the lay-out of the ancient city of Melos in default of systematic excavations. Likewise there is little evidence, direct or indirect, for its cults.²⁰ The flower which we have restored beside the goddess' head as a symbol of her



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6 (see n. 13).

domain, would fit any of the goddesses suggested. Admittedly it would be more suitable for Kore or Aphrodite; but Artemis too carries a flower in her hand on the well-known kylix from the Acropolis with a design in relief, and a flower is sometimes associated with the head of Athena.²¹

We need to inquire the goddess' name if we wish to know the particular circumstances of the dedication. But if after all we must be content with only a general notion of the kind of feelings and ideas that make up the world whence she comes, at least we know that the feelings and ideas concerned are much the same for each of the three goddesses. Since Aphrodite is so frequently represented in association with plant life I should have hazarded the guess that it is she whom we must recognise in the Melian disc. But this is an Aphrodite whose role and rule far transcend the lists of love. Sophocles' lines

ἦ τοι Κύπρις οὐ Κύπρις μόνον
ἀλλ' ἐστὶ πολλῶν ὀνομάτων ἑπώνυμος (Fr. 885N)

are literally as well as metaphorically true. Her profounder, more universal nature connects her on land with places which, whether in Cyprus (Aphrodite 'Ιεροκηπίς, Strab. XIV 683) or in

¹⁸ Compare e.g. the white lekythos E. Buschor, *Feldmäuse* 7, fig. 8 (ARV 476, 178) with the one in AZ XLIII (1885) 197.

¹⁹ For the *sakkos* see (apart from the articles in the lexicons) L. Curtius, *Jdl* XIX (1904) 60 ff.; E. Langlotz, *Zeitbestimmung* 96 ff.; P. Jacobsthal, *Mel. Rel.* 73 n. 5; J. Charbonneaux, *Mon. Piot*, XXXIII (1933) 98 ff.; E. Will,

Mon. Piot XL (1944) 59 ff.—Compare the Acropolis frag. O. Walter, *Rel. im kl. Akrop. Mus.* no. 293, a little later than ours.

²⁰ See RE s.v. 'Melos' (29, 567 ff.).

²¹ Langlotz, *Akrop. Vas.* II no. 247, pl. 14; C. Robert *Arch. Hermen*, 20 fig. 16.—Busts of Athena by the Bowdoin painter; see below n. 40.

Athens (Paus. 1.19.2), are called κῆποι. And perhaps we may see in Empedocles' phrase, σχιστοῦς λειμῶνας Ἀφροδίτης (Diels-Kranz 31 B 66 = 1. 336) an image which even the ordinary people would have expressed in much the same way: even now the shepherds of Parnassus apply the name of the female member to a small spring near Kalania above Delphi. But the general connection between the goddess and the chthonic powers is well-known and there is no need to insist on it further.²² We need only recall that there is one event common to the life-stories of both Aphrodite and Kore: the ἄνοδος; and that this miraculous epiphany is frequently represented in art. I believe Buschor is right in maintaining that busts on vases are not always to be connected with mythical ἄνοδοι regardless of their date and special iconography; that often they must be referred to satyric drama. Yet the ἄνοδος of Aphrodite is so frequently represented that it naturally comes to mind whenever one sees—as so often one does—a head-and-shoulders representation of her. Perhaps the Melian disc would have had much the same effect on its beholders as would eighty years later the well-known Brussels hydria—I mean of course in the religious vision it would have evoked, not in its psychological impact.²³

So much for the general religious content of our relief. But this content is expressed in terms of the style and feeling of a particular time and place. If as I hope to show, it was carved about 460–455 B.C., where in Greece would one expect to find work of this kind? The following characterisations of the various local schools of Greek art have of course no absolute significance, but are meant only as instruments of comparison. Take first Attic works: the Sunion stele, for example, the mourning Athena, the statue of Athena (slightly earlier than our disc) recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, the slightly later exquisite head Nat. Mus. 381. The distinguishing quality of works like these is, we feel, the dense plastic consistency, the depth and richness of their spiritual life, that *pondus* or σμυδόν of Attic art, which the ancients felt to be lacking even in the work of a Polykleitos.²⁴ How different from this is the frank, unsophisticated world of the Melian relief where all lies open before us and there are no unfathomable depths. Nor is Peloponnesian art any closer to the Melian relief. Its permanent architectural preoccupations conjure up quite another world which we meet, for instance, in the Olympia sculpture, or the bust on the bronze hydria in the Metropolitan Museum, on Peloponnesian bronze mirrors, or the outstanding Peplophoros from Kissamos in Herakleion Museum.²⁵ And when we compare the actual execution of our relief with Attic or Peloponnesian work, we are reminded of the lightness and transparency of water-colour or wash drawing compared with the thick pigments of an oil. Moreover, Attic and Peloponnesian work has a much greater feeling for the body's solidity.

²² See recently P. Knoblauch, *AA* 1938, 351 ff. (cf. *ibid.* 1939, 425 ff.); E. Jastrow *AJA* L (1946) 73 ff.

²³ E. Buschor, *Feldmäuse* (SB. d. Bayer. Akad. 1937) *passim* (differently, H. Metzger, *BCH* LXVIII/IX (1944/5) 296 ff.).—Hydria in Brussels: K. Schefold, *Unters. z. d. Kertscher Vas.* Nr. 146 pl. I. Buschor, *loc. cit.* 29 fig. 12; *Idem*, *Gr. Vasen* fig. 260.—To the representations of the birth of Aphrodite add: *AA* 1941, 449 ff.; Beazley *AJA* XLV (1941) 599.—For the present the question must remain open whether, from the point of view of religious meaning, the protome of the Melian disc can be connected with the protomai of the 'Melian' (probably Melian, see *AA* 1940, 282) vases of the 7th c. or with the protomai of Daidalic golden sheets, placed often among rosettes and geometricised cinquefoils (e.g. *AZ* 1884, pl. 9, 11), or with the clay protomai, funerary and votives, of goddesses (but they have veils and are maternal types), on which see recently H. R. W. Smith, *Hesperia* Suppl. VIII, 353 ff.—Compare also, contemporary with the Melian disc, the clay protome from Halmyros *E.A.* 3409. Zervos *L'art en Grèce* 255.

²⁴ *Pondus* = σμυδόν: B. Schweitzer, *Xenokrates* 33 ff.—Athena in the Metrop. Museum: Br.-Br. pl. 763/65. Ch. Picard, *Manuel* II 674 ff. fig. 271. *Bull. Metr. Mus.*, 1943, 206 ff. (G. Richter) *AJA* XLIX (1945) 486 n. 51 (D. M. Robinson). It seems indeed (original?) Attic work, which as Langlotz rightly emphasises, *Phidiasprobleme* 75 (and

note 9), continues the tradition of the Kore from the Propylaea, 688. The case for its Attic character is perhaps strengthened by the comparison with the sphinx head of the Sotades' rhyton in the Brit. Mus. E. 788, *ARV* 451, 7; the hairdressing is of the kind worn by the frontal figures on the krater by the Villa Giulia p. (see n. 46) and on many other vases.—Head in the Nat. Mus. 381: *E.A.* 1203/4; Langlotz, *loc. cit.* p. 99 n. 13.

²⁵ Bronze hydria in the Metr. Mus.: Langlotz, *Bildhauersch.* pl. 34; G. Richter in *Amelung-Festschrift (Antike Plastik)* 183 ff.; V. H. Poulsen, *D. Strengte Stil* 15 ff. fig. 9. Mirrors: Langlotz and Poulsen, *loc. cit. passim*. Add the mirror in Dublin published by J. D. Beazley in *Proc. R. Irish Acad.* XLV (1939); and see S. Papaspyridi-Karouzou, 'Attic bronze mirrors' in the forthcoming volume dedicated to D. M. Robinson. Peplophoros from Herakleion: Poulsen, *loc. cit.* 29, 119 ff. *Idem*, *Berytus* VI, 1939/40, 7 ff. Recently brilliant discussion of its particular workshop and its individual character by E. Langlotz, *Jdl* LXI/II (1946/7) 196 ff. (the remarks of M. Gjödesen, *Acta Arch.* XV (1949) 174 ff. again confuse the characteristics of the Peloponnesian workshops; by the way, of course 'there seems to be no reason to suspect the authenticity of the bronze, p. 185, fig. 25 = Zervos *L'art en Grèce* fig. 202/4' (*ibid.* 187, 5), for the simple reason that it was found in Ktouri (Thessaly): *BCH* LVI (1932) 174 ff. pl. X; the piece is probably Boeotian).

We can however proceed to localise the relief in a positive fashion. A first indication is the place where it was found, Melos. In fact the head on our marble disc has a close general kinship with the Melian clay reliefs which we now know well thanks to P. Jacobsthal's excellent work, and above all with the pieces which Jacobsthal assembles in his Middle Group.²⁶ It is, however, questionable whether the correspondence is really complete and whether our relief can be regarded as Melian in the same sense, the more so since on the clay reliefs the flesh seems more abundant and softer; this quality may of course be largely due to the mediocre execution of the clay reliefs, but our hesitation is justified by the appearance of the same quality in the head of the young man in the *pilos* on the well-known coin of Melos.²⁷ It may be true in a more general way that in the art of the Cyclades the Melian (or 'Melian') workshop represents a rather eastern current.²⁸

But within the same sphere of Ionic island art there are other monuments, above all reliefs, in which the same characteristics are recognisable as we have seen in the Melos disc—e.g. the Giustiniani stele in Berlin, the stele of Philis from Thasos in the Louvre, the Vatican stele or even the considerably later one from Pella in Constantinople.²⁹ Some of the details they have in common will be noticed further on when we come to discuss the date of the disc. Admittedly, these reliefs and those related to them show variations among themselves; but we cannot yet tell whether these variations are due to separate centres or to parallel currents springing from a single source. There is no question of the importance from early times of the workshop of Paros. And I believe that if, apart from the stelai already mentioned, we form a series of undoubtedly Parian works earlier and later than the disc—the head from the Asklepion of Paros, the head in Thera, the head from the Delion of Paros, the fragment of the stele of a youth in Paros, and the stele of the girl with the doves in New York—we shall find—despite all the differences due to different date or to the idiosyncrasies of artists—that the head on the disc takes its place naturally among them. In spite of the damage to its head, the metrological relief in Oxford, which perhaps comes from Paros, also shows a type of face similar to that of the disc. Finally I think that we may safely recognise the remarkable head from Thasos (though later; perhaps c. 420 B.C.) as a work of the same artistic tradition.³⁰ It therefore seems to me most probable that the Melos disc originated in a Parian workshop or at least under the direct influence of Parian work.

On the differences between our disc and works of more easterly Ionic art it is unnecessary to insist.³¹ It is more useful to distinguish it from certain other similar works which I, like others, would ascribe to the Ionic current in the many-sided art of Magna Graecia; above all the metopes of Temple E (Heraion) at Selinus and the Ludovisi 'Throne'.³² These works show great resemblances to the Melos disc because they are almost exactly contemporary; but

²⁶ P. Jacobsthal, *Mel. Rel.* 128 ff. See below, n. 37.

²⁷ Jacobsthal, *loc. cit.*, 154 fig. 32.

²⁸ E. Buschor, *AM* LIV (1929) 162 (cf. *Jdl* LII (1937) 191).

²⁹ Stele Giustiniani: Blümel, *Katal.* III, K 19 pl. 27/8; F. Gerke, *Gr. Plastik* fig. 144/5; *KiB*² 239, 7.—Stele Sabouroff: Blümel, *ibid.* K. 18 pl. 26; Jacobsthal, *Disko* fig. 5 pp. 11, 14.—Stele of Philis: P. Devambez, *BCH* LV (1931) 412 ff. pl. 21; *Encycl. Photogr.* (Tel) III, 169; Ch. Picard, *Manuel* II pl. 26; *KiB*², 239, 2.—Stele in the Vatican: *Jdl* XVIII (1903) pl. 8; F. Gerke, *loc. cit.* fig. 42; *Br. Br.* 784; *KiB*², 287, 4.—Stele from Pella: *AM*, VIII (1883) pl. 4; *BCH* VIII (1884) pl. 11; *Jdl* XXVIII (1913) 317, fig. 2; H. Bulle, *Sch. Mensch*²⁻³, pl. 264b. Jacobsthal, *Mel. Rel.* 158, 11.

³⁰ Head from the Asklepion: Buschor, *Olymp.* 37, fig. 31.—Head in Thera: *Thera* II, 249 ff. fig. 440; Langlotz in Schrader, *Arch. Marm. d. Akrop.* 34 n. 31.—Head from Delion: Buschor, *loc. cit.* p. 37 fig. 32; Langlotz, *Bildhauersch.* 140, 8, 144.—Fragment of a stele in Paros: Buschor, *loc. cit.* 36 fig. 30.—Stele in New York: *AD* I pl. 54; L. Curtius, *D. gr. Grabrel.* pl. 6; G. Richter, *Sculpt. and sculpt.* fig. 426; Jacobsthal, *Mel. Rel.* 161, fig. 41; F. Gerke, *Gr. Plastik*, fig. 147; *KiB*², 239, 6.—Metrological relief at Oxford: *JHS* IV (1883), pl. 35; Langlotz, *Bildhauersch.*

133, 16.—Head from Thasos: *BCH* XLV (1921) 129 ff. fig. 16/7 (the dating corrected by Pfuhr, *Jdl* XLI (1926) 132 ff. and after him Picard *Manuel* II, 691 n. 2). It belongs, I think, to the time of the Caryatids of the Erechtheion.

³¹ See relevant chapters in Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen* (with additions, for the archaic period, in Schrader, *Arch. Marm. d. Akrop.* 34 ff. n. 32). The characteristics of eastern Ionic art have been rightly expressed by Langlotz, even if not convincingly applied in all cases). To the more eastern Ionic School belong, I think, because of the looseness of the pose and softness of the modelling examples such as the stele from Nisyros H. Bulle, *Sch. Mensch*²⁻³ pl. 264a; L. Curtius, *D. griech. Grabrel.* pl. 7; M. Schede, *Meisterw. türk. Mus. Konstant.* pl. 6; and stele from Samos P. Jacobsthal, *Mel. Rel.* 159 fig. 38. W. H. Schuchhardt, *D. Kunst d. Gr.* fig. 260.

³² The real character and quality of the heads from Selinus are revealed for the first time in Langlotz's excellent photographs: J. Charbonneaux, *Sculpt. Gr. Class.* II, figs. 50/1; H. Kähler, *D. Griech. Metopenbild* fig. 58/9; *Antike u. Abendland* II (1946) 114 ff. (especially 117, 121) fig. 20/1. See also B. Ashmole, *Late arch. and early class. gr. sculpt. etc.* figs. 56, 64, 75; F. Gerke, *Gr. Plastik* figs. 130/4.—Ludovisi 'throne': *AD* II pl. 6/7; F. Gerke, *loc. cit.* figs. 135/41.

for precisely that reason the differences are of greater significance. I would not deny that there appears to be a specially close connection between this western Ionic style and that of the Cyclades. But I feel nevertheless that there is an essential difference between the exuberant sensuousness of the Selinus metopes and the Ludovisi Throne (compare the texture of the flesh and the relationship of eyebrow and eyeball) and the sensuousness of the Melos disc, which expresses itself almost wholly in the charm of the outline and the interior design. And the artist's use of relief is also, I think, different. On the Ludovisi Throne the outline of the figure against the ground gives a much stronger impression of a complete body, a body existing, though not visible, in its entirety. On the Melos disc this outline remains a design on the ground plane—compare the outline of the Melos head from the beginning of the nose to the end of the *sakkos* with the corresponding lines on the Aphrodite, the 'bride' and the 'hetaira'. But the same sense of depth is manifested by the other figures in the Birth of Aphrodite; no island artist would, I think, have rendered the folds which hang down from the thighs of the nymphs to their heels in this fashion. In this respect, however, the Melian disc closely resembles the Giustiniani stele, the Vatican stele, the Philis from Thasos and other island reliefs which we shall meet later on. In spite of variations in its depth we are always aware that the relief proper is an integral part of the design on the ground. A passage of Plato, which is also instructive for the transformation of relief-style at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century, aptly expresses the impression this kind of relief made on an observer who is already post-classical: φόβος οὖν ἔστιν . . . ὅπως μὴ καὶ αὐτὴς διασχισθῇ σόμεθα καὶ περίμεν ἔχοντες ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ταῖς στήλαις καταγραφὴν ἐκτετυπωμένοι, διαπεπρισμένοι κατὰ τὰς ῥίνας, γεγονότες ὥσπερ λίσσαι (*Symp.* 193a). This characterisation applies to practically all the island reliefs; to the Ludovisi Throne and other works of western Ionic art it can hardly be applied.³³

The approximate date of the Melos disc emerges naturally from the comparison with other island works—with the Giustiniani stele, which the style of the figure and *anthemion* dates about 465 B.C., close to the 'Mourning' Athena of the Acropolis,³⁴ with the Thasian stele of Philis, a work of the decade 450–440, with the Parian stele of the girl with the doves, a work of the decade 440–430.³⁵ It is obvious that the relief on the disc is later than the first and earlier than the two last, and further that it stands closer to the first. And this receives additional confirmation from its general similarity to the Olympia sculptures, the heads of the metopes of Temple E at Selinus and the Ludovisi Throne. Thus the dating of the Melos disc between 460 and 455 or 450 is not likely to be far wrong.

But can we be more precise? Admittedly, when J. D. Beazley 'confesses' that he is not 'one of those who can tell the art of 317 B.C. from the art of 320',³⁶ it is not difficult for the rest of us to admit that we cannot distinguish the art of, say, 458 from that of 453. But we are still confronted with the central problem of the Melos relief, the essential character of its art: is the spirit which it expresses severe, looking back towards the past, or is it early classical? For the total effect of the elements combined in it is not at first sight a very clear or certain one. Such an enquiry, however, about the Melos relief is both difficult and dangerous.

It is difficult because the island workshops are represented neither by monuments dated on external grounds nor by a close series of homogeneous works which would help to establish a systematic relative chronology. The only consistent island series is that of the Melian clay reliefs, which have been admirably classified by Jacobsthal.³⁷ He divides them into three groups, of which the earliest begins a little before 470 and lasts till about 460 B.C., the middle

³³ Two striking examples of such a 'διαπεπρισμένον' body: the left elbow of the relief from Daphni in Berlin, Blümel, *Katal.* III, K 22, pl. 32; *AA* 1919, 111, fig. 32; Möbius, *Ornam. Gr. Grabst.* 10; Jacobsthal, *Mel. Rel.* 152. Almost the whole body of the man on the relief at the Piraeus Mus. *AE* 1910, p. 67, nr. 4 (fig.); H. Diepolder, *Att. Grabrel.* 12, 2.

³⁴ Studniczka, *Jdl* XXVI (1911) 188 has already con-

nected them. Cf. H. Möbius, *Ornam. Griech. Grabst.* 11 pl. 2a; Buschor, *AM* LVIII (1933), 44 ff. Beil. XVII, 1.

³⁵ See nn. 29 and 30.

³⁶ *AJA* XLVII (1943) 461 (Panathenaica).

³⁷ P. Jacobsthal, *Die Mel. Rel.* (1931). Additional references: *BCH* LXI (1937) 353 (S. Papaspyridi-Karouzou); *AE* 1938, 104 ff. (N. Kontoleon); *JHS* LIX (1939) 65 ff. (P. Jacobsthal); *AJA* XLV (1941) 342 (J. D. Beazley).

one roughly covers the decade 460-450, and the latest comes down to about the end of the decade 440-430. With regard to the heads, the first group lays great emphasis on the linear elegance and vivacity of the outline as a whole, and pays much less attention to the interior design; the area of the hair is clearly distinguished from the face proper; the whole effect is rather angular—such as we see not only in the profiles but in the early full-face Penelope, Jacobsthal no. 1 Pl. 1 when we compare it with the three-quarter view of the middle-group Penelope, no. 87 Pl. 49—which is enlivened by the smiling gaiety still present in the riper head of the Nereid, no. 48 Pl. 24. This group is still distant from the head on the disc.

On the other hand we are very near it when we come to the heads of the middle period. Here the outline is more organically determined from within and the areas of hair and face are harmoniously interlocked, the part round the ear acting as the bond. Angularity is replaced by robust roundness, cheerfulness by a certain dourness of expression. Heads like the Aphrodite, no. 84 Pl. 45 (especially similar to the disc in its proportions), or the dancer no. 78 Pl. 39, rounder heads like the Scylla no. 73 Pl. 35, the Eos no. 75 Pl. 37, the still fuller-faced kitharist no. 76 Pl. 38, the Penelopes no. 89 Pl. 51 and no. 95 Pl. 54, the Aktaions nos. 97 Pl. 56 and 98 Pl. 43, and the Phrixos no. 101 Pl. 58—all these have an unmistakable general similarity in style to the head on the disc, though they lack its inner illumination, which we do not find in Melian reliefs until we reach the entirely classical but decidedly different heads of the last group.

Nevertheless the lack of individuality in the majority of Melian reliefs and the poor technical quality of their reproduction impairs their usefulness and makes precise comparisons impossible. Conversely also, this Melian series cannot be dated save 'by projection upon the chronological scale of Attic vases' (Jacobsthal, *op. cit.* 174). It is therefore more to the point to turn directly to the latter. The selection that follows has been made from vases with heads that are satisfactorily illustrated.

For his characterisation of the *ethos* of the time when Diphilos was καλός (460-450) Buschor chooses the Curtius Painter's kylix in the Villa Giulia.³⁸ Though hastily and lightly drawn, and though the subject is a special one, it presents a type of female face very like that on the disc. The outline with its wide angles gives the countenance amplitude and grandeur; the slanting line of the upper lid runs parallel and close to the open curve of the brow; the chin, rounded but only of moderate depth, joins the throat by a line which becomes horizontal, but its distance from the nose is great, almost as great in fact as that to the eye; the ear and the lock of hair in front of it link the face diagonally to the upper and back parts of the head, which by position and shape help to emphasise the face.

The description of this type of head agrees in general with the head on the disc, and shows that we are far from the head type of the years of Glaukon (ca. 475-65), even from the latest phase bordering on the years when Alkimachos was καλός (465-60). There the face is rather long and narrow, and the tense curve of the chin begins almost immediately below the lip; the eye is small and oblong, and is further away from the brow, which is sometimes straight, sometimes shallow; the ear is set high and tends to continue the mounting curve of the jaw; the capricious outline gives these heads a strongly extroverted look. We find such heads not only in the early group of Melian reliefs, but on the Europa of the kylix from Aigina or on the Hera of the Sabouroff Painter in Munich or on a white lekythos in Brussels with the name of Glaukon.³⁹

The same change is apparent in the female busts which F. Winter long ago collected in an article on outline heads. Passing over the still archaic Elpinikos kylix in Bonn, we find that the Athena of the British Museum white lekythos D. 22, a work of the Bowdoin Painter of about 475 B.C., has a head which is patently of the older type (as has the replica of it in the Spencer-

³⁸ Buschor-Hamann, *Sculpt. d. Zeustemp. zu Olympia* 9, 2; *Mon. Line.* XXIV (1916) 890; *Dedalo* III (1922/3) 88; *ARV* 607, 2.

³⁹ Europa: FR 114, 1; Furtwängler, *Aigina* I, 498.

Hera: FR 65; Reichhold, *Skizzenbuch* pl. 71; Schuchhardt, *D. Kunst. d. Griech.* fig. 178; *ARV* 556, 14.—Lekythos in Brussels: Buschor, *Att. Lek. d. Parthenonzeit* fig. 11; *ARV* 579 (connected with the group of Athens 1929, a).

Churchill Collection). But on the British Museum white lekythos D.46, which recalls heads on the Olympia metopes and will have been drawn about 460 B.C., the woman's head is already of the later type; and we see the same type, though now marked by the new introversion, on the white lekythos D.32 in the same museum, with which we are already approaching 450 B.C.⁴⁰ The head on the disc recalls the two latest examples, and especially the latest of all, in its breadth of design and the somewhat slacker movement of its curved lines, as well as in its inner character.

Among early classical vase-painters Hermonax has heads comparable with that on our disc. In the series comprising the Athena on the fragment from the Acropolis, which is not later than c. 470 B.C., the maenad of the New York lekythos, the goddesses on the Erichthonios stamnos in Munich and the women on the Würzburg amphora which Langlotz dates about 450 B.C., the head on our disc is most reminiscent of the last in the size of the eye and its position in relation to the brow, in the drawing of the whole profile (although the chin is no longer so deep) and in the introverted expression. The heads on the Erichthonios stamnos are fairly similar, but they have some more old-fashioned details as well (such as the oblong eye, the distance from it to the brow, the more pendent chin, etc.); compared with them the Melos head seems less material.⁴¹ An equally instructive comparison may be made with the heads of the Boreas Painter on the krater in New York and on the Acropolis fragment: the head on our disc has something of both, but in attitude and expression it seems closer to the latter, which Langlotz dates about 450 B.C.; it too differentiates the upper lid from the lower by a broader line.⁴²

The most apposite comparison, however, is that with the figures of the Penthesilea Painter. This is the world into which we are transported by the grandeur of the head on the disc. The Penthesilea kylix in Munich, 'das Glanzstück der Alkimachoszeit, das würdige Gegenstück der gewaltigen Komposition des olympischen Westgiebels' (Buschor),⁴³ stands—even most of its formal details—very near to it; and perhaps the only substantial difference between the two lies in the lively extroversion of the expression on the kylix. From this point of view the head on the disc is nearer to the figures of the later Tityos kylix in Munich and the New York bobbin, works dating from the later years of Diphilos; both of which it closely resembles in the general type and in formal details. On the other hand the Aphrodite (or Persephone) of the Boston skyphos already possesses the spontaneous lightness and certainty of classical form, which are not yet perceptible in the disc.⁴⁴

When we turn to the Niobid Painter, his early period heads (for instance, Eriphyle and the Amazon on the Leningrad fragments), with their narrower faces and sophisticated profile and expression, remind us less of the head on the disc. Nearer to it come heads of his middle period, as on the New York amphora and the Tübingen krater, with their broad, simplified design and the new ἀπροσέμνυσις.⁴⁵ In the roundness of its flowing lines and in expression the head on the disc likewise recalls the Villa Giulia Painter. On the Villa Giulia krater itself most of the dancing women's heads—for all their thick Attic necks and their more upright profiles—can well be compared in composition, proportion, and *ethos* with the head on the disc. Other works of this vase-painter show other heads similar to the Melos one; for

⁴⁰ Winter, *AZ* XLIII 43 (1885) pl. 12, 1 (Elpinikos-cup, *ARV* 86, 2).—Bowdoin, *ibid.* pl. 12, 2; *Jdl* XXX (1915) 87 fig. 8; *ARV* 476, 175 (for the dating see Jacobsthal *Mel. Rel.* 97 n. 2 and E. Haspels *Lekythoi* 157 n. 5).—Similar Spencer-Churchill: *Greek Art (Exhibition 1946) Catal.* J. Chittenden-Ch. Seltman pl. 24, 102; *ARV* 476, 177.—Compare by the same painter the Lekythos in the Louvre Rayet-Collignon pl. 10; Buschor, *Feldmäuse* fig. 4 and p. 7; *ARV* 476, 178.—Brit. Mus. D. 46: *AZ* loc. cit. p. 198 (Professor Sir John Beazley kindly informs me that it is a work by the Ikaros painter and a replica of the lekythos *ARV* 483, 50).—Brit. Mus. D.32: *AZ* loc. cit. p. 197.

⁴¹ Acropolis fragment: Langlotz, *Akrop. Vas.* pl. 53, 692; *ARV* 322, 87.—Lekythos in New York: Richter-Hall no. 85, pl. 89; *ARV* 321, 83.—Erichthonios Stamnos: FR

137; L. Curtius, *D. Klass. Kunst. Griech.* fig. 413/4; *ARV* 318, 18.—Würzburg amphora; Langlotz no. 504 pl. 171/2 and, especially 184; FR 107, 2; *ARV* 319, 41.

⁴² New York krater: Richter-Hall no. 86 pl. 94; Cook, *Zeus* III, 1123 fig. 883; *ARV* 338, 5.—Acropolis fragment: Langlotz, pl. 79, 1024 and drawing on p. 92; *ARV* 340, 43.

⁴³ Buschor, *Gr. Vasen* 182.

⁴⁴ Penthesilea cup: *ARV* 582, 1.—Tityos cup *ARV* 583, 2.—New York Bobbin: *ARV* 588, 114; Schuchhardt *D. Kunst. d. Gr.* fig. 170/1.—Boston skyphos: *ARV* 558, 103.

⁴⁵ Fragments in Leningrad: Webster, *Niobidenmaler* pl. 9a-b; *ARV* 423, 53 and 418, 3.—New York: Richter-Hall no. 97 pl. 100; *ARV* 422, 50.—Tübingen: Webster pl. 20 *ARV* 420, 28.

instance a krater and stamnos in New York, a pelike in Syracuse, and another in the British Museum.⁴⁶

This survey (which does not, I hope, misrepresent the main lines of evolution) shows that the origin of practically all the formal elements of the Melos head is to be sought in the years when Alkimachos was καλός. What was still unknown at this time is the particular manner in which all these elements are combined and co-ordinated in relation both to each other and to the whole—a matter of greater significance than the individual motives. New, and definitely established only in the years of Diphilos, is the formal and spiritual grandeur of the head, the organisation of its outline under control from within, the grouping of the elements of the design around a centre, and finally the poise of the head—an *ethos* in itself. When, however, we compare these works with those of the following decade, of the years of Euaion and of Axiopieithes, we find the former still struggling to realize a new ideal, an ideal which is achieved about 450 B.C.⁴⁷

If now we return to sculpture, we shall find singularly few *original marble works* which have been dated with certainty in the critical decade 460–450—perhaps because in our dating we are involuntarily attracted upwards or downwards by the sculptures of Olympia and the Parthenon. But while still basing ourselves firmly on the Olympia sculptures (begun soon after 470 and finished in 457/6), we can, I think, recognise a number of more ‘up-to-date’ details in the head on the Melos disc.

The eyelids, for instance, though still fairly thick, are clearly differentiated from one another: the upper one is sharply distinguished from the eyeball, with a deep incision concealed above it, and it projects forward so far as to make it likely that the lower edge of the projection bore painted eyelashes, such as are preserved on the well-known head of Athena in the Vatican which copies a (possibly Sicilian) work of the preceding decade.⁴⁸ The lower lid, on the other hand, closely follows the convexity of the eyeball in lower relief, without turning outwards and downwards. Such differentiation is not found on the Olympia sculptures, which retain the older treatment found, for instance, on the Blond Boy, or the Sounion stele. Nor does it occur in the small Attic (?) head from Serpendzé, a work contemporary with the Olympia metopes, or on island works like the contemporary Giustiniani stele and the slightly earlier head from the Delion of Paros; or, lastly, in the western Ionic art of the Ludovisi Throne and the E metopes at Selinus. On the other hand the differentiation is already seen, in a somewhat more developed form, on the island stele in the Vatican and the kindred fragment in Paros.⁴⁹

In comparison with most of these works the head on the disc is more advanced. And so it is, too, in its endeavour to prevent the ball of the eye from projecting as far as the lids. Comparison with the slightly earlier Giustiniani stele and the more or less contemporary Ludovisi and Boston ‘thrones’ (not to mention the sculptures of Olympia), where the pro-

⁴⁶ Villa Giulia: FR 17/8; CV pl. 21/2; Curtius D. *Klass. Kunst. Griech.* fig. 70 (part); ARV 401, 1.—New York krater: Richter-Hall pl. 101; ARV 402, 16.—New York stamnos: Richter-Hall pl. 102; ARV 402, 28.—Syracuse: *Mon. Linc.* 17 pl. 32; ARV 404, 42.—Brit. Mus.: Cook *Zeus* pl. 59; ARV 404, 43.

⁴⁷ Useful help could also be offered by the coins (which have the same essential subject as our disc, a head within a circle), if the coins of the Ionian district, which interest us more directly here, were more plentiful and better dated by external evidence. A glance at the richer series of Sicilian coins shows, I think, that among the coins of Catane the piece B. Ashmole, *Late arch. and early class. gr. sculpt.* etc. fig. 58 (from the first issue after the re-establishment of 461 B.C.) has still in the pose of the head and in the relation of its elements a tension which is much more moderate on the Melian disc; on the other hand the piece A. Pfeiff, *Apollon* pl. 45a; Langlotz, *Ant. u. Abendl.* II (1946) 138 fig. 23, and even the somewhat later piece M. Hirmer *Die sch. Griechenmünzen Siz.* 13; Pfeiff *loc. cit.* pl. 44, have in common with the Melian the new relaxation and centralisation (compare in Pfeiff, *loc. cit.* p. 87 the fine differentiation

between the two last coins). As far as the Arethuse of Syracuse are concerned the pieces Ashmole, *loc. cit.* fig. 45 and 47 and Hirmer, *loc. cit.* 9 seem to be still a long way from our head; much nearer is the piece Rizzo *Monete Greche della Sic.* pl. XXXIX 2 (compare W. Amelung, *RM* XL (1925) 197 ff. fig. 9 ‘about 460’), and still nearer the one Rizzo XXXIX 4; Böhringer R 385 E pl. 20, 555, and Rizzo XXXIX 5; Böhringer R 391 pl. 21, 570. But I think that the Melian head has already something of the slightly later one Rizzo XLI 4, Böhringer R 444 Pl. 24, 645, which recalls the ‘Sappho’ Albani.

⁴⁸ *Jdl* XXXVII (1922) 127 ff. fig. 12 (W. Amelung). G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Scult. del Mag. del Mus. Vat.* Nr. 41 pl. XII.

⁴⁹ Serpendzé head: *AE* 1901, pl. 8 (A. Furtwängler) *ÖJh* XIV (1911) 58 fig. 61 (H. Schrader); E. Buschor, *Olymp.* 28 E. Langlotz, *Bildhauersch.* 140, 7 pl. 87b.—Giustiniani: note 29.—Head from the Delion at Paros: n. 30.—Ludovisi ‘throne’ and metopes from Selinus: n. 32.—Stele in the Vatican n. 29.—Fragment from Paros: n. 30.

jection of the eyeball is almost equal to that of the lids, makes the difference immediately obvious. In this detail also our disc is drawn towards later works, such as for instance the Philis of Thasos etc.⁵⁰

The simple, little articulated design of the ear and its somewhat flat modelling continue practically unchanged on the Philis stele and on another later head in Thasos.⁵¹ The ear which conforms to the shape and line of the adjacent piece of hair is set obliquely, as on the Apollo of Olympia, and low down on account of the attitude of the head and the rhythm of the design. The whole effect nevertheless is almost like an anticipation of certain heads from the metopes and frieze of the Parthenon.⁵²

Yet in contrast to these details and to the advanced character of the relief as a whole, other details give at first sight a more old-fashioned impression. Closer examination, however, shows that this impression is misleading. The eye for instance is in fact no longer quite full-face but in three-quarter view. Yet its outline is visible and consistent throughout its length, as for example on the Ludovisi Throne and not unlike that of the Giustiniani stele. But the island workshops, and more generally the Ionian ones, are conservative on this point, so much so that the eye is still treated like this not only on work of the following decade such as the Philis of Thasos, but even much later works such as the Pella warrior stele in Constantinople (c. 420 B.C.) and the stele of Krito and Timarista in Rhodes from Kamiros (c. 410).⁵³ On the other hand, it is absolutely normal for the edge of the upper lid not to overlap the lower on at the outer corner—a way of treating the eye which is usually held to appear for the first time on the metopes of the Parthenon.⁵⁴ The two lids are, however, no longer joined, but being of different thickness they are separated by a faint stroke—a feature which foreshadows the later practice and which we find again on other works of this time.⁵⁵

Still more old-fashioned perhaps is the impression given by the upper eyelid, or to be precise by the sudden oblique plane which separates the brow from the lid. It shows no trace of a soft swelling like that on, for instance, the Humphry-Ward head in the Louvre nor yet of the treatment used on occasion by the artists of Olympia and already described by A. Furtwängler.⁵⁶ On the disc head the upper lid is quite dry and fleshless. But in this we may see another long-established island tradition. The junction of this plane with the incised line on the eyelid exhibits a most instructive evolution; and this tradition holds also for many decades afterwards. We see a like treatment of this surface of the upper eyelid on, for instance, a head in the museum of Thera, most probably a Parian work of about 480, and apparently also on the

⁵⁰ See n. 29.

⁵¹ See n. 30.

⁵² Examples: *Jdl* LIV (1939) 65 fig. 36/7= *ibid.* LV (1940) 230/1 fig. 48, 50 (B. Schweitzer).

⁵³ Philis stele and stele from Pella: note 29. The dating of the later by Jacobsthal, *Mel. Rel.* 58, 'about 440' seems rather early: he finds the warrior connected in outline and rhythm with the youth from the Parthenon frieze West 9 (Smith pl. 64), but this youth as well as the comparable youths South 62 (Smith pl. 84) West 4 (Smith pl. 62) 22/3 (Smith pl. 69) have the weight differently divided and the single rhythm of their pose coming from within, not created artificially by the outline. The youth from Pella, looser and more Polykleitan, is held together from outside by the curve of the whole outline; he can hardly be conceived far away from such figures as on the stele of Chairedemos and Lykeas in Piraeus, Diepolder, *Att. Grabrel* pl. 16.—Stele from Kamiros: *Cl. Rhodos* IV, 37 ff. fig. 10/11; *ibid.* V 1, 31 ff. pl. 4/7 (G. Jacopi); *Antike* VII (1931) 331 ff. pl. 31/3 (K. Lehmann); *RM* XLVII (1932) 51 ff. (H. Speier); *AJA* XXXVII (1933) 407 ff. (M. Rickert); F. Gerke, *Gr. Plastik* fig. 195. On the Kamiros stele there is, I think, a noticeable differentiation in the rendering of the eye: the eye is more hidden in the figure of Krito, who is *alive*, and it shows more complete in the figure of Timarista who as a dead person is a higher being and it is probably just for the reason that she is more free from the fortuitous foreshortenings which are created by the relations of our world (the details of the linear design of the eyes, but probably not the im-

pression given from a single view point, show better in the fig. *Cl. Rhodos* IV fig. 10/11).

⁵⁴ See F. Studniczka in *Festschrift Benndorf* 173 ff.; V. H. Poulsen, *Str. Stil* 122.—It is already quite developed in the nice relief fragment from the recent excavations at Brauron *PAE* 1945-48, 89 fig. 7; *BCH* LXXIII (1949) pl. 31, 2, work most probably of about 450 B.C. which continues (for religious reason?) the mannerist current which is represented in archaistic works, or simply affected ones, such as from an earlier period, the Akropolis relief no. 581, Payne-Young pl. 126; Schrader (Langlotz-Schuchhardt) pl. 175, or terracottas, like the head V. H. Poulsen, *loc. cit.* 61 fig. 40 and the Boston fragment *Bull.* 1926, 28; Langlotz, *Bildhauersch.* pl. 96d (*ARV* 453, 20; Jacobsthal *Mel. Rel.* 135, 1); it shows probably connections with island workshops and with the somewhat later grave relief H. Diepolder *D. att. Grabrel*, 9 fig. 1.

⁵⁵ Some clear examples: Aphrodite of the Ludovisi 'throne'.—Hanover head *Jdl* XXXV (1920) pl. 4 (Amelung); B. Ashmole *Late arch. and early Gr. sculpt.* etc. fig. 79; Buschor, *Olymp.* 31.—Dresden head, *Jdl* XXXV 51 fig. 1 and pl. VI. E. Langlotz, *Bildhauersch.* pl. 22.—Almyros head *AM* LXV (1940) pl. 63/65 (F. Brommer), *Bollett. d'Arte*, 1948, 193 ff. (E. Paribeni). This head should not be earlier than 460, because it recalls in general Peirithoos of the West Pediment of Olympia, and the groups of locks at the temples show almost the manner of the 'Omphalos' Apollo.

⁵⁶ H. Brunn *Arch. Stud.* 73 (cf. *Mesterw.* 123).

head from the Delion of Paros which is almost contemporary with the Olympia metopes.⁵⁷ The more archaic rendering of the same surface, together with the incision on the eyelid, is shown by the head from the Asklepieion of Paros of the years of Παναίτιος καλός; nor are the stelai from Pharsala in the Louvre and from Nisyros in Constantinople very different in this respect.⁵⁸ On the Giustiniani stele the incised line has turned into a shallow incision above the swelling edge of the eyelid, while on the head on our disc the incision, as we have seen, does in fact exist but is concealed behind the edge of the lid (achieving from one point of view a more three-dimensional solution). The girl with the doves from Paros in New York shows a later stage of development.

Unquestionably in this way of modelling the upper eyelid and equally in the furrow (so significant in the Melos head), which separates the lower lid from the cheek and somehow isolates the two, we must recognise favourite artistic means of expression in the island workshops and those allied to them. And we see that they use them, with variations of course to suit the times, for many decades.⁵⁹ Yet in none of them is this medium of expression used in so intense a manner, in none have eye and look been so thoroughly emancipated from their relation to the surrounding flesh as on the head on the disc. It is in this respect the purest of them all—though a Peloponnesian or an Attic artist, with his different conception of the living organism and its translation into modelling, might have added 'and the poorest.'

In conclusion, the decisive factor for determining the place of the disc in the general evolution of sculpture is not to be sought in isolated details but in the relationship of their functions and the whole. Here we have a sure guide: the conception of divinity which our head displays places it beside the Olympia Apollo—a sister of the same age.⁶⁰ Thus in saying that our head was made in the same years—and let us limit them to 460–455—we are within the bounds of reason and probability. But a no less important conclusion emerging from our examination is that our head does not remain stationary in the stream of change, much less does it look back towards the past. On the contrary it already presages the classical culmination. Even compared with the Apollo and the other sculptures of Olympia its design shows a tendency towards a relaxation of the tension, towards calmer concentration and a gentler introversion. The inner light which seems to radiate from it foreshadows one at least of the significant aspects of the deities of the Parthenon.

Perhaps the 'spiritual milieu' in which the Melos disc arose can be more closely defined and our picture gain in colour, if we close the circle of comparisons with some works of major importance or of greater note to which this head—apart from the differences of place and individual idiosyncrasy—is in my opinion essentially akin. From the Peloponnesian zone we may cite the female head of the Barracco-Budapest-Terne type, the marvellous Peplophoros in Herakleion from Kissamos, and in addition the Omphalos Apollo (especially in the profile of the Louvre copy) together with its group.⁶¹ The same spirit, but in a field perhaps not so distant from the Melos disc, is emphatically expressed by a female head in a German private collection, which V. H. Poulsen regards as a copy of the Alba head but Langlotz (more correctly in my opinion) assigns to the art of the islands; a head of Athena in the Capitoline Museum (mounted on a copy of the torso of the Albani Sappho) shows—especially in the profile—a kindred physiognomy, and hair on the brow and temple in the form which we must restore in imagination on the Melos head; we end with the incomparable Chatsworth Apollo, perhaps

⁵⁷ Head from Delion and Thera: see n. 30.

⁵⁸ Head from the Asklepieion: see n. 30, contemporary with the Sphinx head from the akroterion of Aphaia, *Meisterwerke* 50; G. Welter, *Aigina* (1938) 88 fig. 79; W. H. Schuchhardt, *Kunst d. Gr.* fig. 144.—Stele at Pharsala: Langlotz, *Bildhauersch.* pl. 10; *Encycl. Photogr.* (Tel) III 147—that of Nisyros: see n. 31.—For other examples of the incised line of the eyelid, although I do not know whether we can use this as a criterion for the more precise location of the pieces, see Langlotz, *Bildhauersch.* 142.

⁵⁹ E.g. Vatican stele: n. 29.—Fragment of stele from Paros: n. 30.—Stele from Karystos: Blümel, *Katal.* III, K 21 pl. 30/1. F. Gerke, *Gr. pl.* fig. 293; *KiB* 287, 5;

Jacobsthal, *Mel. Rel.* 153, 159.—Stele from Herakleion: *OJh* VI (1903) pl. I p. 6 fig. 8; *Jdl* XXVIII (1913) 319 fig. 3; *JHS* LVII (1937) 42; nearly contemporary with the stele from Karystos.—From Samos: n. 31. From Pella: n. 29. From Rhodes: n. 53.

⁶⁰ Cf. the head of Apollo as illustrated in Hege's photograph (Hege-Rodenwaldt *Olympia*, frontispiece).

⁶¹ Type Barracco-Budapest, etc.: Buschor, *Olymp.* 35. V. H. Poulsen, *Str. Stil* 64 n. 26 (his doubts do not seem well founded).—Peplophoros in Herakleion: see n. 25.—Apollo in the Louvre (Omphalos type): *Encycl. Photogr.* (Tel) III 151A. A. Pfeiff, *Apollon* pl. 29b.

the most imposing creation of the Ionic world.⁶² In the Attic field a terracotta doll in the Louvre is sufficiently outstanding to live at ease in this exalted spiritual sphere; but a more authentic expression is the Pheidian Athena in Brescia, which Buschor has convincingly placed with the Tiber Apollo in the early period of the master; in addition, there is something in the Athena of Myron, particularly as presented by the Vatican copy (though also in that at Dresden), which the Melos head seems to foreshadow.⁶³

Such great names alongside the little disc from Melos might well alarm us did not our goddess—whoever she may be—partake of that world in such purity and sufficiency, were she not so χρυσανταυγής.

CHR. J. KAROUZOS.

⁶² Head in a private collection: K. A. Neugebauer *Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz* (1938) pl. 3 no. 5; V. H. Poulsen, *Berytus VI* (1939/40) 9; E. Langlotz in a forthcoming paper (for the Alba head: E. Buschor, *Olymp.* 35).—Head of Athena in the Capitoline: *EA* 449/51; *Helbig*³ 989; Buschor, *loc. cit.* 35. V. H. Poulsen, *Acta Arch.* XI (Myron) 39 n. 177.—Chatsworth Apollo: *AD IV* pls. 21 ff.; Langlotz, *Bildhauersch.* pl. 12; *JHS LVIII* (1938) pls. 8/9; F. Gerke, *Gr. Pl.* figs. 108/9; A. Pfeiff, *Apollon* pl. 34/5.—Among the works of more eastern Ionic art we may mention the head of a goddess from Tralles in Constantinople: *BCH XXVIII* (1904) pl. 11; *RA IV* (1904) (2) pl. XIV/XV; Mendel II no. 545; Buschor *Olymp.* 38 (it seems to be near the 'Penelope').

The classicising relief in Turin, *ÖJh XVI* (1913) 22 ff. fig. 14/5; G. Rösch, *Alt. Marm. v. Paros* 33 (Buschor, *Olymp.* 30; V. H. Poulsen, *Act. Arch.* XI Myron p. 40) seems to be based on authentic Parian works.

⁶³ Terracotta in the Louvre: J. Charbonneaux, *Les t.c. gr.* fig. 32 = Idem, *La Sculpt. gr. class.* I fig. 42 = *Encycl. fotogr.* (Tel) II 195 c-d; Poulsen, *Str. Stil* 50 no. 6; P. Knoblauch, *Studien* etc. 188 no. 396.—Athena Brescia: Furtwängler, *MW* 123 ff. fig. 23; *EA* 194/6; Buschor, *Phidias d. Mensch* 13 fig. 5 (Idem, *Olymp.* 32; quite different is the opinion of V. H. Poulsen, *Berytus VI* 8 n. 8).—Athena of Myron: G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Scul. del Mag. del Vat.* Nr. 59 pl. XVIII. P. E. Arias, *Mirone* 19 figs. 26, 32.

THE ACROPOLIS AND PERSEPOLIS

Two of the greatest monuments of the ancient world date from the fifth century B.C. and they embody respectively the ideals of the Persian and of the Athenian Empire. There had been nothing in all Asia as sumptuous as Persepolis; the Acropolis of Athens, a quarter its size, was given a magnificence absolutely unprecedented in Greece. A comparison between the two schemes must reflect the divergence between the Persian and the Greek outlook but also reveal some elements in common, if only because of an inevitable resemblance in ways of thinking among contemporaries when confronted with rather similar problems. But it must not be taken for granted that every parallel between them is fortuitous. There is reason to think that the sculptors employed at Persepolis were largely Greeks—conscripted subjects of Persia, no doubt; the sculptors of the Acropolis were by no means all Athenian but came also from other Greek states,¹ and surely there must have been talk among them of the tremendous project from which many of their colleagues had returned to cities east of the Aegean. Persepolis was built steadily from about 500 to 460,² by which time the reconstruction of the Acropolis had begun; its earliest Periclean building, the Parthenon, was commenced in 447. It is conceivable that some particular sculptor may have carved figures in the friezes of both Persepolis and the Parthenon; workmen who could attain the requisite standard must have been in demand. At any rate one Greek artist from the Persian service seems to have gone as far west as Delos, to judge by imitation there of the Persepolis type of column-base, in the Thesmophorium, a building datable about 480–460.^{2a}

The use of Greeks to carve at Persepolis was a matter of deliberate policy. A British public building sometimes incorporates materials from all parts of the Commonwealth as a symbol of unity, and in a rather similar spirit Darius I records how he apportioned among his subject peoples the labour of obtaining and preparing the materials for his palace at Susa; the 'Ionians' shared with the Babylonians and Lydians respectively the work in baked brick (? faience decoration) and on the columns.³ His pride in commanding the resources and skill of many countries is so evident in the inscription that it tends to obscure a practical motive for all this far-flung activity: his determination to secure the best, both in materials and in workmanship. Actually it was an established principle, inherited from the Assyrian Empire, to recruit from each subject nation men skilled in any occupation for which it had developed special aptitude. Medicine was the first pursuit in which Greeks are stated to have been used, after Democedes' success in treating an injury that had baffled the Egyptian court physicians.⁴ That happened very early in the reign of Darius (521–486 or 485), and Democedes may possibly have been the first Greek to work directly for a Persian king. But within a year or two of his arrival the presence also of Greek sculptors can be deduced from the style of the relief at Behistun that commemorates the troubles of Darius' accession.

Under Cyrus the Great, Persian sculpture had clung to the tradition of Southern Mesopotamia, admitting only the incongruity of an Egypto-Phoenician crown. At Behistun the style was in general that of seventh-century Assyria but modified by introduction of a few Greek naturalistic details. By the end of the reign, when Persepolis began to take shape, a fairly comprehensive hellenisation of details was attained, and then the style of reliefs froze, at any rate in the royal monuments.⁵ In the course of forty or fifty years, during which Greek art

¹ The fragmentary inscription recording expenditure on the Erechtheum shows a high proportion of alien workers; the section on the frieze mentions three Athenian and five alien sculptors (I.G.I² 374).

² From the inscriptions, Darius seems to have completed only one of the buildings; most of them date from the reign of Xerxes (486 or 485–465) but one of his foundations was completed by Artaxerxes I (465–424). One of the last

king, Artaxerxes III (359–338), made an addition.

^{2a} *BCH* LIII (1929) 257, fig. 34.

³ Translated in *AJA* L (1946) 25.

⁴ Herodotus, III, 129–130.

⁵ Hellenisation proceeded farther in reliefs made in Asia Minor for (?) Persian clients (Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, IV, Pls. 103–4) and in gems (Richter, *Commem. Studies in honor of Shear*, *Hesperia* Suppl. VIII 291).

changed most rapidly, some two thousand figures were carved at Persepolis⁶ in almost perfect homogeneity. To achieve that, the sculptors themselves must have been fairly homogeneous and the fidelity with which they reproduce the Greek treatment of details proves that many, if not all of them, were Greeks.⁷

The architectural evidence declares the employment of Greeks even more plainly, on the same work of carving, in buildings of a new style. The palaces of Cyrus had incorporated features derived from several countries, all perhaps in the interior of Asia.⁸ Those built at Persepolis by Darius and his successors are in some ways nearest in plan to the Pisistratid Hall at Eleusis, though the resemblance could be due merely to independent evolution from Egyptian precedents. An unmistakably Egyptian feature is found in the cavetto cornices at Persepolis,⁹ but the doorways they surmount are Greek in pattern and only vaguely reminiscent of the pylon, while the ornamental features throughout the palaces are at least as much Greek as Asiatic in derivation; the clumsiness of their use, however, suggests that the architect was not Greek. But the Ionic fluting and mouldings of the columns, which numbered several hundreds, required greater precision of carving than figure sculpture, and again the uniformly excellent quality of their workmanship could not have been achieved unless the labour force contained at any rate a high proportion of Greeks, as is recorded in the case of the palace at Susa. They could, of course, have trained masons of other races to take their place, but the king would have seen no advantage in any such substitution; the Persians themselves did not need to practise trades, while the distance from which he had his subjects fetched to work for him, and the diversity of races among them, fostered his pride. The very creation of 'Persian' architecture and art, by the method of amalgamating stylistic contributions of half-a-dozen conquered nations,¹⁰ can only have been intended as a constant reminder of empire.

In building Persepolis, Darius and Xerxes followed the general oriental practice of concentrating the government offices around the king's person in a complex of palaces, walled off from the rest of the town like the Imperial City at Peking, and for choice planned as a unit on a virgin site. At the end of the eighth century Sargon of Assyria had surpassed all predecessors with his new foundation at Khorsabad, built on a platform, and within a couple of generations the Uartians imitated it at Karmir-Blur, on a fairly steep hill.¹¹ The Babylonian 'Königsburgen' of the early sixth century, which the Persians took over as one of their administrative capitals, consisted of an accretion of buildings, but some attempt was made at a coherent exterior to conform to the rules.¹² At Persepolis (fig. 1) the Assyrian tradition reappears in a very different landscape. A mountain-chain thrusts into the plain at its foot a shelf roughly as long as the Acropolis of Athens and four or five times as wide. The edge of this was trimmed and encased with a wall of semipolygonal masonry, Greek to all appearance.¹³ But the plan accords with the Mesopotamian convention for aiding defence or avoiding monotony. The face, though rectilinear, bends inwards and outwards, unsymmetrically as at Karmir-Blur because of the shape of the rock but producing an appearance of symmetry. All the bends are approximately at right-angles, except near the corners of the platform, which are virtually bevelled by a succession of slanting rebates. A free-standing wall across

⁶ The material used at Persepolis is local stone.

⁷ The view that the Greek element was insignificant (F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 145) is no longer tenable (Frankfort and Richter, *AJA L* (1946) 6 and 15). Cf. Ionian reliefs of the early fifth century (e.g. *BM Cat.* I, Pls. xxi-xxxi).

⁸ The tomb of Cyrus appears to show indirect Greek influence, through the medium probably of one of the semi-hellenised races in Asia Minor, and if the constituents of its surrounding colonnade really come from his palaces, the same applies to them.

⁹ This may have been the foundation for the belief that artisans were fetched to Persepolis from Egypt (Diodorus Sic. I, 46, 4), though the Susa inscription mentions structural work by Egyptian labour there. A fragmentary statue of a lion from Persepolis in local stone (Oriental Inst. Chicago,

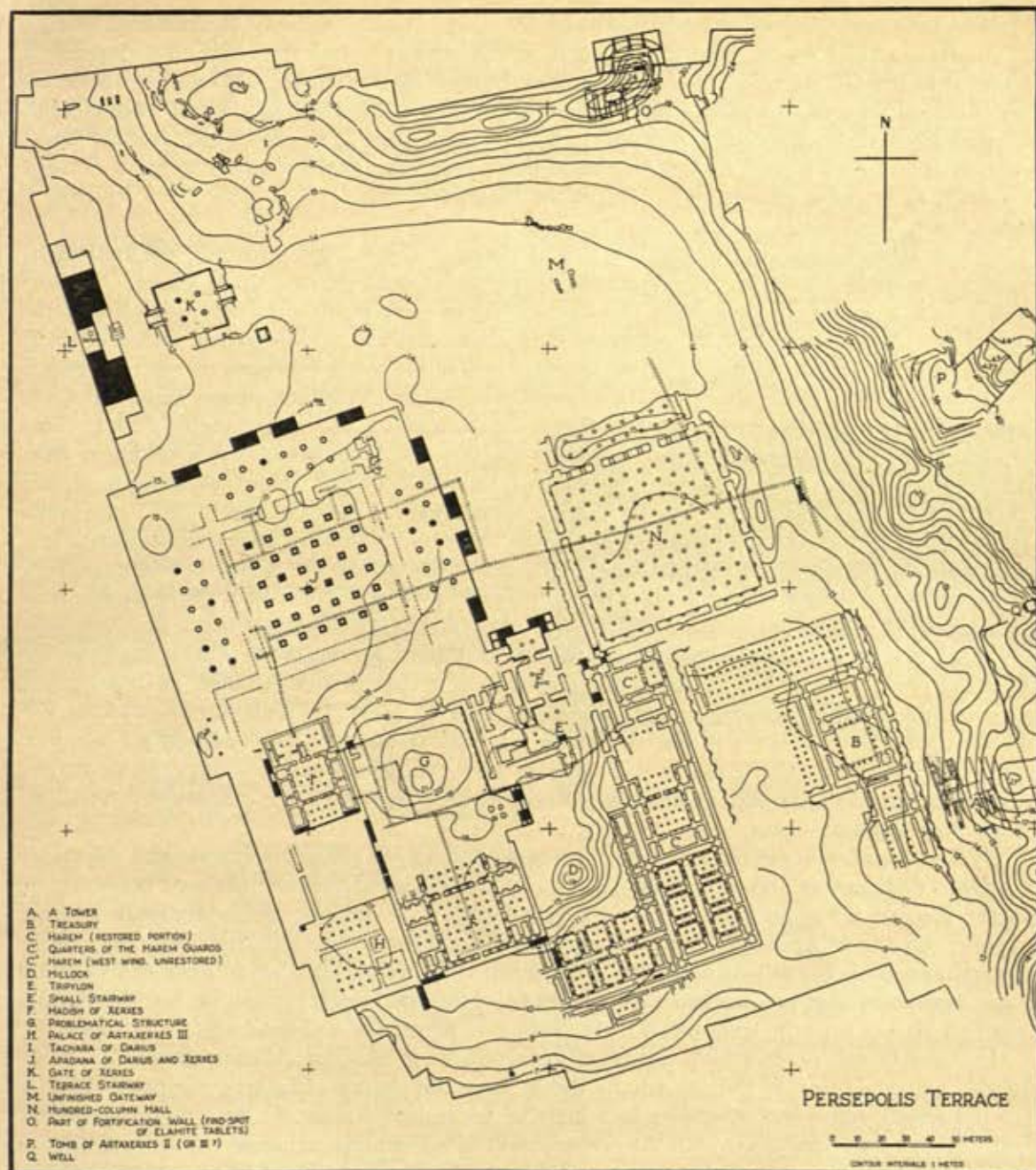
no. AF9) seems to me to have necessarily been designed and carved by an Egyptian; it stood at the entrance to one of Xerxes' buildings.

¹⁰ My article in *EB s.v.* 'Persia—Archaeology', though in some respects out of date, is a convenient summary of the ingredients.

¹¹ The excavation of this site (near Erevan) began in 1939 after an inscription of Rusa II had been discovered; I know only the semi-popular account of B. B. Piotrovskiy, *Istoriya i Kultura Urtu* (Akademiya Nauk, Erevan, 1944) 157, plan fig. 20.

¹² *AA* 1941, 807 for plan; Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*.

¹³ M. Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, II, Pl. II; Pope, *op. cit.* IV, Pl. 81B; cf. Scranton, *Greek Walls*; Wrede, *Attische Mauern*.



[By courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, cf. n. 14.]

FIG. 1.—PLAN OF PERSEPOLIS.

the foot of the mountain completed the enclosure;¹⁴ this was built of mud-brick with filled hollows, and had towers of slight projection, so that again the scheme was Mesopotamian. Persepolis, with the sheer walls rising 30 to 40 feet above the ground outside, looked a fortress, but architectural grandeur took precedence over any need for defence; no military eye could approve the entrance ('L' on the plan), a gigantic double staircase of diverging and converging flights, planned for several horsemen to ride abreast up each side to a top landing which

¹⁴ Only partially excavated, hence not complete on the plan (from *Oriental Inst. Communications* no. 21, Erich F. VOL. LXXI.

Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, fig. 5; p. 7 for the wall).

is 70 feet long and level with the ground within. But adequate security against tribal looters or conspiring nobles was no doubt provided by the doorway through the wall and the approach behind it to the Gate of Xerxes—itsself a hall more than 80 feet square but entered between a pair of colossi set a mere 12 feet apart. They were winged, human-headed bulls, significantly different from their Assyrian prototypes; their wings curve upwards in the archaic Greek convention and they have four legs instead of five—proving that the sculptor thought in terms of statues, as a Greek would do, instead of the Mesopotamian concept of two reliefs joined at right-angles.

When Darius chose the untouched site of Persepolis, his future enemies, the Athenians, could see on their Acropolis the remains of nearly a thousand years of occupation. The very existence of Athens as a town must have depended at some periods on the proximity of this huge slab of limestone, tilted by nature so that it was easily accessible at one end and steep-sided elsewhere; it would have formed an ideal refuge for some hundreds or even thousands of people with their possessions, but for a shortage of water. Whether, at any time, the whole or most of the population lived permanently on the Acropolis is very questionable; Thucydides (II, 15, 3; 6) offers the suggestion to explain the current Athenian usage of calling it *Polis*. In reality the word was being used in its original, though forgotten, sense; etymologically it is equivalent to *Burg*. Just as Londoners, when they began to speak of the 'City', meant the area enclosed by the medieval walls, so at Athens the term could have arisen whilst the citizens lived in an unwallled town with only the Mycenaean fortification on the Acropolis to demonstrate the sovereignty of their state. In fact the notoriously poor soil of the Attic plain cannot have maintained an urban population sufficient to man a greater perimeter than the Acropolis. Not until overseas trade revived would the lower town have received a wall and thereby become a *polis*; the historians certify the existence of a city-wall before 480, of short extent, but it was probably a comparatively recent work. Its successor, the wall of Themistocles, was quickly made formidable, yet the Acropolis too was thought worth re-fortifying after its destruction by the Persians, and it did not lose every vestige of military importance till the completion, shortly after 460, of the Long Walls, which converted the enceintes of Athens and Piraeus into twin citadels.

By that time the Acropolis had just begun to show signs of a change in status, with a decrease in private dedications and the multiplication of official inscriptions.¹⁵ It was becoming in fact the Record Office of Athens. As a rule a Greek state did not use its acropolis for that purpose; on the other hand Persepolis contained archives by the hundred thousand, in the utilitarian form of clay tablets and parchment scrolls. When Athens began to store its bullion on the Acropolis, that too marked a departure from normal Greek procedure, but the Persian kings had always kept the treasury of their Empire in Persepolis and their other residences.¹⁶

In most Greek states which possessed an acropolis it may have held the temple of the national patron—in order that no enemy might have the chance of bribing the fickle deity to help the wrong side—but otherwise had little or no embellishment.¹⁷ At Athens embellishment began, as at Persepolis, with the construction of an impressive casing to the rock and an indefensible entrance, but their forms are altogether different. The 'Pisistratid' propylon, now ascribed to the years around 465 rather than 500, consisted of two porches, each carried by four Doric columns at the façade, projecting back to back from the actual gateways.¹⁸ (It was destroyed to make room for the Periclean Propylaea.) At the summit of the rock, the site destined for the Parthenon was extended by terracing out to a new external wall, far down the original slope. Along half the circuit of the Acropolis (fig. 2) this wall formed a rectilinear casing to the rock, and in places it stood 40 feet high; it is built of the rectangular masonry which had recently become fashionable. The southward extension of the summit made an

¹⁵ Apart from the earliest Athenian decree, only two or three of those from the Acropolis can be older than the reconstruction of the 460's, as Mr. A. G. Woodhead informs me.

¹⁶ E.g. Q. Curtius, V, 2, 8; 6, 20; Schmidt, *op. cit.* 16.

¹⁷ Collections of plans: von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen*; Dunbabin, *Western Greeks*. Two important examples: *JHS* LXII (1942) 39, fig. 1; 51 *Winckelm.-progr.* Berlin (1891), Koldewey, *Neandria*, plan at end.

¹⁸ Stevens, *Hesperia* XV (1946) 77, figs. 4, 6.

artificial salient opposite a natural projection of the north side, with the result that the Acropolis now approximated to the symmetrical shape of an elongated diamond. The casing of the south side runs in two straight stretches, longer than any at Persepolis; seen broadside on, they meet at such an obtuse, streamlining angle, that their divergence becomes inconspicuous. The east end, however, runs to a sharp point—a prow, one might say, thinking ahead to the island in the Tiber which the Romans literally cased in the form of a ship. On the north of the Acropolis a presumably slightly older wall, incorporating blocks salvaged from the ruins of 480, wavers along the crest.

Only in the Periclean reshaping of the west end does the outline conform with the emphatic angularity of Persepolis.¹⁹ There (fig. 3) too we find ingenuity of a higher order than Persepolis displays, directed towards the same objects of achieving either an appearance of symmetry where none exists or an asymmetrical balance, and of slurring abrupt corners by means of successive turns, at right-angles or slanting. The casing, presumably not following the line of the rockface, makes three right-angled turns to join the north wall of the Acropolis with its course beneath the outer end of the Propylaea's north wing, but runs forward from the south wing in a narrow bastion, which carries the temple of Nike. However, the outer end of that temple and the casing beneath it slant inwards towards the north wing, and the difference in axis reduces this discrepancy to the eye. It also puts the temple's north-west corner in line with the columnar façade of the Propylaea's south wing, and makes the sides of the temple point to the Parthenon, thereby bringing the whole entrance into relation with the main building on the Acropolis.²⁰ To leave space enough for the Nike temple, the south wing of the Propylaea could not project as far west as the other, but to anyone walking between them the façades of the two wings appear to match because the southern façade was made to project farther than the wing itself, by the somewhat dishonest trick of extending the superstructure to an otherwise useless pillar opposite the corner of the north wing. The south wing is also much shallower, so that its south wall is able to point at the south-east corner of the Nike temple, and is open towards the west, where the other wing presents a blank wall. When seen from the west the huge plain mass of the north wing and of its supporting casing equalises the narrow but very elaborate complex formed by the little Nike temple on its bastion in front of the shadowy mouth of the south wing. At a distance then the design relies on balance without symmetry, but close-up it contains the piece of fake symmetry in the wing façades. An unsymmetrical arrangement of door and windows, to the picture gallery behind the façade of the north wing, has also been explained as fake symmetry.²¹

Of the buildings within the Acropolis, the Parthenon is the largest, and it stood on a tall substructure on the highest part of the rock, inside a terrace-like precinct. The only other building that can have attracted general attention from a distance is the Erechtheum, a comparatively small temple on the lowest site available. Nobody wanted it to compete with the Parthenon, but its unique plan and elevation are unintelligible except on the assumption that it was meant, while self-sufficient, to form also an unobtrusive counterweight to the



FIG. 2.—MODEL, IN THE AGORA MUSEUM, OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD, FROM N.W.
(The tall pedestal above the arrow is a Hellenistic addition.)

¹⁹ The fifth-century approach to the Propylaea was an embanked zigzag ramp (*ibid.* 84, fig. 1). The space was too narrow for a double staircase, of course, but the effect must have somewhat resembled half of one.

²⁰ Although the Nike temple was not built till the 420s,

the site had been reserved in the lay-out of the Propylaea, and I regard it as essential to the Periclean scheme. For corrections of axis inward from the Propylaea see Stevens, *Hesperia* V (1936) 319 and his restored plan, fig. 66.

²¹ Stevens, *Hesperia* XV (1946) 87.

Parthenon. The projection to either side of porches, very different in all three dimensions and built on very different levels, doubles the width as seen from the west. The north porch rests on slim columns set wide apart, and against its dark interior the bright shafts look flimsy. Its roof-line seems like a horizontal off-shoot from the eaves of the central gabled block. The end of the central block consists mainly of blank wall on which the eye refuses to concentrate. The south porch is actually less than half as high as the north porch, barely one-third as high as the central block, but the terrace on which it stands is considerably above their base, and the roof-line is therefore seen level with the capitals in the north porch.²² But to compensate for its smallness the south porch has a very solid appearance. The caryatids, human figures thickened by voluminous drapery which hangs in folds that resemble fluting, stand on one continuous tall basis and are separated by gaps not much higher than they are wide. These almost square shadow-traps, with their irregularity of outline at the sides, emphasise the elaboration of the figures without seriously diminishing the massiveness of the structure. Accordingly, the central block and the two porches balance when the Erechtheum is seen end-on. Furthermore, with the width of the central block amplified by the little porch attached at mid-height like a blunt finger pointing to the Parthenon, and by the north porch, a translation into thinner columns and slighter superstructure of the sturdy Doric rhythm of the Parthenon, the two temples make a unified composition.²³

Mesopotamian sanctuaries and palaces had often been designed asymmetrically. But the rule in Greek architecture had been, and continued to be, that the left and right sides of a building should correspond exactly; buildings too are usually aligned in a row—if they are not distributed without regard to one another. Consequently the Propylaea and Erechtheum involve startling abnormalities in their asymmetrical balance. But Greek sculptors had been learning to design statues on this very principle for a generation, and Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* (13) records a tradition that he made Phidias director (ἐπίσκοπος) of all his public works.²⁴ Persepolis certainly offered no precedent for asymmetry in an individual structure—in every case the left and right sides match—and the various buildings there are aligned; they seem, however, to have been designed in asymmetrical relation to one another, somewhat in the manner whereby temples or palaces in Mesopotamia must have formed a composition with an adjoining Ziggurat. The facts are not easy to determine in the absence of a model of Persepolis, or at the least a trustworthy restoration, but it would seem²⁵ that the idea was to concentrate attention on the Apadana (audience hall), the largest and tallest building. It extended over the central salient on the frontage, and the comparatively lowly Hall of the Hundred Columns along its other side was recessed behind the line of its façade. Southwards lay a series of low residential and office buildings, the most distant on a lower terrace, whereas to the north there stands only the Gate of Xerxes, small in area but perhaps adequate to balance them by virtue of greater height. It must originally have been around 60 feet high, some 20 feet less than the Apadana attained with the aid of its raised foundation.

Several other buildings are similarly elevated above the general level of the terraces, giving occasion for numerous double staircases. These, and the grand staircase at the entrance, are lined with sculptures in low relief which invariably treat the same two subjects in unalterable form. On each staircase are panels with a symbolic group, the lion of the sun-god pulling down the bull of darkness.²⁶ Up each staircase and along each landing run friezes which show representatives of all the conquered peoples being led, between files of the Royal

²² After allowing for perspective—actually the flat roof over the caryatids is higher than the architrave of the north porch but reaches some 6 ft. west of the peak of its roof, which makes a horizontal line when seen from the west.

²³ If the central block had extended appreciably westward of its eventual termination (as Dörpfeld believed to have been projected) this effect would have been lost from most angles, whereas it would not have been impaired by the slight extension restored by Dinsmoor. The adjoining cella of the Old Temple could have been either preserved or demolished with little aesthetic consequence.

²⁴ The Erechtheum was begun after Phidias' disgrace but its shape may already have been agreed, as was evidently the case with the Nike temple.

²⁵ From the panoramas, Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, Pls. IV–XI; Schmidt, *op. cit.*, fig. 3.

²⁶ Symbolic of the struggle of Mithra, and of the king, against evil, perhaps with special reference to the vernal equinox, which became New Year's Day on the adoption of a solar calendar in 410; the annual presentation of gifts to the king on that day may be an earlier custom (Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.* 136).

Guards, in one inward-moving procession, bringing presents for the king. The king himself is shown on the door-jambs of the buildings, in ceremonial attitudes with attendants, or stabbing a monster.²⁷ Every one of the sculptured figures has the same solemn expression; men of different nationalities wear different costumes, and they stand, walk, or climb the steps, seen in profile or turning, but the faces, dress-arrangement, and poses are interchanged,

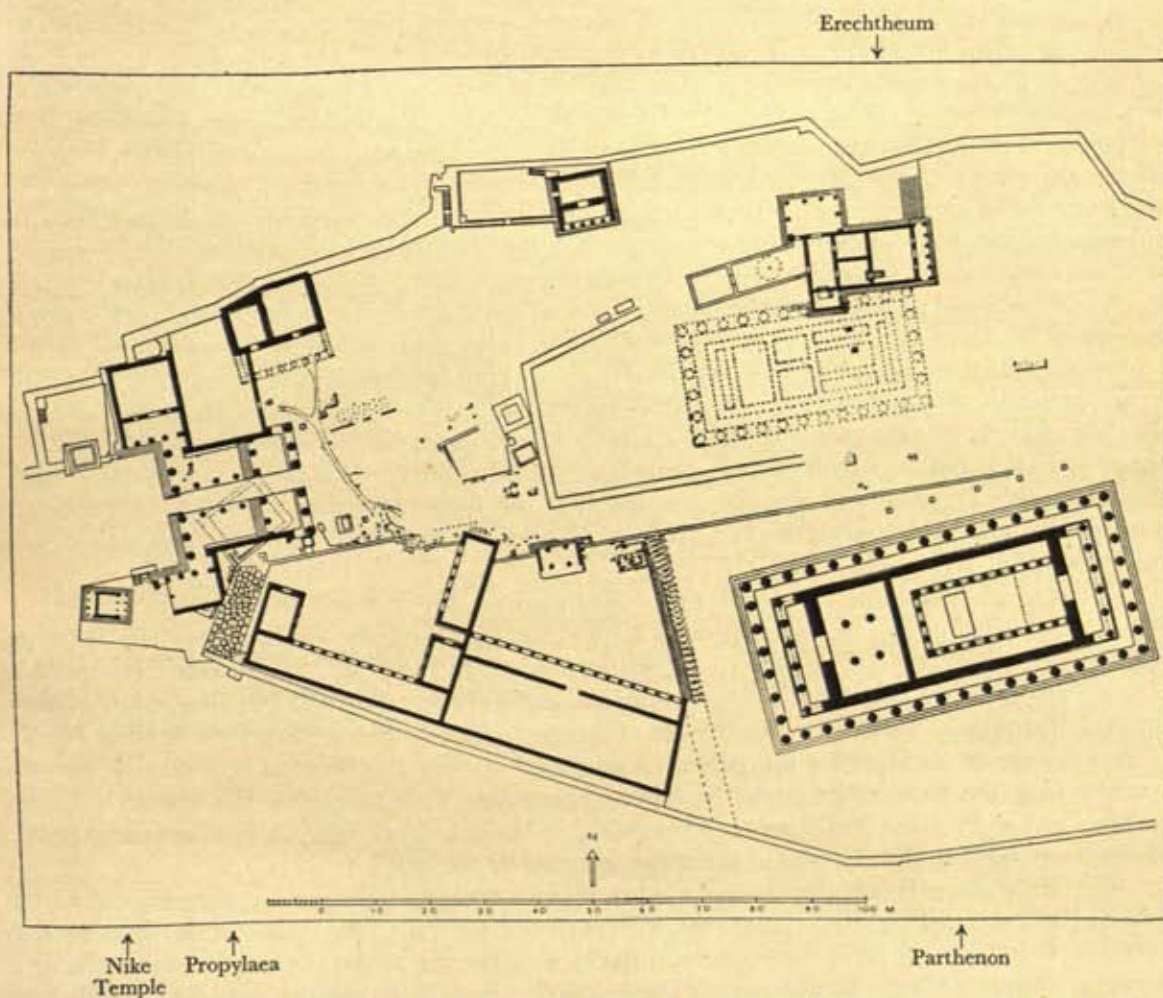


FIG. 3.—RESTORED PLAN (BY G. P. STEVENS) OF THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS AT THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

(After *Hesperia* V 518, fig. 66.)

duplicated and reduplicated with intentional, seldom relaxed monotony. 'It is all the same, and the same again, and yet again'.²⁸

The oriental custom had long been to set architectural sculpture on or just above the ground; the frieze on the balustrade facing the Nike temple is the only Greek instance in the open air. The Greeks normally placed their architectural sculpture high above eye-level, where the need for strong contrasts of light and shade enforced the use of high relief. The Parthenon frieze, however, occupies a unique position, at the top of the wall within the colonnade, where projecting legs and arms would have looked grotesque from below. A low relief, comparable to that of the Persepolis friezes, was really unavoidable. Another break with

²⁷ The lion-gryphon, used on Alexander's coinage apparently as a symbol of his victory over the Persian king (Hill, *JHS* XLIII 156).

²⁸ The summing-up of the excellent criticism by G. N. (Lord) Curzon, himself a sympathetic authority on pomp (*Persia*, II 194).

tradition is the illustration of a contemporary subject in the frieze of the Parthenon (and perhaps of the Erechtheum).²⁹ This must have verged on profanation; at every other Greek temple the sculpture illustrates mythological scenes. The frieze of the Parthenon shows a procession of representative citizens, grouped according to age and sex, bringing offerings—actually the procession which went to the Parthenon once a year to present offerings to the patron deity of the state on her birthday. The Persepolis friezes show a procession of representative subjects, grouped according to nationality, bringing offerings—actually the procession which went into Persepolis once a year to present offerings to the king, to whom ‘worship’ was due. In each case the procession is carved close to the route upon which it passed in real life and as though moving into its real destination. The Parthenon frieze terminates with divine spectators, above the doorway; at Persepolis the king and his high officials are carved in the doorways of the palace, awaiting the procession. The methods of representation in the friezes, although in many respects as dissimilar in spirit and technique as the two festivals themselves, also have something in common. On the Parthenon frieze too, every face wears a uniform expression of solemnity; each old man is exactly like every other, and so is each young man, and each girl; while even the horses might all portray one individual horse, with a single exception.³⁰ Conformity to type had seldom, if ever, been enforced so rigidly in Greek sculpture, and it seems out of place in the Athens of Pericles, which some of us tend to regard as a community of individualists. But it fits well enough with the ideology of his funeral speech, that all citizens think alike and behave alike; his younger listeners had not yet begun the un-Athenian activities which enlivened the end of the century. Phidias is said to have been intimate with Pericles, and we may assume that the frieze expresses his vision of Athenian democracy not less accurately than the words of some ten years later as Thucydides has recorded them (II, 35-46; 60-64).

‘You think’, says the speech of 430, ‘that your empire extends only over the allies; I tell you that in the two fields of human action, the land and the sea, you are the absolute masters of the second’ (II, 62, 2). And, with reference to the allies, ‘The empire you hold is now a Tyranny’ (II, 63, 2). This was spoken in sight of the completed Parthenon and almost finished Propylaea, built with the tribute of Athens’ allies in the confederacy against Persia. If Pericles aimed at securing for Athens a domination over the West as manifest as Persia’s tyranny over the East, what could be more appropriate than to exploit the resources of the empire, as the Persians had done at Persepolis, to build a thoroughly Athenian counterpart, likewise embodying the concept of the state, but a rival concept?³¹

Certainly there is nothing comparable in Greece except at Pergamon, the kings of which rebuilt their acropolis in conscious imitation two hundred years later. But of the four Persian capitals, Babylon and Susa were comparatively well-known at Athens, and Ecbatana had a legendary fame, whereas no mention of Persepolis occurs in fifth century literature. Although this silence need not imply ignorance among the cosmopolitan sculptors of the Acropolis—artists were seen but not heard—it raises the question of whether any parallels can be found there to the palaces at Babylon and Susa. There was, of course, the same analogy in function as at Persepolis, in that the buildings included the home of the head of the state (at Athens the temple of the patron deity), the Treasury, and the Record Office. At Babylon an agglomeration of palaces lay behind diverse and unsymmetrical fortifications in brick; at Susa the palace

²⁹ The subject(s) of the two friezes of the Erechtheum can only be guessed from the inscription and the fragments (G. P. Stevens, *The Erechtheum* 239) but were clearly less formal than the Parthenon’s—apparently scenes before or after a procession, with a mixed crowd of spectators. Three galloping chariots must belong to the north porch; on the central block were many figures seated or quietly standing. Perhaps the scenes placed overlooking the agora illustrated the gathering there of the same procession, while on the south its passage to the east end of the Parthenon could have been reproduced or reflected in figures of its spectators.

³⁰ Of a filly, whereas the others are full-grown horses

(Markman, *The Horse in Greek Art* 74, 77). A religious prejudice against the differentiation of human figures is not likely to have applied to equine, and Phidias would not appear to have been a cautious man if he made recognisable portraits of himself and Pericles on the shield of the national cult-image of Athena Parthenos.

³¹ ‘Through art Pericles taught the lazy Athenians to believe in empire’, said Cecil Rhodes; the intuitive understanding of one empire-builder for another led him to a conclusion which his classical reading could not have substantiated (Herbert Baker, *Cecil Rhodes by his Architect* 10).

stood on a mound surrounded by a brick wall along the crest. Only at Persepolis and the Acropolis was a mass of rock levelled into various terraces and encased by a wall (of Greek masonry at both sites) like that of a fortress; in either case the entrance is not defensible as at Babylon (and probably Susa) but ornamental. The wall makes repeated turns, at right-angles or slanting, to add distinction to a building above or to soften the corners, at Persepolis and the Periclean west end. Within both Persepolis and the Acropolis, a building larger and taller than any other stands on a special terrace as a centre-piece, with other buildings grouped in relation to it, effecting an asymmetrical balance. This certainly did not apply at Babylon, nor probably at Susa. And Persepolis alone yields analogies in sculpture. The reliefs there are close to the ground; on the Nike bastion a frieze is so placed, contrary to Greek custom, as a balustrade. The frieze on the Parthenon illustrates a subject anomalous in Greece but corresponding as closely as was humanly possible to the invariable subject of the Persepolis friezes; it is executed (in a technique necessarily similar) with a uniformity exceptional in Greek treatment of the human figure, though less extreme than the Persian convention. A second subject is added, rather discordantly, in a position different from but analogous to that occupied at Persepolis by an almost equivalent subject.

It appears therefore that Athenian dissatisfaction with the simplicity of Greek civic architecture might have been inspired by vague reports of the splendour of Babylon and Susa, but that Persepolis alone could have exerted a definite artistic influence at the Acropolis. Coincidence must account for some features common to both, but when estimating the chances of that in each individual instance and collectively, we should bear in mind that the more notable resemblances to Persepolis occur in what seem to have been specifically Greek fields of activity there. Since a comparison between the two monuments amounts to a demonstration of the Athenian superiority in artistry and society, I am the more inclined to judge that the resemblances and contrasts alike were to some extent deliberate. Rivalry with Persia might be expected of the generation of Herodotus, which saw Greece in its setting. But even if no one concerned with the design of the Acropolis had given a thought to Persepolis the comparison would still be worth making, because it increases one's appreciation of the Athenian achievement.

A. W. LAWRENCE.

DIS GENITI

ALL Greek religion is haunted by an anxiety, or a hope, which is generally summed up, since the great work of Mannhardt and Frazer, as the yearly worship of vegetation gods. The name is, admittedly, a little too narrow. No doubt in a simple agricultural community the chief anxiety is about next year's harvest. I am told that in Jerusalem the High Priest went out to see how the barley was getting on, and lengthened or shortened the official year accordingly. Of course there is also anxiety about the young of the flocks and herds, about the weather for sailing and the like; but I think we shall find that it extended much further. The phrase 'Year Spirit' is perhaps better than 'Vegetation God'. Jane Harrison was much criticised for preferring the phrase Ἐνιαυτὸς δαίμων; but I think she was right, and perhaps more profoundly right than any of us saw at the time.

Ἐνιαυτός is a curious word. The new Liddell and Scott gives its root meaning as 'anniversary'. It seems to be formed like ἐνιοί, ἐνί-οτε, 'there are who . . .', 'there are times when . . .', and to mean 'There is (or 'there is present') the same', ἐνι-αὐτός; or, more analytically still, 'there is present-again-this', ἐνι-αὐ-τός.¹ From meaning 'anniversary' it comes to mean a recurrent vital day, or the period, however long, between the recurrent vital days. All kinds of events were due to occur περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν, as in *Od.* A 16, which seems to mean 'as the anniversaries recur', but easily becomes 'with the passing years'. Children are born ἐπιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν, (*Theog.* 493, *Asp.* 87) meaning, I think, 'when the regular vital time comes on', not 'as the months pass'.

The popular year, of course, was reckoned by rough practical signs, as we see in Hesiod; but astronomy was a very ancient science, and among the learned there were constant attempts to fix for important festivals a μέγας ἐνιαυτός, a 'great recurrence', when the Sun-cycle and the Moon-cycle, which so obstinately refused to agree in the ordinary solar year, should at last exactly coincide. The *trieteris* was tried, then the *penteteris*; at last an almost exact cycle was discovered by Meton the fifth-century astronomer (*Diod. Sic.* II. 47). It was an εἰκοσιετηρίς, completed at the winter solstice, on the ἔτη καὶ νέα of the nineteenth and twentieth years, the exact moment at which in the *Odyssey* text, as at present revised, Odysseus and Penelope come together again (*Rise of the Greek Epic*, ed. 4, p. 211 f.). There was also the μέγιστος ἐνιαυτός, when the whole cycle of the Ages would be complete and the life of the universe would either start again and repeat itself or else be finally transformed into the divine fire or soul. It is a doctrine of the Stoics but not peculiar to them. It was also Pythagorean: it is used by some Epicureans and by Heraclitus. Its roots evidently ran deep.

The arrival of each *Eniautos* is the beginning of a new *Aión* or Age. One knows how greatly this idea was developed in some of the Hellenistic cults, but I think there is evidence of its use at least as early as Heraclitus.

What does he mean exactly by saying (Fr. 52D), Αἰὼν ἐστὶ παῖς παίζων, πρῶτος αἰῶν. παιδὸς ἢ βασιλῆς. 'The *Aión* is a child playing, moving the pieces; the Kingdom belongs to a child'. Combine that with Euripides *Heraclidae* 900, which couples together Μοῖρα τελευσιδωτεῖρα Αἰὼν τε χρόνου παῖς, 'Fate the giver of fulfilment, and *Aion* the child of Time'. That means, I think, that *Aion*, the particular epoch or New Age, is the child of Time, the continuous. One cannot but compare the probable reading of Fr. 50D, where Heraclitus says, in his characteristic style, that the whole is διαίρετον ἀδιαίρετον, γενητὸν ἀγενητὸν, θνητὸν ἀθάνατον: so far so good: then it continues λόγον (ἄλογον, χρόνον) αἰῶνα, πατέρα υἱόν where the two words in brackets are Diel's convincing conjecture. 'Reason, Unreason, Time (the absolute), *Aión* (the age of a particular man or generation or race),² Father Son'. In reading Heraclitus and his contemporaries it is important to remember what a common and

¹ Boisacq and others connect it with ἐν-αὐτός 'to rest in'.

² See Wilamowitz on Eur. *Her.*, 669.

regular thing in Greek worship were the mysteries, how familiar every Greek peasant was with the idea of ἀνύμματα, 'mystic meanings', and ἄρρητα, things which were not to be revealed to the uninitiated; and also, of course, how vividly the ancient Greek personified things that to us are not in the least like persons.

We have much to learn from Kretschmer's analysis of the name Dionysus (Cook, *Zeus* II, 271 ff.). It is Thracian; and it appears in the Thracian-Phrygian inscriptions as *Dios Nusos*, or *Deos Nusos*. Nusos is known to mean something like 'son' or 'young'. *Dios* or *Deos* was taken by Kretschmer to be a genitive, but later research seems to show that it is really a nominative, the name of the Thracian god equivalent to the Greek Zeus. Dionysus is simply the Young Zeus, or Zeus the Son, the New King whose advent is in Greek myth and ritual generally combined with the casting out of the φαρμακός, the old and polluted King of the past. Incidentally we may notice that if Dionysus is the Young Zeus, that explains why he is taunted with being beardless and womanlike. It also explains why his death, unlike that of Osiris and the others, who are publicly mourned, is ἄρρητον (Hdt II 61, 132); the being that is cast out or torn to pieces in the ritual story of the *Bacchae* and Aeschylus' *Edoni*, cannot really be the New King, Dionysus, but must be his enemy, the Old King, dressed to look like him.³

In terms of vegetation the Old Year dies but has left some seeds of life in the earth; the evergreen pine and ivy show that the Earth is not really dead, and in due course as the *Eniautos* returns, there comes the New *Aion* or age, with the young kids, lambs, fawns, and the rest. The French word *renouveau* describes the process; in the magical literature it is sometimes called αἰὼν παλιγγενής, but let us see the myth in its simplest form among the earliest gods.

In the beginning, Hesiod tells us, there was the Old King, Ouranos, the Sky, who wedded Gaia, the Earth, and hated his sons and 'hid' or 'buried them'. Presumably, by analogy from similar stories, he knew that his son would overthrow him (cf. *Theog.* 464). His youngest Son, Kronos, with the help of the Queen Mother, Gaia, did overthrow him and reigned in his stead. Then Kronos was the Old King; he wedded Rhea, another name, according to Eustathius, for the Earth Goddess; he knew that he was doomed to be overthrown by one of his sons, so he 'devoured' them, except the youngest, Zeus, who was saved and, with the help of the Queen Mother, overthrew old Kronos and cast him and his followers out into darkness. Then Zeus was King, but is he too to be overthrown by his son? Surely that cannot be. Yet the thought of it lingers. In the *Prometheus* it is not exactly Zeus who will have a son mightier than his father; it is Thetis, his intended bride, who is fated to have this terrible son. So if he does not marry Thetis he escapes the doom. To Aeschylus the Olympian Zeus is the final consummation of these divine wars; the two previous Kings of the World had fought and conquered by brute force; Zeus, the Third, had the power to learn and led man the way to φρόνησις (*Ag.* 160-183). Therefore he is permanent. But there was also another story. Zeus married another Earth-goddess, Semele, and had a son, Dionysus. Let us take the story in its Thracian or Phrygian form: *Deos* or *Dios* married *Zemela*, the Thracian word for Earth which we still know in the Slavonic name of *Nova Zembla* (J. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 404), and begot the son *Deos Nusos*, the Young Deos, the New King, whose normal business is to supersede the Old King. In the Greek myth Zeus marries the mortal princess Semele, who dies giving birth to Dionysus. Dionysus, important as he is in Greek Mythology, does not in the ordinary versions supersede Zeus. I suspect that such an act would be, like the death of Dionysus himself, ἄρρητον, a thing not to be spoken. Yet there seem to be traces of just such a supersession. In one of the Orphic fragments (Proclus on *Kratylus* 396B, p. 55, 5 Pasquali) Zeus hands over to Dionysus the throne and the sceptre, establishes him as King of the Cosmic Gods, and says to the New Gods—observe that phrase—Καὺτε, θεοί, τόνδ' ὕμιν ἐγὼ βασιλῆα τίθημι. I cannot but compare with this the culminating ceremony of the Anthesteria, when the 'very old *xoanon* of Dionysus' is brought out of its hidden temple and married to the

³ Possibly this idea of the substitution of a false Dionysus may have had an influence on the heresy of the Docetae,

who held that it was not the real Christ but an *umbra* that had died on the cross.

'Basilinna', the Young Queen; a queer and rude ceremony which I think is perhaps parodied in the final scene of Aristophanes' *Birds*, where Peithetairos insists on obtaining the hand of the *Basileia*, the Queen, and becomes thereby a new Zeus, wielding the thunderbolt, ruling the heavens, and hailed as δαιμόνων ὑπέρτατος.

Thus we have two conceptions; in the accepted Olympian myth there were three successive Kings of the Universe, reaching their climax and conclusion by the victory of Zeus, the eternal King; but to another, and apparently more original conception, the series has no conclusion, since the Old Zeus gives way to a Young Zeus, and he at the end of the year will pass it on to another New Zeus.⁴ Nay more; if we look carefully, the series not only has no end; it has no beginning either. For Ouranos himself is not the first of things; like all his successors he is the son of Gaia (*Theog.* 126). She produced him ἴσον ἑαυτῇ, equal to herself; the series lasts as long as Earth herself shall last.

Now let us consider more in detail the separate figures in this sequence, Old King, Earth Mother, and Young King. The Old King is an enemy to his children, σφετερώϊ δ' ἤχθοντο τοκῇ, θαλερόν δ' ἤχθηρε τοκῆα (*Theog.* 155 ff., 138), though in the Orphic scheme this is softened down, doubtless for purposes of edification, and Zeus of his free will gives over the sovereignty to Dionysus. Next, the Old King is a *pharmakos*. In the *pharmakos* rite at Athens we may notice two elements. There is the strange rite of ῥαπίζειν εἰς τὸ πῑός with scilla bulbs. That must be symbolic of castration. He is castrated and made incapable of perpetuating his polluted race. That would explain why Ouranos is castrated in Hesiod. Secondly, the *pharmakos* is cast out, as Kronos and his followers are cast away into the abyss.

Next, notice the Mother. Old Kings may pass and Young kings succeed, but the Earth remains. She is the wife of the Old King, but also of the Young King; she habitually conspires with the Young King, her son, against the Old. When we come down from gods to human beings we shall find that this habit of Gaia throws some light on figures like Clytemnestra and Jocasta, and also, I think, on Gertrude in the original Hamlet story.⁵ Then, from the beginning she is a *mater dolorosa*. She may be comforted and released, but she always suffers first. The Earth suffers, no doubt, in the time of barrenness; that is, in the hard winter, or, under Egyptian conditions, in the scorching heat; she is also cruelly torn by the ploughshare (*Soph. Ant.* 338-49) and is struck by the lightning in the spring storms. In Hesiod we find that under the rule of Ouranos στεναχίζετο Γαῖα πλώρη, under that of Kronos 'Ρέην ἔχε πένθος ἄλαστον (*Theog.* 159, 467). We shall see how strongly this suffering is emphasised when we come to the mortal mothers.

The Son too has a clear character. He is, of course, roughly speaking, good, and the Old King bad. Some of the Christian heretics took this line, making Jehovah an enemy and persecutor of Jesus. But especially he is a general Saviour or Deliverer from the pollution of the past. In all the stories he begins by delivering his mother from her sorrow; in Hesiod he also delivers his brothers from their prisons; Zeus, in particular, goes further. He releases his πατροκασιγνήτους, who belong to the enemy generation. Pindar draws the full moral from this: λῦσε δὲ Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος Τιτᾶνας (*Theog.* 501; *Pind. Pyth.* iv end).

We also find in Zeus, as the Young God, a trait that is very prominent in later cult and legend. His babyhood is dwelt upon. Παιδὸς ἢ βασιλῆϊ. Being in danger from the Old King he is carried away to Lyctus in Crete, and there danced about by armed *Kouretes*, who shout and clash their shields so that the child's cries are not heard. It is the same with Dionysus. He was worshipped as Liknites, a babe in the cradle. He was guarded by τιθῆναι, Nurses: he was pursued, and his nurses beaten, by an angry king. Another characteristic which is common to the infant Zeus and the infant Dionysus is that both are apt to turn into Snakes. Zeus Meilichios, at Athens, Zeus Sosipolis at Olympia had snake form; in other cases Zeus is accompanied by a large Snake, while Dionysus makes some of his mystical appearances in snake form. This, however, is a mark of nearly all the *Eniautos* babies; like Cecrops,

⁴ One might even think of all the row of *Zanes* (Paus. V, 21) at Olympia, a new one perhaps added at a suitable day.

⁵ *Hamlet and Orestes* in Proceedings of the British Academy (1913-14, pp. 389 ff.).

Erichthonius and others. The snake which sheds its skin and comes out renewed is a regular symbol of *παλιγγενεσία*.

So far, roughly speaking, we have been dealing with elemental gods. Let us now consider some borderline cases, where the Father is an Olympian and the Son is not quite a god but has something divine about him.

We have already noticed Zeus-Semele-Dionysus. There Semele is struck by lightning. As a mortal princess this naturally kills her, as Mother Earth it no doubt refreshed her in the spring thunderstorms; but its chief importance is as a mark of the divinity of the child. He is *Sôtér* and the bringer of a new *Aión*. (Is this perhaps why the birthdays of philosophers were celebrated with religious honours, because they seemed to have initiated a new *Aión*?)

Another obvious case is Zeus-Alcmene-Heracles. Mother and son are condemned to be burned to death, but the son is saved at the last moment, and it is by fire that eventually he mounts to heaven. Heracles has a curious history in Greek thought, but emerges as a great *Sôtér*, a destroyer of the enemies of mankind. Like most *Eniautos* babies he is attended by Snakes, but—perhaps by some regrettable misunderstanding—he fights and strangles them.

More interesting still is the great *Sôtér*, Asklepios. He is the son of Apollo and the mortal princess Koronis, who, like Semele, is struck dead by the divine lightning, while her babe, like the infant Dionysus, is saved. One is not surprised to read in Pausanias (2, 26) that the babe was exposed on a mountain and suckled by a bitch—hence the sacred dogs in his ritual—or that lightning played harmlessly about his head. I will not enquire why Asklepios in so many stories is struck dead by lightning, not merely after raising Hippolytus from the dead—which was perhaps unprofessional conduct—but even for curing the madness of the Proitides and the blindness of the sons of Phineus. Nor need we ask why he is always accompanied by a Snake. It is interesting, however, to note how much the widespread cry for salvation from the evil of the world which the marks later Hellenistic Age, clung to Asklepios and magnified his worship. He was the Healer of Sick Humanity, the Saviour *par excellence*. His worship spreads all over the Mediterranean world. He grants prophecies and revelations (Reitzenstein, *Mysterienreligionen*, p. 128). He is connected with Hermes Trismegistos, but, most significant of all, he becomes a special object of Christian polemic. Arnobius (I 49 *et saepe*) does not deny his remarkable cures, but points out that they were only achieved by regular medical treatment, not, like those of Jesus, by direct word of command. It has also been thought that his art-type, the mild and bearded face, was chosen for the representation of Jesus.⁶ The point is disputed. We must wait for Sir John Beazley to tell us who is right.

Rather curious is the case of the Dioskouroi. They are sons of Zeus and the mortal woman Leda or else Nemesis. They are the Kouroi or Young Men of Zeus, and I cannot help suspecting that they are largely thought of as *ἐπίκουροι*, Helpers in Battle. I will not discuss the special points of their twinship, their connection with particular stars, or with the two pillars that are necessary to uphold a roof. For our present purpose they fall into the class of Sons of God who are *Σωτῆρες*, Saviours in general, especially from defeat in battle and from the perils of the sea.

In speaking of the Sons of God, we must always remember that the word *θεός* or *Deus* in a polytheist society is very different indeed from the word *God* among Christians or Jews or Arabs; and also, what is not quite so obvious, that the word 'son' in simple ancient communities is often used to denote all sorts of relations for which they had no exact terminology. The Amphictyons, 'Dwellers-round', are sons of an imaginary 'Dweller-round', and when the author of Genesis X wishes to say that some of the population of the great Hittite Empire spread over into the land of Canaan, the way he expresses it is 'Canaan begat Heth.' Remembering this I think we can see how this idea of Sons of Theoi as *Sôtères* and inaugurators of a New Age, to save us from all those innumerable things from which we need salvation, became one of the great emotional emblems of man, almost what Jung calls a 'Primordial Image'.

⁶ See Edelstein, *Asclepius* II 108 ff., 132 and 224.

But now let us see what happens when the old elemental gods are supplanted by the Olympians; the myth is made more anthropomorphic and taken in its literal sense. In such a case one begins to judge the god by human standards, and the story becomes repulsive. It becomes, as Satyrus says in his *Life of Euripides*, a tale of βίασμοι παρθένων and ὑποβολαὶ παιδῶν, the first a well-known ugly crime and the second a disreputable expedient. Why was it such a common theme for tragedy? The answer seems obvious. Because it expressed in parable that birth of the *Dios Nussos*, or Young Zeus, which was the central myth of the Festival. The story might not be dramatically sympathetic, but ritually it was a necessity. It had to come in somewhere.

I will recapitulate briefly a number of Euripidean tragedies on this theme which I analysed in *C.Q.* vol. xxxvii, 1943.

ION. Apollo and the Attic princess Creusa. Misery of Creusa; baby Ion nearly cast to death (1.27.46). Cradle with golden snakes. Recognised; becomes founder of the Ionians.

ALOPE. Poseidon and Alope, daughter of Kerkyon. Alope walled up by angry Kerkyon. Baby exposed, suckled by mare, brought up by shepherds. Named Hippothoos; recognised, becomes founder of Eleusis. Kerkyon killed.

ANTIOPE. Zeus in satyr form and Antiope, daughter of Nycteus. Antiope flies to Mt. Kithairon, there bears twins Amphion and Zethus. Angry father commits suicide, but charges his successor Lycus and his wife Dirce to punish Antiope. Recognition. The twins become founders of Thebes. Dirce killed.

AUGE. Heracles and Auge, daughter of Aleos, the Arcadian king. Baby Telephus born in temple of Athena Alca; angry father; babe cast out to die on Mt. Parthenion, suckled by deer. Mother condemned to be burnt alive. Recognition. Auge saved. Telephus founder of royal race in Mysia.

MELANIPPE. Two plays by Euripides. Poseidon and Melanippe, daughter of Hellen. Twins exposed, suckled by cow. Condemned to be burned as monstrosities; Melanippe in one play to be burned with them (?), in the other imprisoned and blinded. Recognition. The persecutors killed. The twins are Aeolus and Boeotus, founders of the Aeolians and Boeotians.

The same myth-form occurs in at least four plays of Sophocles.

TYRO. Poseidon and Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus. Twins, Pelias and Neleus, thrown into river, rescued by a horse-herd (ἵπποφορβός). Perhaps suckled by mare? Tyro beaten cruelly by stepmother, Sidero. Recognition; Sidero killed at altar; Pelias founder of Iolcos, Neleus of Pylos.

ALEADAI. Auge daughter of Aleos with child by Heracles; given by angry father to Nauplius to drown; on the way gives birth to the babe Telephus on Mt. Parthenion. Baby saved; recognised; becomes king of Mysia.

HIPPONOUS. His daughter Periboia with child by Ares; sent with baby to Oineus to be killed. Somehow saved; becomes Bellerophon, inventor of horsemanship and slayer of the Chimaera.

DANAE. Daughter of Acrisios, imprisoned because her child is fated to kill the Old King his grandfather; nevertheless has child by Zeus; thrown into sea in a chest with the child; rescued by Dictys; her son Perseus, slayer of the Gorgon, ancestor of the Persians. He duly kills Acrisios by accident.

Without trying to make a complete list we may note among the works of the other tragedians an **ALOPE** by Choirilos and Karkinos; an **ALCMENE** by Ion, Astydamos, and Dionysius; a **LEDA** by Dionysius; a **SEMELE** by Karkinos, and a **TYRO** by Karkinos in addition to two by Sophocles.

In all these the story is half-humanised. The Father God is an Olympian; the place of

the suffering Earth-Mother is taken by a human princess, and that of the Young Zeus, or New Year God, by a human hero. But we may note two or three points that result from this change.

First the Olympian god cannot, like Ouranos and Kronos, be made a *pharmakos* and cast out. That role is apt to be taken by the heroine's angry father, an Old King, who, like Ouranos and Kronos, is the enemy of his children. The heroine, like Gaia and Rhea, is always *mater dolorosa*. The son, like Kronos and Zeus, is somehow 'hidden' or exposed; then he is 'recognised' and becomes the Founder of a race or kingdom, bringing a 'peripeteia' and a new *Aión*. Further, like Zeus and Dionysus, he is generally connected with some animal, suckled by a cow, sheep, mare, deer, or goat, or else simply found among the flocks. One is reminded of the manger and the worshipping shepherds. As a baby, like Zeus and Dionysus, he always has a narrow escape from a wicked Herod. It is clearly the same essential story, the story of the Eniautos-Babe, the New King casting out the Old, assuming the throne and inaugurating a New Age.

It is the divine father who gives trouble. Originally, when he was Ouranos, the Sky, wedded to Gaia, the Earth, no moral question arose. Even when he was the local River or Mountain, like Enipeus or Strymon or Pelion, he was fairly impersonal and was the natural source for a royal race. But in these dramas he has been transformed into one of the personal Olympian gods, Zeus or Apollo or Poseidon, and two difficulties arise. An Olympian god does not make a possible *pharmakos*. He cannot be either killed or cast to the darkness, as an impersonal Old Year could. Also he is a person, and must bear some personal responsibility. If he were human he could repent and be forgiven. But as a god he cannot. Only in one passage (*Auge* fr. 265) do we find a father saying, 'I confess I have done wrong, but I did not mean it.' That is Heracles, who is at least half-human.

One cannot help wondering how the action of the God was treated in these lost tragedies. Was it made mystical or at least inscrutable, and treated in a religious or quasi-religious spirit? Or was the myth, with all its lack of morals, taken as it stood and merely made into an exciting story, with no particular ethical or psychological interest? I suppose this latter hypothesis is on the whole most probable, though it so happens that the one play of this Son-of-god type which is preserved, the *Ion*, passes very strong moral judgement on the god, and one other treatment of a similar story idealises all guilt away.

The *Ion* has a cynical tone. Apollo is treated as the villain of the piece, and not only a villain but a coward and a bungler as well. His plots misfire. His victim, in the best scene of the play, curses him before his own altar. At the end he dare not show his face. I have suggested elsewhere that the effect of the *Ion* may well have been to make the authorities feel that this son-of-god myth, though an essential element in the Eniautos religion, was not suitable for tragedy (*C.Q. loc. cit.*).

But there is one other treatment of this type of myth extraordinarily different, the story of Io as told by Aeschylus in the *Supplices* and the *Prometheus*.

Here the whole theme is put on an ideal plane. Zeus did indeed cause great suffering to Io, but the result was more than worth it. There is no thought of lust. The god only laid his hand on Io and breathed his spirit into her. Her divine Son was born, $\xi\varsigma \epsilon\pi\alpha\phi\eta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\pi\iota\pi\upsilon\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma \Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$, from the touch and the breath, or inspiration, of Zeus. (*Suppl.* 18 f.). Further on it is by the $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, the $\alpha\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta\varsigma \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, that she conceives and bears in the end a flawless child, 'through a long age (or his long *Aión*) perfect in blessedness'.

This treatment is the more surprising since in the usual story, which is duly accepted in *Suppl.* 301, Io was transformed into a cow, and Zeus, in order to mate with her, took the shape of a bull. This presumably goes back, as Professor Dodds suggests to me, to a $\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \Gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ in the cult of $\text{Ἡρα βo\omega\pi\iota\varsigma}$. When Greek settlers in the Delta identified Epaphos, the offspring of this union, with the divine bull-calf Apis, who was generated by a ray of the Sun or the Moon, and by his birth spread blessing over the land, they made easy the transition to Aeschylus's treatment of the whole story. Epaphos of course was born in Egypt, and this idea of Virgin

Birth seems to have been specially Egyptian. Plutarch (*Numa* 4) attributes the doctrine to 'the Egyptians' and finds it οὐκ ἀπίθανον. More at length elsewhere (in *Quest. Conviv.* viii 1) he accepts the Egyptian view that a god begets his son οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐτέραις τισὶν ἀφαῖς καὶ ψαύουσιν (Norden, p. 48). As we know, Egyptian influence came to Greece very early.

Apart from the Virginity motive, Aeschylus explains with clear emphasis that the purpose of Zeus from the beginning was to produce a Saviour of mankind; it is a proof of his supreme wisdom and righteousness (see the magnificent hymn, *Suppl.* 570-599). But now turn to the *Prometheus*, which of course was later than the *Supplices*. How do we explain the bitter denunciation of Zeus for his treatment of Io there? (734-740). He is a tyrant and ravisher, violent everywhere, βίαιος ἐς τὰ πᾶνθ' ὁμῶς, though it is true that, by this violence, he creates not only a general bringer of Blessing, like Apis-Epaphos, but actually the eventual deliverer of Prometheus himself. I think the answer must be that, in the reconciliation which we know took place at last between Zeus and Prometheus, one element was that Prometheus saw that he had misjudged his great enemy. The true Zeus is the Zeus of the *Supplices* and of *Agamemnon* 161-183.

The common popular tradition was always apt to meet with one of two treatments. The current myth was either denounced as immoral and therefore untrue, as by writers like Xenophanes and Heraclitus and Euripides, or else it was re-interpreted and allegorised on the lines of, say, Pindar and Aeschylus. But in the theatre of Dionysus this particular theme of the birth of the Young God had, I think, a curious end. As I have suggested in the *C.Q.* xxxvii, the theme was gradually recognised as unsuitable for tragedy; the God cut too miserable or offensive a figure. Yet the Eniautos theme was essential to the Dionysiac festival. It could not be quite abandoned. It was taken on by the New Comedy in a completely humanised form, with the hidden child, the suffering mother, a recognition and *peripeteia* which 'saves the situation', and—quite a new note—a guilty but repentant father. In the only plays of which adequate fragments exist the passionate repentance of the various sinners, *i.e.* Polemo, Charisius, and the two old men in the *Samia*, is an important element in the play.

What then is the main argument of this paper? It is to study the idea of an Eniautos-daimon, a Zeus the Son, who is born περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν, and brings with him a new *Aión* which is unpolluted, while the old polluted past withers away or is cast out; whose birth brings deliverance to the suffering Mother Earth, and cleansing to the world in general. I am suggesting that this whole complex of ideas is a widespread and profound element in Greek religious tradition. And I think we cannot help noticing that it goes further, and plays a great part in that intense flowering of religious and mystical aspiration which resulted from the meeting of Greek, Hebrew, Egyptian, and primitive Anatolian thought in the age which is called Hellenistic, and which has had such lasting influence on the whole Western world.

The longing for some mythical or human Sôtêr, inaugurating a new *Aión* and described as the son of a God and a mortal woman, is persistent through all those parts of the ancient world of which we have information. It is constantly recurrent in Greece. It is regularly accepted in Egypt. It takes of course a different form in the territories of the great Asiatic Mother Goddess, and is rejected by Hebrew monotheism. Professor Kennett held that Jahweh was really, like Allah, a desert god; hence his hostility to the Baalim and their odious consorts and fertility ceremonies. When the 'sons of the Elohim' in *Genesis* vi took wives of the daughters of men and produced heroes and giants, that to the Jahvist was part of the general wickedness which led to the Flood; to the rest of the nations it was either a normal annual process or a special blessing.

The true διογενεῖς or θεῶν παῖδες are always deliverers from past pollution and inaugurators of a new age. But their forms vary. First, we have the divine Baby as he appears in the Fourth Eclogue. We have the baby Zeus with his protecting Kouretes, the baby Dionysus with his Nurses. We have numbers of supernatural babies discovered in a chest, like Perseus, in a cradle like Ion, in a boat like Neleus and Pelias, generally nursed by a cow or

sheep or mare or some wild animal, and especially associated with the mystic snake. In Egypt there was a very special divine Baby, Harpocrates; 'No God', says Ermann (Norden p. 73), 'lay so near the heart of the people as the little Harpocrates': that is, *Har-pe-chrot*, 'Horus the Babe', whose figurines represent him as a small child playing. Is it not on these lines that we should interpret that oracle of Heraclitus: Αἰὼν παῖς ἔστι παίδων παιδὸς ἢ βασιληΐη. 'The Aion is a babe playing: the kingdom is the Babe's'? We may remember the strange power in many parts of Europe of the infant Jesus. I have seen in an Italian church a primitive and rather moving adoration of a Bambino who at the suitable moment turned into a lamb.

Then of course the ordinary διογενής, or Son of Zeus, is a fighter and conqueror. He saves by destroying the enemy. The chief example of this type is Heracles, always delivering mankind from oppressors and monsters. There is the same quality in Theseus, son of Poseidon. He saves maidens from the Minotaur and slays the oppressors Skiron, Sinis, and Procrustes. There is some of the same quality in Perseus, slayer of the Gorgon and of his mother's enemies; some in the Dioskouroi, who turn the tide in battle and save sailors in storms. This force, I tentatively suggest, lived on chiefly in various Kings, from Alexander and his successors onward. Titles like Sôtêr and Euergetes suggest it. Mark Antony posed as being Dionysus, and even 'the Young' or 'the New' Dionysus, while other princes claimed to be Heracles. But this special conception no doubt became swamped by the common ruler-worship of the East. The martial hero-saviour finds some expression in the conquering Dionysus of Nonnus, whose superiority to Perseus and Heracles is the theme of Bk. 25, and it was prominent in the *Sol Invictus Mithras*, the special god of the Roman army.

Sometimes again the Son of the God is a mediator, interpreter or interceder between the worshipper and the God himself. This comes no doubt from the oriental conception of the God as an unapproachable supreme King, who can be addressed only through his favourites or by the use of their name. Apollo is regularly προφήτης Διός (*Eum.* 19, 616) and 'has never spoken from his mantic throne one word that was not commanded by Zeus'. Athena has at times a similar quality. But the most striking case is to be found in the Hermetic literature, where almost every approach to Hermes Trismegistos is by the mediation of his son Thoth. In the medieval Church, though this part essentially belongs to the divine Son, there is much hope of special intercession by the Virgin and by certain of the Saints.

It cannot but strike any student of these ideas how many of them seem to occur, either independently or by imitation, in many different mediterranean myths and how many have lived on in certain forms of Christianity. They seem to have in them, as I have suggested, much of what Dr. Jung calls Primordial Images; the metaphors or symbols which recur constantly in the human mind, as instruments to express or satisfy certain deep-seated emotions for which there is no scientific terminology. It is interesting to note, among the current Hellenistic phrases of the time, those which the Pauline tradition accepts and those which it avoids. There is of course a great difference between the different epistles. The so-called 'Four Great Epistles' avoid the pagan word Σωτήρ, though the need for it was irresistible and it forced its way into Christian language very early. They admit σωτηρία. They accept υἱὸς θεοῦ, Son of God, though it must, one would suppose, have done violence to Jewish habits of thought. None of the Epistles mentions the *Bambino*, nor yet the Divine Mother, θεοτόκος, though here again the longing for both of them among the peoples of southern and eastern Europe has proved irresistible. They make considerable use of the conception αἰὼν which the authorised version translates 'world' and rather confuses with κόσμος. (2 *Cor.* iv. 4, *Gal.* i. 4, *Eph.* i. 21, ii. 2, I *Tim.* vi. 17, II *Tim.* iv. 10, *Tit.* ii. 12). They make no use of the special magic power of a Name—in great contrast to St. John (xiv. 13, 14: xv. 16: xvi. 23, 24, 26). They make frequent mention of elements, principalities, powers, and dominions—στοιχεῖα, ἐξουσίαι, ἀρχαί, δυνάμεις, but regard them as enemies to the faith, which the Christian must fight against. Did the writer think of them as real hostile beings, or merely as winds of false doctrine?

These primordial ideas live on. They change names and forms, but cannot be eradicated. They are things which, in Sallustius's memorable phrase ἐγένετο μὲν οὐποτε, ἔστι δ' αἰεί. We all remember the old woman in Mr. Lawson's book on *Modern Greek Folklore* (p. 573) who was in a state of great anxiety as Easter approached: 'Of course I am anxious; for if Christ does not rise tomorrow we shall have no corn this year'. The Eniautos and its new *Aion* were still a recurrent hope, not an event that had happened long ago, once for all. I suspect that of all these primordial images, if that is their right name, the most permanent and indestructible is the longing for Καθαμός, purification, cleansing, for 'deliverance from the body of this death'. It seems to take two forms. In most religions, ancient and modern, it is a personal thing; repentance followed by forgiveness and always associated with some half-magical special rite. This message also has its place in drama. The god who appears in the final scene of so many Euripidean tragedies has practically always the same message: 'Give up your revenges! Repent and forgive one another.' It is so in the *Electra*, the *Hippolytus*, the *Iphigenia Taurica*, the *Helena*, the *Orestes*, and perhaps we may add the *Alcestis*. And we have noticed how this note of repentance and forgiveness is quite at home in the very mundane stories of the New Comedy. The other form is that which we have been considering, the cleansing not of oneself but of the whole world by the casting out of the polluted past and the Rebirth of all life. The Eniautos is completed; the Old Man or *Pharmakos* is cast away. It is the Day of the New Man, the New Age, the most inspiring and dangerous of dreams. It is splendid in the sixth chapter of Isaiah, in the Fourth Eclogue, in the Book of Revelation; dangerous in every great revolution, ridiculous in many transient fantasies and impostures, a deadly poison in those cases, not unknown to this generation, where the fanatic's dream serves to let loose man's insatiable thirst for power. Primordial images shall we call them, dreams of mankind which 'never happened but always are'? Often we cannot but wish that they would stop and leave us in peace; but I doubt if we could live without them.

GILBERT MURRAY.

UN FRAMMENTO DI DOURIS NEL MUSEO GREGORIANO-ETRUSCO

IL frammento è conosciuto, ma non è altrettanto conosciuto come sia entrato, uscito e ritornato nella collezione vascolare del Museo. Ne mancano inoltre riproduzioni a base fotografica complete nel diritto e nel rovescio. A queste lacune intende riparare lo scritto dedicato qui alle onoranze di un maestro insigne, che allo studio della ceramica antica, nelle sue innumerevoli manifestazioni grandi e piccole, ha dedicato una parte cospicua della sua attività scientifica. Esso appartiene ad uno *stamnos* del Museo Gregoriano-Etrusco, descritto dal Helbig nel I° volume del *Führer* (ed. 3^a, p. 313, n. 503), che si trova ora nella sala VI, vetrina K, n. 22, e che misura cm. 38,4 di altezza e cm. 16,6 di diametro alla bocca.¹

In una delle facce, quella secondaria, si vedono due figure ammantate ritte ed affrontate; quella a destra è un giovinetto in ascolto, quella di sinistra, forse un maestro di palestra, ha i capelli annodati con un semplice nastro e stringe un alto bastone a nodi con manico ricurvo. Vedi Fig. 1. Nell'altra faccia, la principale, si vede Eracle con le mani protese in avanti verso una donna in atto di fuggire, la quale doveva tenere con la destra uno scettro. Vedi Fig. 2. Ma la scena, così come risulta ora, è opera prevalentemente di restauro moderno. Nell'originale alla figura di Eracle dovevano mancare le mani ed anche la clava, se pure questa esisteva; e della seconda figura rimaneva ben poco: la parte inferiore della persona, da sopra le ginocchia in giù, e la testa nel tratto superiore alla bocca, tanto che, invece di una donna fuggente, il Beazley (*loc. cit.*) vi ravvisa Nereo; e al loro posto, nella curvatura tra il collo e la pancia dello *stamnos*, fino dall'antichità era stato inserito un frammento di tazza attica, contrassegnato col nome di Douris e fermato al corpo del vaso con quattro grappe di bronzo, di cui sono ben visibili i fori.² Vedi Figg. 2, 3, 4.

Con questa inserzione, contrastante col resto della scena, lo *stamnos* era stato deposto in una tomba dell'Etruria meridionale, dalla quale fu estratta modernamente in qualche scavo e passò in possesso della Camera Apostolica, che lo introdusse nel Museo fondato da Gregorio XVI.³ In siffatte condizioni era lo *stamnos* circa il 1840, quando il Gerhard lo vide e lo fece disegnare per la sua raccolta;⁴ così esso rimase per un tempo indeterminato, che si estende fino agli ultimi decenni del secolo scorso. Fu all'incirca in quel tempo che la Direzione dei Musei, messa probabilmente sull'avviso da qualche studioso, lo affidò ad un restauratore, perchè ne togliesse il pezzo eterogeneo, vi sostituisse un pezzo di terracotta moderna e completasse le parti mancanti della scena e delle figure, prendendo ispirazione ed esempio da altre scene d'inseguimento di cui abbonda la pittura vascolare.⁵ Il restauratore, invitato ad eseguire il lavoro, estrasse il frammento di Douris, riempì il vuoto con un pezzo di moderna fattura, e accomodò la scena alla meglio, così come gli era stato suggerito.

Benchè si trattasse di un frammento che portava la firma di Douris, l'unico pezzo forse che in Italia fosse fregiato con il nome del celebre ceramografo ateniese, nessuno, dentro e fuori dei Musei Vaticani, ne fece caso, e il pezzo, abbandonato nel Magazzino del Museo, per opera del restauratore stesso o di qualche guardiano infedele, poté passare nel mercato antiquario, inserito nella raccolta Branteghem, per esser poi venduto a Parigi a Teodoro Reinach

¹ Questo *stamnos* oltrecchè dal Helbig (*loc. cit.*) fu studiato da altri. Vedi Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurischen Stils* (1925), p. 157, n. 15, il quale definisce la scena principale come lotta tra Eracle e Nereo.

² L'uno di essi viene a trovarsi a sinistra, al centro della tazza che l'etera tiene con la destra protesa; il secondo in un piede del *trapezoforo* in basso; il terzo è presso l'orlo superiore a destra; il quarto presso la zampa estrema del *trapezoforo* posto davanti alla *kline*.

³ E' questa l'ipotesi più probabile; ma i documenti d'archivio che riguardano la formazione del Museo Gregoriano-Etrusco non danno descrizioni precise; e perciò potrebbe darsi benissimo che il nostro *stamnos* provenisse dalla raccolta di vasi, che fino dal secolo XVIII erano posti sopra gli armadi della Biblioteca Vaticana ad ornamento delle sale, e dei quali furono scelti i migliori per

arricchire il nuovo Museo.

⁴ *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder* (Berlino 1840-1858) n. 145.

⁵ Nessun nome e nessuna data si trova nell'archivio dei Musei che possa illuminare lo studioso sui particolari del restauro. Si può solo congetturare che il restauratore appartenesse alla famiglia Pennelli. Un Pennelli infatti era stato il restauratore preferito dal Marchese Campana per la sua famosa raccolta, e quando questa fu acquistata dal Louvre, egli emigrò con essa a Parigi e svolse colà la sua attività di restauratore. Ma un altro Pennelli lavorava ancora privatamente in Roma, noto per la sua abilità, nei primi anni del secolo corrente, e veniva, all'occorrenza, chiamato a prestar l'opera sua nei Musei Vaticani, i quali mancavano a quei tempi di laboratori di restauro loro propri.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 4.

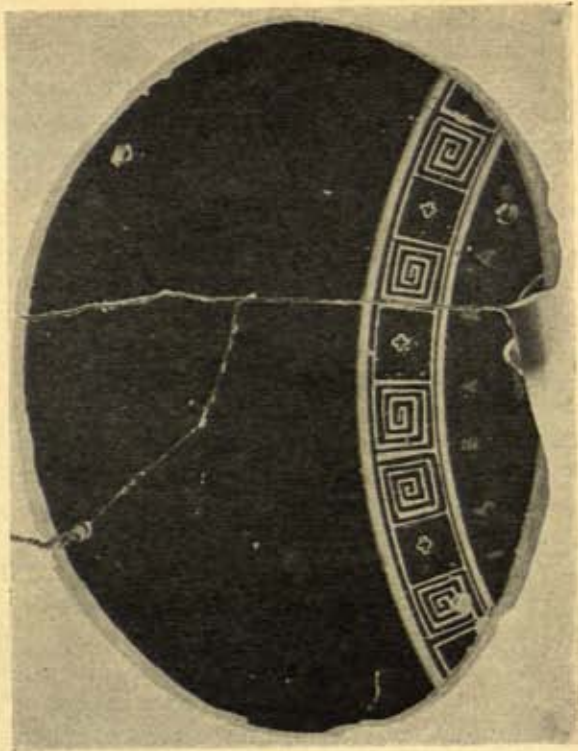


FIG. 5.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 6.

circa l'anno 1892.⁶ Quando circa il 1920, il prof. C. Albizzati si preparava alla pubblicazione del catalogo dei vasi dipinti del Museo Gregoriano,⁷ accortosi della scomparsa del frammento, si rivolse al Reinach stesso, perchè acconsentisse a restituirlo al Vaticano. Il Reinach gentilmente promise che alla sua morte il pezzo sarebbe ritornato al suo posto, ciò che avvenne per mano del fratello Salomone a lui sopravvissuto.⁸

Di questa guisa il frammento, fortunatamente recuperato, ritornò in dominio del pubblico ed è ora esposto nella sala VII (emiciclo, vetrina N, n.º 16). Esso risulta ricomposto di tre frammenti;⁹ tuttavia nel disegno e nella vernice è di conservazione quasi perfetta. Ma se per la tecnica rappresenta, insieme con gli esemplari dei contemporanei Euphronios e Brygos, uno dei più splendidi periodi della ceramica attica, è pur vero che, per la scena riprodotta, essa è un indice della depravazione dei costumi che fino dai primi decenni del secolo V inquinava la società ateniese. Tolto dalla sua forzata postura nello *stamnos*, per il fatto di esser dipinto su entrambe le facce, si vide tosto che doveva appartenere ad un piatto, tazza, ecc.,¹⁰ e non è strana siffatta appartenenza, perchè è risaputo che Douris fu di preferenza pittore di tazze, tanto che il prof. Beazley, nello studio fatto dei vasi attici a figure rosse, fin dal 1925 poté assegnare a lui più di centoventi vasi di questa forma.¹¹ Apparteneva quindi ad una tazza e ad una tazza di considerevoli dimensioni, perchè un calcolo fatto, sia sul fregio circolare, che doveva racchiudere all'interno la scena centrale (vedi Fig. 5), sia sulla curvatura dello *stamnos* col quale era combinato, ci dà un diametro di circa cm. 30,7. Che cosa poi fosse rappresentato nel tondo interno non risulta in alcun modo, perchè, oltre il fregio comunissimo, non si scorgono altro e immediatamente sotto di esso, che sette lettere della firma dell'artista: . . . 15 εῤῥαφ . . . , che si completano facilmente in [δορ]15 εῤῥαφ[σεν]. Vedi Fig. 6.

Sulla faccia esterna invece erano rappresentate giovani coppie di efebi con le loro *etere*, adagiati a due a due sulle *klinai*. Efebi ed *etere* reggevano ciascuno una tazza. Il gesto dell'*etere* del nostro frammento fa pensare al giuoco del *kottabos*, che fu di gran moda nei secoli VI-IV in Grecia e in Etruria, ma nessun elemento dell'oggetto è rimasto che possa avvalorare l'ipotesi. Davanti alle *klinai* erano *trapezofori*, e in alto alle pareti stavano appesi piatti, tazze, a cui potevano aggiungersi anche strumenti musicali, come si vede in altre tazze di Douris.¹²

Tutto sommato, il frammento vaticano di Douris, in sé e per sé, non ha nulla di speciale e rientra per la tecnica e per il genere delle figurazioni nel quadro della produzione ceramica di Atene nella prima metà del V° secolo a.C.; ma esso offre qualche interesse per il modo col quale è pervenuto dall'antichità fino ai giorni nostri attraverso il mondo etrusco. Resta infatti confermato: prima di tutto che i vasi importati dalla Grecia non servivano generalmente all'uso, ma all'ornamento delle case; in secondo luogo che non solo erano conservati con cura i vasi interi, ma venivano ricercati e custoditi anche i frammenti che per l'arte e per il costume potevano attirare la curiosità degli amatori; in terzo luogo che al restauro di un vaso mancante di qualche frammento, rinunciando ad un lavoro d'integrazione logica, si provvedeva anche coll'inserzione di un frammento eterogeneo qualsiasi, purchè questo avesse in sé qualche pregio di novità e di bellezza. Soltanto il progresso degli studi storici e una maggiore sensibilità del gusto artistico ci hanno insegnato ad apprezzare i monumenti quali essi furono e quali essi giunsero a noi senza artificiose integrazioni anche se dettate da buona erudizione archeologica.

Direttore Generale dei Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie.

BARTOLOMEO NOGARA.

⁶ Teodoro Reinach, storico e filologo insigne ai suoi tempi, nato nel 1860 e morto a Parigi nel 1928. La notizia della vendita Branteghem e dell'acquisto fatto dal Reinach è nel *Répertoire des vases peints* di Salomon Reinach, tom. II, p. 75, n. 8-9. Il Catalogo della collezione Branteghem porta la data del 1892.

⁷ Del Catalogo, che fa parte della *Collezione Monumenti Vaticani di Archeologia e di Arte*, Vol. 2, sono stati pubblicati sette fascicoli di pp. 214 complessive, con 70 tavole in fototip.

⁸ Vedi *Rendiconti della Pont. Acc. Rom. di Archeologia*, vol. X (1934), p. 165.

⁹ Non è possibile stabilire, se la frattura in tre pezzi sia di

data antica o recente; ma crederei poterla attribuire al lavoro fatto, quando il pezzo fu estratto dallo *stamnos*. I tre pezzi infatti non sono indicati nel disegno del Gerhard. Vedi Fig. 3.

¹⁰ E così, sul disegno del Gerhard, fu riprodotto da P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen des strengen rotfig. Stils*; tav. LXVII, 3, ecc.

¹¹ Vedi J. Beazley, op. cit. *Attische Vasenmaler*, pp. 199-208. Cf. *Attic red-figured Vases*: in questa seconda edizione, Oxford, 1942, il nostro frammento porta il n.º 51.

¹² Vedi per es. J. Clark Hoppin, *A handbook of Attic red-figured Vases* (Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1919), vol. I; pp. 215, 241, 255.

SIMONIDEA

I

Fr. 13 (Diehl) = 37 (Bergk).

Dion. Hal. *comp.* § 26, ii pp. 140 f. Us.-Rad.

ἐκ δὲ τῆς μελικῆς τὰ Σιμωνίδεια ταῦτα γέγραπται δὲ κατὰ διαστολὰς οὐχ ὦν Ἀριστοφάνης ἢ ἄλλος τις κατεσκεύασε κώλων ἄλλ' ὦν ὁ πεζὸς λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ. πρόσεχε δὴ τῷ μέλει καὶ ἀναγίνωσκε κατὰ διαστολὰς, καὶ εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι λήσεται σε ὁ ῥυθμὸς τῆς ᾠδῆς καὶ οὐχ ἔξεις συμβαλεῖν οὔτε στροφὴν οὔτε ἀντίστροφον οὔτ' ἐπιωδόν, ἀλλὰ φανήσεται σοι λόγος εἰς εἰρόμενος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ διὰ πελάγους φερομένη Δανάη τὰς ἑαυτῆς ἀποδυρομένη τύχας.

§ 1

'You will be unable to comprehend strophe, antistrophe or epode; it will read like a piece of continuous prose:' the question has been long debated, whether Dionysius' claim is justified.¹

Experiment has proved that brute force will be required to hammer the following quotation from Simonides into the shape of a *complete* strophe and *complete* antistrophe, with or without all or part of an epode. Specimens may be seen and judged elsewhere.² They need never again be repeated; they demonstrate that either the text is corrupt beyond the possibility of a scientific restoration, or there is no complete strophe and antistrophe present.

It is at least natural to suppose that when Dionysius says, 'You will not recognise strophe, antistrophe and epode,' he must, in this context, imply that all three of these elements are represented; not necessarily that all three are complete, but that parts at least of all three are included.³ It appears therefore *prima facie* reasonable to look for metrical correspondences between strophe and antistrophe; but of all such investigations one only has led to a result which is widely approved.

Wilamowitz, followed by Schroeder, Diehl, and Davison, created a correspondence between v. 7 (Diehl) οἶον ἔχω πόνον → v. 9 δούρατι as strophic and v. 20 Ζεῦ πάτερ ἐκ σέο → v. 22 σύγγνωθί μοι as antistrophic. Thus v. 1 ὅτε λάρνακι—6 ὦ τέκος comes from the epode; v. 7 οἶον—19 φανείη is the whole of the strophe; the remainder is the beginning of the antistrophe.

This reconstruction has gone for long unchallenged, and has been inspired with new life by Davison. But if we look at it afresh without prejudice, we shall see that it is exposed to criticism at several points.

(i) The first corresponding pair is alleged to be:

7	οἶον	ἔχω	πόνον
20	Ζεῦ	πάτερ	ἐκ σέο

This does well enough, as it stands; we only regret that the words preceding οἶον ἔχω πόνον in the MSS. should then have to undergo the torture to which they are usually subjected.

¹ See especially J. A. Davison, *C.Q.* xxix (1935), pp. 85 ff., including a detailed transcription of Simonides' text from a photograph of the *Parisinus* and a sufficient bibliography of earlier work.

² Among recent examples: Garrod, *C.Q.* xvi 1922 pp. 117 f.; Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* ii, pp. 292 ff. Both are

relatively conservative, yet both have to postulate a degree of corruption far beyond anything indicated by the MS. evidence.

³ I am in accord with, and have nothing to add to, Davison's rejection of those theories which suppose that Dionysius' quotation had in fact no such structure at all.

We make to this apparent correspondence the concession that, although it is not beyond cavil, we could contemplate it without dismay if we had any good reason to do so.

(ii) The second corresponding pair is alleged to be:

8 $\text{σύ δ' ᾠτεις γαλαθηνῶι}$
21 $\text{ὅτι δὴ θαρσαλέον ἔπος}$

We accept Casaubon's conjecture, σύ δ' ᾠτεις , and admit the correspondence σύ δ' ᾠτεις , ὅτι δὴ θαρ- . There is, however, this disadvantage, that we are then compelled to acquiesce in the unsatisfactory reading δὴ : δὴ performs no useful or even intelligible function here; a connective or adversative particle is urgently required. It is, however, in the latter half of the line that the alleged correspondence breaks down altogether: γαλαθηνῶι , -σαλέον ἔπος cannot be proved to constitute a legitimate correspondence, whether -σαλέον ἔπος or -σαλέον ἔπος or -σαλέον ἔπος be understood.⁴ Davison supposes that we have here an example of ionic *a minore* corresponding to iambic: but where in Greek Literature is another such? Neither Wilamowitz nor Davison quotes a parallel. I bring Corinna 4.26 (Diehl) on to the scene, only to dismiss her again at once. There we observe εκοσμῖον at the end of a line which everywhere else terminates in ionic *a minore*: but we do not know what word preceded εκοσμῖον in the Papyrus (. . .) . . . ατῶ . ανεκοσμῖον : the letter before αν was almost certainly not ι , may have been ρ), and there is nothing in our evidence to exclude -ανεκοσμῖον (Cf. Fr. 14. 1 αρία prob. , Π col. iv 25 apparently τεῶν , col. i 13 prob. θίας , i 22 perhaps -φαίας , iii 38 and Fr. 11. 2 ωαριῶν , Fr. 16. 1 ἰωνῆ , cf. Fr. 15.1).

The plain truth is that here, in order to support a theory, a freedom of respension has been assumed without a particle of true evidence that it was admissible in any verse at any date.⁵

(iii) The third corresponding pair is alleged to be:

9 $\text{ἦθ' (or ἦτορ) κνωσσεις ἐν ἁτερπεί δουρατὶ}$
22 $\text{εὐχομαι καὶ νοσφὶ δικας συγγνωθὶ μοι.}$

Whether we should not rather read κνωσσεις with the MSS., and prefer ἁτερπεί to ατερπεί , may be matters of opinion. What is certain is that the correspondence here has been artificially restored by means of an otherwise unnecessary conjecture. καὶ in 22 is an inference from the *Guelferbytanus* (κνώφῃ) alone: the primary MS. tradition points clearly to original ἦ :— ἦνοφῇ P , ἦν ὀφει- MV . There is no reason whatever, except the requirements of a preconceived theory, to tamper with this ἦ ; the *Guelferbytanus*, even if it had offered καὶ , could still not be regarded as a faithful guardian of true tradition in this fragment. καὶ , on which

⁴ Davison himself excludes -σαλέον ἔπος or -σαλέον (F) ἔπος , ionic *a minore* with first or second long resolved (p. 93 *fin.*), a phenomenon not found before Euripides' *Bacchae*.

⁵ I see no reason to suppose that the correspondence of trochee to ionic *a minore* (let alone ionic *a maiore*), if an example could be found (e.g., Ar. *Ran.* 336 = 353), has any value as evidence for the correspondence of iambic to ionic *a minore*. Davison alleges that Simonides 4.21 (Diehl)

— καὶ δ' οὐδὲ θε- corresponds to 29 τοῖσι τ' ἀσχροῖς as trochee to ionic *a maiore*; even if it were relevant, this would be special pleading, for the metre is much better interpreted otherwise ($\text{παντὰ τοὶ καλὰ τοῖσιν | τ' ἀσχροῖς μὴ μίμικται}$ pher. cr. ba. = $\text{μῆ|εν ἀσχρον ἀναγκαι | δ' οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται}$; so also Schroeder *Grundr.* § 205, Wilamo-

witz *S. und S.* p. 182). Sappho *Inc. Lib.* 35 (Lobel) has in two consecutive lines --υ--υ--υ--υ and --υ--υ--υ--υ : but even if the tradition were trustworthy (the second line is very easily made to conform to the first) we should still lack evidence that the lines were in correspondence.

Aesch. *PV* 534 $\text{ἀλλὰ μοι τὸδ' = 543 ἰδὲ μοι γυναι-}$: too easily squared to be a reliable witness. The most interesting example in this category is Alcæus *P. Oxy.* xviii 2165 fr. 1 col. ii 20 $\text{--[υ--υ]} \text{ or } \text{--[υ-υ]} \text{ οὐκ ἄμεινον οὐκ ἔλην = ἱρὰς ὀλοθυγὰς ἐπαισσίας}$. There are, in short, some indications of evidence for --υ--υ--υ--υ : there is none adduced for --υ--υ--υ--υ . For alleged examples in Pindar and Bacchylides see Maas, *Responsionsfreiheit*, *passim*; the faith which survives his criticism must be sturdy, and may be blind.

the correspondence of this pair—and therefore of all three pairs—depends, has no status but that of a figment designed to support a theory.

Enough has been said to demonstrate that these correspondences have not been found in this text: they have been hammered into it. Dents and cracks are clearly visible. If this is the best that can be done, it would be more prudent to do nothing at all.

§ 2

The most obvious solution of the problem still needs to be stated. It has been supposed that we are required at all costs to detect, or to create, metrical correspondences. We believe that strophe, antistrophe, and epode are represented: it seemed therefore reasonable to look first for complete components in correspondence, secondly for parts of components in correspondence. And numerous attempts have been made, all in vain.

There is only one alternative. Dionysius means no more, and no less, than that a complicated lyric when written like prose will read like prose: you will not recognise the ends of individual verses or of the longer units, strophe, antistrophe, and epode. We must now observe that he may have proved his point by adopting the procedure most suitable to his purpose—by selecting his example in such a way that, although all three components are represented, *no metrical correspondences are included*. This he can achieve in only one way: by giving the *latter* part of the antistrophe, followed by the whole of the epode, followed by the *former* part of the next strophe. We found no metrical correspondences, though we had some reason to believe that we should detect any that might be present in an average example: it is now time to admit that we had no reason whatever to expect that any would be present.

Now if by any chance there were, after all, any metrical correspondences left in the quotation, at least we know where to look for them: they must be confined to the extreme beginning and extreme end. If slightly more than the latter half of the antistrophe were given, followed by the epode and slightly more than the former half of the strophe, there would be a metrical correspondence between the first few words of the quotation (the middle of the antistrophe) and the last few words (the middle of the strophe). We look to see whether so striking a confirmation of our general theory is in fact to be found, and we observe with satisfaction but without surprise that ὅτε λαρνάκι corresponds to ἔπος εὐχόμεναι, that the immediately following ἐν δαιδαλέαι corresponds to ἡ νοσφί δικας, and that the immediately following ἀνεμος τε μὴν (or μιν) corresponds to συγγνωθῆ μοι (or μοί).

If I am told that this is coincidence, I shall reply that at least it is not conjecture; that, unlike all other alleged correspondences, it has been not manufactured but merely discovered. And it is something, perhaps even much, in its favour that Dionysius' argument would best be served by a choice of text which could provide the conditions necessary for just this and no other sort of correspondence.

§ 3

We now confront a second prejudice. Many, or even most, treatments of the text of the quotation appear to presuppose a large measure of serious corruption in the MSS.: it is not the least of Davison's important services, that he has shewn this presupposition to be unjustified. When a few superficial errors have been removed,⁶ we shall find that the tradition has preserved good sense and syntax in all but a few places; of which almost all are capable of easy correction. We have therefore no reason to suppose that the metre, as a whole, has been seriously disturbed.

⁶ See Davison's transcript of the *Parisinus*: by 'superficial errors' I mean 2 δαιδαλαίαι, -ia V; 5 οὐτ' MV, οὐτ' P, οὐκ Thiersch; 8 οὐδ' αὐταῖς (σὺ δ' αὐτὲ εἰς Athenaeus), σὺ δ' αὐταῖς Casaubon, though Athenaeus may be thought to indicate αὐταῖς. ἐγαλαθηνωδὲ θει, γαλαθηνωδὲ δ' ἦθι Bergk; 9 δούνασι: δούρασι Guelf;

15 ἐχλανή, ἐν χλάνηι MV; 16 ἦι (ἦ M, ἦ V), ἦν Sylburg, perhaps rather ἦς. κέ κεν (καί V). 19 μαιβουλία (ματ βουλίου M), = μεταβουλία. 22 ηνοφι (ἦν ὀφει- MV), ἦ νόσφι Victorius. These are mere clerical slips, admitting of instant (and almost universally accepted) correction.

It may indeed have been: but we are lost the moment we take a step that is not securely planted on the ground of evidence; and we possess no evidence of any serious disturbance, except perhaps at two or three points.

There is no need to suppose that the text is more than slightly, if at all, corrupted in the following places: (i) 1 f. *λάρνακι ἐν*: unless *λάρνακι* stood at the end of the line, the hiatus cannot be justified by anything in our evidence. Homer has a few examples of the dative singular in -ι preceding a vowel; but there is none in early lyrical poetry except the obviously special cases of hiatus before the names *Ἰσθμός* and *Ἑβρος* in Pindar and Bacchylides.⁷ Deletion of *ἐν* cannot be justified, since we know of no reason why *λάρνακι* should not have stood at the end of a line. If it did so, we shall have to suppose that *ἐν δαιδαλέαι* constituted a line by itself, since the hiatus in *δαιδαλέαι ἀνεμος* is not, so far as we know, admissible within the line. (ii) 6 *τέκνον* Dion., *τέκος* Athen. It is fashionable to prefer *τέκος*; but we must suspend judgment, for *εἶπε τ' ὦ τέκνον οἶόν ἐχῶ πόνον* would present in itself no metrical obstacle (cf. Sappho *ἔ* 5. 6, etc.). (iii) 9 *εἰ θεῖ* P, i.e. *ἦθει, ἦτορι* Athen.: again our preference will be wholly arbitrary; both are acceptable, and we have no means of telling which was original. *κνώσσεις* Dion., *κνώσσεις* Athen.: *κνω-* does not occur elsewhere; but if that is the only charge to be brought against it, it will not be easy to justify the fashionable preference for *κνω-*. (iv) 15 *πρόσωπον καλὸν πρόσωπον* P, *πρόσωπον καλὸν* MV: We have no particular reason to suppose that the repetition of *πρόσωπον* in P is not a mere clerical error of a common enough type; but unnecessary trouble has been made about it. Davison agrees with Nietzsche that the vocative *πρόσωπον καλόν*, as used here, is 'not Greek'. That is a hard saying; an over-statement, perhaps, of the suspicion aroused by the suddenness and semi-detachedness of this concluding vocative. Conjectures abound, but none convinces. *πρόσωπον καλὸν προφαίνων* Ahrens, *προσέχων καλὸν πρόσωπον* Nietzsche: in both, the verbs—especially the prepositions—are unsuitable; they, if you like, are 'not Greek'. And surely the objection to the vocative, *πρόσωπον καλόν*, was altogether unfounded. *πρόσωπον καλόν* here is not just 'a vocative': it is a *vocative in apposition*, and in apposition not merely to some single word, but rather to the whole of the preceding picture. It is even tenable that, regarded thus, it ceases to be a 'vocative'. We have only to suppose that here, as so often elsewhere, we find the careless repetition of a word in a MS.; and then there is no further difficulty in the passage. *χλανίσι* Guelf. suggests a different approach: suppose that K originated here, as so often, in a misreading of *ΙΣ*; we then have *πορφυρέαις εἰμένος ἐν χλανίσι πρόσωπον* (a variation of the normal construction, which would be *προσώπῳ χλανίδας εἰμένος*). Evidently we are not quite sure of the text here: but we cannot point to any evidence of corruption of either text or metre, apart from the repetition of a word in the *Parisinus*. (v) 17 *λεπτῶν* PMV: a small error in the tradition. *λεπτῶν ῥημάτων* is said by its champions to mean something like 'soft words', 'delicate words', 'words spoken in a thin, small voice'. That is not the usual significance of *λεπτὰ ῥήματα*, though no doubt we cannot prove that it was impossible for Simonides. But why should Danae speak in a thin, small voice? 'To avoid waking the child', we are told; and refrain from comment. Almost all editors have been agreed on the change to *λεπτόν*. (vi) 18 *κέλομαι εὔδε* P: neither the correction *κελομαί ευ-* nor the elision *κελομ' ευ-* has any adequate parallel in the lyrical remains of Simonides' verse. The available evidence is too meagre to justify the positive exclusion of either;⁸ and of course *κέλομαι* may have stood at the end of a line. But there is an obvious possibility that a letter has slipped out of the tradition here: *κέλομαι δ'* Bergk, better perhaps *κέλομαί σ'*. (vii) 19 Davison has fortunately revived the old reading *μεταβουλία*. It is indeed a pleasure to witness the unmasking of that impostor *μεταβολία*: there was never a word *μεταί*, so far as we know, in any sort of Greek. (viii) 21 *ὅτι δὴ* PMV: *δὴ* suggests that Danae admits her prayer to be *θαρσαλέον* and *νόσφι δίκας*; and common sense replies that she could not have admitted at

⁷ Quoted in vain by Davison p. 91.

⁸ There are those who believe in *γίγται αὔριον* or even *γίγτ' αὔριον* in Fr. 6. 1.

least the latter charge. ὁ τι δὲ must be read; and we may well reflect upon the possibility of ὅτι (Mehlhorn) for ὁ τι.

So far we have discovered a few minor doubts and difficulties; none of them affects the general sense, most of them make a little difference to the metre. We shall now consider the only two passages where faults in sense or syntax may justifiably be thought to indicate serious corruption.

(i) 3 ff. 3 τε μὴν PM, τ' ἔμη V; 5 f. δεῖ ματι P, δέμα M, δείματι V; ἔριπεν P, ἔρειπεν MV. The position as it appears to me is as follows⁹: I. There must have existed the finite tense of a verb (or verbs) of which ἄνεμος or λίμνα or both were subjects. ἔριπεν is not likely to have been such a verb, since it is not elsewhere used metaphorically or transitively.¹⁰ ἔρειπεν on the other hand presents no difficulty, being both transitive and capable of metaphorical use.¹¹ If ἔρειπεν is accepted, with ἄνεμος and λίμνα subjects, we shall still not know whether δέματι or δέμα τ' is correct. We may think that the abstract δέμα is ill-coupled with ἄνεμος and λίμνα: but it is time to admit that we could hardly know less than we do about Simonides' style, especially in this sort of writing. On this hypothesis we need do no more than correct μὴν to μιν and δὲ to τε; and then we can no longer say that there was more than the most superficial error in the passage. II. We must not close our eyes to the further possibility that λίμνα (as also δέμα, if δέμα is read) is subject of ἔρειπεν, whereas another verb, of which ἄνεμος was subject, has dropped out above. If τε μὴν represents a corruption of that verb, the object of ἔρειπεν may have to be supplied within the λίμνα- clause; ἔρειπέ (νι)ν (or (μι)ν) would at once suggest itself. III. But it remains possible that ἔριπεν is correct, and that Danae was its subject; it will then be neither metaphorical nor transitive. If so, we must again suppose that a verb has dropped out (subjects ἄνεμος and λίμνα), or that τε μὴν represents the corruption of a verb. There would be no difficulty about guessing a likely verb: from τεμην to τεμεμην is an easy step, ἄνεμός τε μέμηνε πνέων;¹² ἐν λάρνακι would then be governed by πνέων, and it is tenable that the elegance of the structure of the phrase would be noticeably enhanced.

There are three satisfactory interpretations of the MS. evidence, and I see no way of choosing between them: (i) ἄνεμός τε μέμηνε πνέων, | κινήθεισα δὲ λίμνα | δέμα τ' ἔρειπέ μιν, οὐκ etc.¹³ (ii) ἄνεμός τε μέμηνε πνέων | κινήθεισά τε λίμνα, δείματι | ἔριπεν (scil. Δανάη), οὐκ (or οὐδ') etc. (iii) ἄνεμός τε μιν πνέων | κινήθεισά τε λίμνα | δείμα τ' (or λίμνα δείματι) ἔρειπεν, οὐκ etc. And no doubt there are other possibilities.

(ii) 10 ff. χαλκεογόμφω δε νυκτὶ λαμπεῖ PMV. χαλκεογόμφω must be attached to the preceding δούρατι: the chest is the only thing hereabouts which has bolts of bronze. Wilamowitz set the modern fashion of attaching it to the following νυκτὶ: 'bronze-bolted night' is said to mean 'darkness caused by closing the lid of a bronze-bolted chest'; there are perhaps not many worse things in the *Persae* of Timotheus and the *Deipnon* of Philoxenus. λάμπεις for MS. λαμπεῖ is another popular, and equally intolerable, conjecture. How can Perseus be said to *shine* in the darkness, κυανέωι δνόφωι? We are invited to imagine light filtering through air-holes (thoughtfully punched by Danae's persecutor?); or to admit the *ray of hope* which Perseus is alleged to offer to Danae (not that any such offer is mentioned in the text of Simonides); or to think of a Child of the Gods *blazing with inner light*, whatever that may mean; or even 'lit up by the clear-seeing eyes of Mother-love'. These things are obviously not to be contemplated, let alone endured.

The old conjecture νυκτὶ δ' ἄλαμπεῖ gives no satisfactory account of a peculiar feature of the MS. text, the δε preceding νυκτὶ. νυκτιλαμπεῖ, on the other hand, is a simple and

⁹ See especially Davison p. 87; but his statement of the case is marred by the judgement, incomprehensible to me, that 'if λίμνα is the subject of ἔρειπεν, it must also be the subject of βέλλα and εἶπεν'.

¹⁰ Hdt. ix 70, Paus. iv 25.2, x 32.6, Qu. Smyrn. xiii 452, are properly rejected as inadequate evidence; LSJ s.v.

¹¹ Bacchyl. x 68, S. Ant. 596.

¹² For μείνομαι metaph. of the elements, Nietzsche com-

pared Semon. Amorg. 7.37 f. θάλασσα . . . μαίνεται; cf. Il. 15. 606 ὅλοον πῦρ οὔρεσι μαίνεται; Mosch. fr. 1. 5. The conjectures τέμα (Weir-Smyth), ἔσπεν (Davison), ἐμάνη (Nietzsche), make no appeal to me.

¹³ N.B. in this version δὲ before λίμνα need not be changed to τε: see Denniston, *Gk. Particles* p. 513 for Α τε . . . Β δὲ . . .

altogether satisfactory interpretation of νυκτι λαμπει: 'agleam in the night' is a good description of the bronze-bolted chest. As for the preceding δε: we notice how easily χαλκογομφωτωδε could be contracted to χαλκογομφωδε. δούρατι χαλκογόμφω τῷδε νυκτιλαμπει would not have been questioned if it had been preserved; as it very nearly was.

11-12 ταδ' εἰς αὐλέαν PM (αὐλαίαν) V. Schneidewin's ταθεις gives a good account of ταδ' εἰς; so does Headlam's τ' ἀδεις¹⁴ (I accept, though not for the same reason, his deletion of τε before δνόφωι). αὐλέαν is vox nihili; αὐλαίαν ('curtain'?) has not recommended itself to anybody. A feminine accusative noun is required, for βαθειαν is not to be interpreted βαθειαν, with κομᾶν: the depth of the sea is much to the point; the depth of the baby's hair is less likely to be mentioned by Simonides. Wilamowitz's ἀχάν is too far from the tradition, and not very suitable to the adjective; Bergk's ἄλμαν is fairly plausible. But a likelier word is AXNAN, barely distinguishable from AXΛIAN, which might easily be misread AYΛIAN, whence αὐλαίαν and αὐλέαν.

§ 4

The general result of a survey of the tradition, made without metrical prejudices, is clear and satisfactory. There are a few places where the meaning is, to the first sight, obscured by clerical blunders; but none or almost none where it is not instantly restored by small and easy changes. It is possible that there are places where the metre has been disturbed without visible reaction upon the sense and syntax; so it happens often enough elsewhere. But there is no reason to suppose that the general outlines of the metre of an extensive passage will be irrecoverably lost, if the sense is perfectly or almost perfectly preserved. It ought to be worth our while to accept this part of Dionysius' challenge.

The cause of our failure (for fail we must) is not in the least obscure. It proves impossible in practice to establish the limits of stanzas and lines in this quotation: not because we find no solution to the problem presented, but because we find too many solutions not only possible but also—some of them—highly plausible. This is the heart of the matter, the last word of a century of criticism: whatever scheme we invent, or think we detect, we cannot *verify* it. We can support our favourite version by parallels from early lyrical poetry, as Davison has done; but we can give no good reason why this version should be preferred to another, for which parallels will be no less readily forthcoming; nor is it tenable that a version for which metrical parallels are found must be, or even is likely to be, nearer to the truth than one for which such parallels are not found.

This is a point of principle, not to be denied or obscured. It would remain true even if we were not so hopelessly ill-equipped for dealing with the text of Simonides. Ignorance and doubt are our constant companions: (i) where a naturally short vowel stands before medial mute + liquid consonants, we shall *suppose* that it is scanned long; for there is no reliable evidence of the contrary in the lyrical remains of Simonides.¹⁵ Before initial mute + liquid there are examples of both short and long.¹⁶ (ii) Initial digamma is employed elsewhere in Simonides to obviate hiatus.¹⁷ There is no example of its use to 'make position', but we shall hesitate even to *suppose* that that use was excluded. (iii) Datives plural in -οις, -αις are usually, but not quite always,¹⁸ found at the end of the line; -οισι, -αισι are found within lines, but not at the ends of them. (iv) Syllabic augments are omitted elsewhere to suit metrical convenience;¹⁹ there is no absolutely certain example of the omission of the temporal

¹⁴ Davison says that the words, with τ' ἀδεις, will not scan. We do not know which of the four theoretically possible scansion of κινάωι is correct here; but I find no insuperable difficulty with any of them.

¹⁵ In 20.4 we have no reason to suppose that the metre (of which we are ignorant) excluded παιδοτροφον. In 39, 50 (παρὰ χρυσον? παρ χρυσον?), 49 (κειθερῶν?), 29 (δοκρυσον), and a few other places, text or metre or both are too uncertain to be used in evidence.

¹⁶ 11.2 δὲ χρονῶι, 40.3 ακοοῖσι βροτων, 48.3 τὴ φλογί; but 48.3 φλογί χρυσας; and contrast 22.1, prob. ὁ κριος, with 8.2,

ὁ πλουτος.

¹⁷ 6.2 ἀνδρα (F)ιδων, 30.3 επτα (F)ιο-.

¹⁸ 48.2 ἀναισις ποταμοισ', a certain example of the shorter form within the verse. There are some doubtful examples: but θερμῶνλαισι may be correct in 5.1, and in 37.4 I should divide | ουδε παντων βλεφαροισ(ι) θνατων | ισοπτος, etc.; there are a few other places where text or metre or both are uncertain.

¹⁹ 4.6 φάτ', 10.2 λάβεν, 27.2 πωτῶντ', 32.2 νίκασε, 9.4 prob. λάχων; one or two other possibilities.

augment.²⁰ (v) Paragoric *v* is used elsewhere both to 'make position'²¹ and to obviate hiatus.²² (vi) There is no certain example of Epic Correetion except in the inelidable monosyllabic diphthongs καί μοι τοι;²³ there is no example of the elision of a diphthong. (vii) The evidence is not sufficient to establish Simonides' practice in respect of contraction and synizesis.²⁴

There are many other unknown factors. Clearly it was no exaggeration to say that we were incompetent to solve the problem set by Dionysius. There is only one honest course: to admit defeat. The alternative is to plunge into the morass, already overpopulated, of subjective speculation. I submit the following arrangement merely to prove my contention that there is no difficulty in presenting the text offered by the MS. tradition (only after correction of the most superficial and obvious oversights) in a metrical scheme which would have afforded little cause for doubt and none for surprise if it had been offered to us by antiquity:—

(άντ.)] ὅτε λάρνακι
 ἐν δαιδαλέαι
 ἀνεμός τε † μὴν † πνέων,
 κινηθεῖσα δὲ λίμνα
 5 δειμά τ' ἔρειπεν, οὐκ
 ἀδιάντοισι παρειαῖς
 ἀμφί τε Περσέϊ βάλλε φίλαν χέρα
 εἰπέ(ν) τ' ὦ τέκος οἶον ἔχω πόνον·

(ἐπ.) σὺ δ' ἄωτεῖς γαλαθηνῶι
 10 δ' ἦθει κυ(ο)ώσσεις ἐν ἄτερπέι
 δούρατι χαλκεογόμφωι
 τῶιδε νυκτιλαμπτεῖ
 κυανέωι δνόφωι ταθεῖς·
 ἄχναν δ' ὑπερθεν τεᾶν
 15 κομᾶν βαθεῖαν παριόντος
 κύματος οὐκ ἀλέγεις
 οὐδ' ἀνέμου φθόγγον
 πορφυρέαι κείμενος ἐν χλανίδι
 πρόσωπον καλόν· εἰ δέ τοι
 20 δεινὸν τό γε δεινὸν ἦν,
 καί κεν ἐμῶν ῥημάτων
 λεπτόν ὑπεῖχες οὔας.

(στρ.) κέλομαί σ' εὔδε βρέφος,
 εὔδέτω δὲ πόντος, εὔδέ-
 25 τω δ' ἄμετρον κακόν·
 μεταβουλία δέ τις φανείη
 Ζεῦ πάτερ ἐκ σέο·

²⁰ 31.3 (ἀνασσε), text and metre of the whole line are

uncertain. In 34 ὄνασα has been conjectured.

²¹ 1 ἰβόμβησιν θαλάσσης, 4.2 χερσὶν τε; 11.1 dub.

²² About ten examples.

²³ καί 8.2, 27.1, μοι 4.4, τοι 60. Nothing profitable can be said about κλυτα εἶρος in 46, οἶωι εἰκει v.l. in 39;

but some have interpreted γινεται σμῖνον in 6.1.

²⁴ This is particularly unfortunate. We do not know how to scan, e.g. δαιδαλέαι, κυανέωι, θαρσαλέων. Davison p. 92 n. 4 says that 'Simonides and Bacchylides appear to admit synizesis only in words which are contracted in Attic': but the evidence is far too meagre to prove this conclusion for Simonides; θεοῖ in 4.21 is, in my view, a certain example of the contrary.

ὅττι δὲ θαρσαλέον ἔπος εὐχομαι
 ἢ νόσφι δίκας
 30 σύγγνωθί μοι [

It is obvious that a good deal of this admits of other arrangements without departure from the textual tradition: ²⁵ it is therefore vain to consider the metre thus offered in detail; enough, that it consists of common elements, thus:—

1 [incomplete]. 2 anap. 3 [corrupt]. 4 pherecr. 5 —ω—υ—. 6 ion. dim. 7 and 8, d. ending —ο— (A. *ScT* 971, S. *Phil.* 827 = 843, etc.).

9 ion. dim. 10–11 various possibilities, e.g. ia. or tr. + d. pent. 12 cr., ba. 13 various possibilities, e.g. cho. + ia., lec. 14 ia., cr. 15 ia., adon. (S. *OC* 1079 = 1090, Ai. 227 = 251, etc.) 16 hemiepes. 17 hemiepes. 18 cho. (or cr.), hemiepes. 19 glyc. 20 teles. 21 cho., cr. 22 cho., ba.

23 ion. dim. catal., with *brevi in longo*. 24–5 ia. or tr. tetr. 26? aceph. cho., ia., ba. (or see Davison, p. 93; other possibilities, especially in conjunction with surrounding lines). 27 —ω—υ—. 28 d. tetr. 29 anap. 30 [incomplete].

The combination of elements and types is commonplace enough, judged by the standard of Pindar or the Dramatists, in whom much more elaborate and interesting mixtures abound. The only evidence available for Simonides, the stanza quoted in Plato's *Protagoras*, reveals a not dissimilar combination: dactylic (encomiologicus); ion. + 2 glyc. + ia.; ω—υ— + 2 glyc.; ω—υ— + —υ—ω—; ia. + —ο—ω—; 2 ba., pherecr., cr., ba.

The meaning which I should attach to such a text would be roughly as follows:—

'When the wind . . . blowing on the carven chest, and the troubled sea and terror brought her low, with cheeks not unwet she threw her loving arm round Perseus and said: 'What suffering is mine, my child! But you sleep on, in your baby way aslumber in this cheerless barque bronze-riveted, agleam by night, in the black gloom outstretched. You heed not the deep foam of the passing wave above your hair, nor the voice of the wind, as you lie in your dark-blue mantle, my pretty one. If terror were terrible to you, then you would lend your tiny ear to what I say. But sleep, baby, I bid you, and sleep, the sea, and sleep, my unfathomable woe. Let some change of heart appear, Father Zeus, from you; and for any prayer of mine that is bold and without justice, pardon me.'

II

Fr. 22 (Diehl) = 13 (Bergk).

Ar. *Nub.* 1355 f.

πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν λύραν λαβόντ' ἐγὼ 'κέλευσα
 αἶσαι Σιμωνίδου μέλος τὸν Κριὸν ὡς ἐπέχθη.

Schol. Rav. i p. 267 Ruth. ἀρχὴ ὠιδῆς εἰς Κριὸν τὸν Αἰγινήτην· ἐπέξαθ' ὁ Κριὸς οὐκ ἀεικέως φαίνεται δὲ εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ διαφανὲς εἶναι. ὡς ἐπέχθη· ὡς ἐκάρη. *ferè eadem schol.* V. Schol. LB Harl. 5 τοῦτο τὸ μέλος Σιμωνίδου ἐξ ἐπινίκου· ἐπέξαθ' ὁ Κριὸς οὐκ ἀεικέως. ἦν δὲ παλαιστής Αἰγινήτης. ἄλλως· τῇι πρὸς τὸ ζῶιον κοινωνίαι τῆς λέξεως συνέπλεξε τὰς κοινωνίας ὁ ποιητὴς λέγων·

ἐπέξαθ' ὁ Κριὸς οὐκ ἀεικέως
 ἐλθὼν ἐς εὐδενδρον ἀγλαὸν Διὸς
 τέμενος.

2 εἰς δένδρον codd., corr. Bergk.

²⁵ Apart from removal of clerical errors, for which see p. 135 n. 6 above; to them we now add 12 νυκτί λαμπῇ for νυκτι-λαμπῇ, 19 πρόσωπον καλὸν πρόσωπον for πρόσωπον καλὸν (or

καλὸν πρόσωπον), 22 λεπτῶν for -όν, 23 εὐδε for σ' εὐδε, 25 εὐδέτω ἄμ. for εὐδέτω δ' ἄμ., 28 8ῃ for 8ε, and probably ὅτι for ὅττι. In 12, τε added to connect νυκτί and ἀνδρῶν.

§ 1

The least gleam of light on the character of Simonides and on the fashion of his Epinician Odes is very welcome. We learn a little about both, if we find that he began his song with ridicule—scornful or jocular—of the vanquished competitor. Does ὁ Κρίος ἐπέξατο mean 'Mr Ram had himself fleeced',²⁶ or 'Mr Ram had his hair cut'? Upon this ludicrous distinction depends the measure of our enlightenment.

The modern tendency has been to prefer the latter interpretation. Simonides, we hear, must conform to the convention observed by Pindar and (so far as we know) Bacchylides; neither of whom deigns to be jocular at the expense of the unhappy loser in an athletic contest. Wilamowitz once acquiesced in the old-fashioned opinion that ἐπέξατο means 'was fleeced', and consequently that Crius was the loser.²⁷ Later he changed his mind, in the belief that the words of Simonides as reported and explained by the Aristophanic scholia imply a song in honour of a victorious Crius.²⁸ But in truth the scholia say no more than that Crius was an Aeginetan wrestler, and that he 'seems to have been famous and conspicuous': this does not indicate, let alone prove, that he won the match to which Simonides' poem refers.²⁹ It was easy and safe enough to say of any competitor in the great games, of whom you knew nothing else, that he must have been a celebrated athlete; and it is to be noticed that there is nothing in the scholia to suggest that any record of the date, result, or other detail of the contest had survived.

And now consider certain unacceptable or even absurd consequences of the opinion that ἐπέξατο means 'had his hair cut', *hatte sich schön frisiert*. (i) We hardly needed the testimony of Aristophanes to confirm our impression that there is an obvious ambiguity in the words ἐπέξατο ὁ Κρίος. If Simonides is referring to the toilet of a victor, we shall have to suppose that he was blind or indifferent to the ludicrous double-meaning: he has begun his ode to the victor with an expression which may fairly be taken to mean 'he was properly fleeced, when he came to Nemea!'. And even if he were so blind or indifferent: what exactly is it that we require him to do?—To begin an ode in honour of a champion athlete with the sentence 'The victor had a splendid hair-cut . . .' (ii) Consider further the relation of the main to the subordinate clause: it is natural to say of the loser that 'when he came to Nemea, he got a proper fleecing'; it is comical, or even silly, to say of the victor that 'when he came to Nemea—he had a smart hair-cut'. Wilamowitz saw, or seemed to see, the weakness here,³⁰ but could do no better than to suggest that Crius was a handsome young man whose beautiful curls would need clipping before the wrestling-match. As if wrestling-championships at Nemea were won (or even lost) by young sparks from town who left their hair in ringlets till the last possible moment.

§ 2

Simonides (we have no longer any doubt) began this poem with a scornful or jocular allusion to the defeat of Crius the Aeginetan.

The Aeginetans were the principal of those islanders who gave earth and water to Darius c. 491 B.C. At the instigation of Athens the Spartan King Cleomenes was sent to arrest the Aeginetan ringleaders. He met with opposition in Aegina, especially from one Crius, son of Polycritus; whom the King, when finally repulsed, asked what his name might be. On hearing the answer *Crius*, or *Ram*, he commented 'Now is the time to point your horns with bronze, Mister Ram, for serious troubles are on their way to you'.³¹

At some time between the battles of Marathon and Salamis Cleomenes returned to Aegina

²⁶ Or simply 'was fleeced': for ἐπέξατο passive, see Wackernagel *Vorles.* 1 pp. 137 f.; Gow on *Theocr.* 28. 12.

²⁷ *Ar. und Athen.* ii p. 284 n. 4.

²⁸ *S. und S.* p. 145 n. 1.

²⁹ Nothing is to be inferred (nor does Wilamowitz infer

anything) from the allusion to the poem by the title *ὁ Κρίος*.

³⁰ *Pindaros* p. 118 n. 1.

³¹ *Hdt.* vi 50.

and sent Crius with nine other hostages into custody at Athens.³² After the death of Cleomenes Aegina demanded the restoration of the hostages, in vain.³³ No more is heard of Crius; his son, Polycritus, distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Salamis.³⁴

It is naturally supposed that Crius the Aeginetan statesman and Crius the Aeginetan wrestler are one and the same person. And it is now obvious that history, as well as common sense, suggests that our interpretation of ἐπέξαθ' ὁ Κρίος as 'the Ram was fleeced' is correct. Simonides' sympathies are with Athens: and he who is for Athens is, at all relevant times, against Aegina. Crius, whom the Athenians received (and no doubt demanded) among the ten hostages, was one of the most prominent of their detested enemies and rivals. Simonides mocks an Aeginetan, and indeed one who was a notorious enemy of Athens: that is no less to be expected than the opposite bias in Pindar, who is for ever celebrating the prowess of second-rate Aeginetan athletes, and who can hardly bring himself to name the illustrious Athenian trainer Menander even when his Aeginetan host would take the mention as a compliment.³⁵

Wilamowitz said that Simonides' poem 'certainly belongs to the VIth century': it is now evident that it may very well be referred to the early years of the Vth, especially to the period between c. 491 B.C. and the removal of the Aeginetan hostages to Athens.

III

Fr. 40 (Diehl) = 41 (Bergk).

Plut. *qu. conv.* viii 3.4, 722^c, iv p. 270 Hubert.

νηνεμία γὰρ ἡχῶδες καὶ γαλήνη καὶ τούναντίον ὡς Σιμωνίδης φησί· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔννοσίφυλλος ἀήτα τότ' ὥρτ' ἀνέμων ἅτις κατεκώλυε κιθναμένα (Wytttenbach: σκιδν- cod.) μελιαδέα γάρυν ἀραρεῖν ἀκοαῖσι βροτῶν.

Simonides is adduced as a witness for the theory that absence of wind is favourable to the transmission of sound, presence of wind unfavourable. If he had wished to say 'there was a wind, (of a kind) to prevent . . .', he could have said ἀνεμος ἐγένετο, ὅστις κατεκώλυε . . .: but surely the contrary, that 'there was not a wind, (of a kind) to prevent . . .', could not be expressed by ἀνεμος οὐκ ἐγένετο, ὅστις κατεκώλυε. . . . The indicative after ὅστις in such a context may be used with the modal particle ἄν, but not without it, to describe an action which did not happen, though it might have happened if certain conditions had been fulfilled. Examples in Kühner-Gerth ii p. 424, e.g. Plato *Phaedr.* 57^a οὐτε τις ξένος ἀφίκεται . . . ὅστις ἄν . . . ἀγγεῖλαι οἷός τ' ἦν: a stranger could have told us, if there had been one present (as there might easily have been; but as a matter of fact there is not). So here: a wind would have prevented the transmission of sound, if there had been one (and there is no particular reason why there should not have been a wind; but as a matter of fact there was none). Read ΚΑΠΕΚΩΛΥΕ for ΚΑΤΕΚΩΛΥΕ, ἅτις κ' ἀπεκώλυε; for the tense, cf. Xen. *An.* ii 1.4, Dem. xviii § 43. The alternative, 'the sort of wind which used to prevent voices being heard, did not on that occasion arise', seems much less probable.

D. L. PAGE.

³² Hdt. vi 73.

³³ *ibid.* 85.

³⁴ *ibid.* viii 92 f.

³⁵ Contrast P. *Nem.* v 48 ff. with Bacchyl. xiii (xii) 191 f.; cf. Wilamowitz *Pindaros* p. 170.

GORDION CUPS FROM NAUCRATIS

IN *JHS* XLIX, 265 ff. Beazley and Payne, in their important publication of Attic b.f. fragments from Naucratis, put together a number of pieces from Little Master cups of the same special form as that in Berlin from Gordion, with the names of Ergotimos and Kleitias as potter and painter. In *JHS* LII, 186, Beazley included these fragments in his list of 'Gordion Cups'. Working over the pottery from Naucratis in the British Museum and the Fitzwilliam I have identified other fragments of the same class.¹ Altogether there are now over thirty separate fragments, which I have tentatively grouped as belonging to fourteen cups. Not all the associations are certain, but all are I think probable. Some of those suggested by Beazley and Payne appear to me impossible, and I have noted where I differ from them; but this paper is only an elaboration of a theme from their larger work—τέμαχος τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δειπνῶν.

I have divided the material into three groups:

I. Cups of exceptionally small and delicate make, some bearing the names of Ergotimos and Kleitias.

II. Slightly sturdier cups, some bearing the name of Sondros.

III. Miscellaneous fragments which cannot be closely associated with either of the other groups.

I. ERGOTIMOS-KLEITIAS GROUP

1. Fig. 1. Six fragments or groups of fragments almost certainly from one cup: London, 1948.8-15.1 and 2; 88.6-1.215, 424(B601₄), 425(B601₄), and 427(B601₅); the last joining Cambridge, N206.

Exterior: slightly convex black rim, sharply tooled off; handle-zone reserved with black lines at top and bottom; handle-palmette very fine and of unusual form (red: alternate petals, heart, dots at volute-centres); inscriptions:

[Ε]ργοτιμος[πο]ισεν
[Κλειτι]ας; εγραψεν

Reserved band on bowl.

Interior: reserved line at rim and at tooled-off junction of lip and bowl; uncertain remains of picture within border of alternate black and red tongues between dot-bands. A line of thinned varnish separates the two rows of dots in each band; white dots between the tongues; the lines dividing the tongues are not relief-lines. The red of the alternate tongues, as usual in this position laid directly on the clay, has been apparently deliberately effaced.

Inside the lip, near the rim, is a neatly incised inscription:

. . . αν[εθεκεν]

The inscribed fragments London 88.6-1.424, 425 and 427 were put together by Beazley and Payne.² 427 joins Cambridge N206,³ which gives part of the interior picture and takes with it London 1948.8-15.1. 1948.8-15.2 and 88.6-1.215 are of identical make and character, and certain details (breadth and position of black line at top of handle-zone; breadth of reserved line at junction of lip inside) are exactly as those of 88.6-1.424, 425 and 427, and differ from the corresponding features on the fragments collected under nos. 2 and 3 below.

The palmettes on the Ergotimos-Kleitias cup from Gordion are horizontal, like those on Laconian cups. That here is set like those on normal lip-cups, but is unusually fine and has a red dot at the centre of each volute. A somewhat similar, though inferior palmette, with a white dot at the volute-centre occurs on another fragment from Naucratis in London (Fig. 2;

¹ I have also examined the Attic black-figure fragments from Naucratis in the Ashmolean and in the Department of Archaeology at University College London, but have found

no pieces of this class among them.

² *JHS* XLIX, 266; pl. XVII, 13, 14 and 16.

³ *CVA* Fasc. ii, III H, pl. XXI, 11.

1948.8-15, 14), apparently from a very small but normal lip-cup.⁴ The red dot recurs on a fragment from the Acropolis of Athens, almost certainly from a Gordion.⁵

2. Fig. 1. Five fragments probably from one cup: London, 88.6-1.237, 324 and 426(B601₄) and 1948.8-15.3 and 4; and one lost fragment (BSA V, pl. IV, 50(b)) perhaps from the same.

Exterior: slightly convex black rim sharply tooled off; handle-zone reserved with black lines at top and bottom; trace of handle-root and of palmette-tendrils to its left;⁶ inscriptions:

(Εργ[ΟΤΙΜΟΣΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ])
[Κλείτ]ιας: ε[γ]ραφ[ε]ν

Reserved band on bowl.

Interior: part of palmette (red: alternate petals and heart) and volute, within border exactly as that of no. 1, except that the red has not been effaced.

On the outside of the lip incised inscription . . φ . . and . . λος . . no doubt dedicatory.

The London fragments are all of precisely the same character as those listed under no. 1, but cannot come from the same cup. This was observed by Beazley and Payne for 88.6-1.426 (B601₄), with the remains of Kleitias's signature.⁷ 88.6-1.237 and 324 are associated by the position and character of the incised inscription, which dissociate them from nos. 1 and 3, as do the position and breadth of the black line at the top of the handle-zone and the breadth of the reserved line at the junction of the lip inside. 1948.8-15.3 and 4, with parts of the interior picture, are shown not to be from no. 1 by the uneffaced red, but the otherwise identical character of the border makes their association with the signature of Kleitias very probable.

The lost fragment is illustrated only by a reduced drawing of the inscription, but Edgar⁸ states that it was on the outside of a b.f. Attic kylix, and that on the inside was part of a tongue-pattern in red and black surrounding the central disc. The scale and, as far as one can judge from the drawing, the character of the letters suggest that it came from an inscription of Ergotimos himself rather than one of his sons; and the fact that the same sherd included part of the inscription in the handle-zone and part of the tondo-border implies that it was from an exceptionally small cup like these. Edgar does not mention dot-bands in the border, but I doubt if this is positive evidence that there were none. No. 1 has no place for a second Ergotimos inscription; no. 3 was uninscribed; no. 2, with the signature of Kleitias on one side, is almost sure to have borne the name of Ergotimos on the other; if therefore the fragment is from a Gordion it seems likely that it belongs to this cup. At the time of Edgar's publication the fragments had not yet been distributed. Prinz⁹ and (no doubt following him) Hoppin¹⁰ cite this piece as in Cambridge, but it seems not to be, and they say the same for 50(a) on the same plate, which is in fact in London.¹¹

3. Fig. 1. Four fragments, almost certainly from one cup: London, 1948.8-15.5, 6, 7 and 8.

Exterior: lower part of slightly convex black rim, sharply tooled off; black lines at top and bottom of handle-zone, which bears no other decoration (there may have been handle-palmettes, but never a painted inscription). Reserved band on bowl.

Interior: reserved line at junction of tooled-off lip; border as in nos. 1 and 2, except that there is no line dividing the dot-rows, and the tongues (which are shorter) are separated by relief-lines; the red is not effaced; of the picture there remain parts of a red boot or shoe with turned up toe and of a wing (?)¹²

In the handle-zone is a roughly incised inscription:¹³

. . . ΟΣΙΕΥΕ[ΘΕΚΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΟΙ]ς (last letter retrograde under second ε).

⁴ Alternate petals may have been red (doubtful traces on central one).

⁵ Graef, 1773: 'Aussen Rest einer Spiral-ranke mit rotem Riegel'. The interior tondo (*loc. cit.* pl. 87) has a border of tongues, with white dots (I do not know if the dividing lines are relief), between dot-bands, the dot-rows in each separated by a line of thinned glaze. I have not examined the original, but from illustration and description judge it to have been a Gordion. The interior picture, in a decent but not especially fine style, shows an odd collocation of animals, which Graef's parallels (whirligigs of protomes) do not really illuminate.

⁶ On 88.6-1.324; pointed out to me by Mr. P. E. Corbett.

⁷ JHS XLIX, 266; pl. XVII, 12.

⁸ *Loc. cit.* p. 55.

⁹ *Funde aus Naukratis*, 78.

¹⁰ *Greek Black-Figure Vases*, 82 no. 3.

¹¹ 1900.2-14.4. Beazley in JHS LII, 192, discussing this piece, which bears the fragmentary name of Ergotimos, probably in a patronymic, says: 'There seems to have been a black line at the top of the handle-zone, and I am inclined to think that the cup may have been a Gordion rather than a lip-cup, although the lettering is of the smaller, later type'. The line at the top of the handle-zone, however, is normal in lip-cups as well as Gordions, and there is no evidence here for the line at the bottom or for any other definite feature of a Gordion.

¹² Cf. a fragmentary cup made by a son of Eucheiros, JHS LII, 179, fig. 11.

¹³ *Naukratis I*, pl. 33, 446.

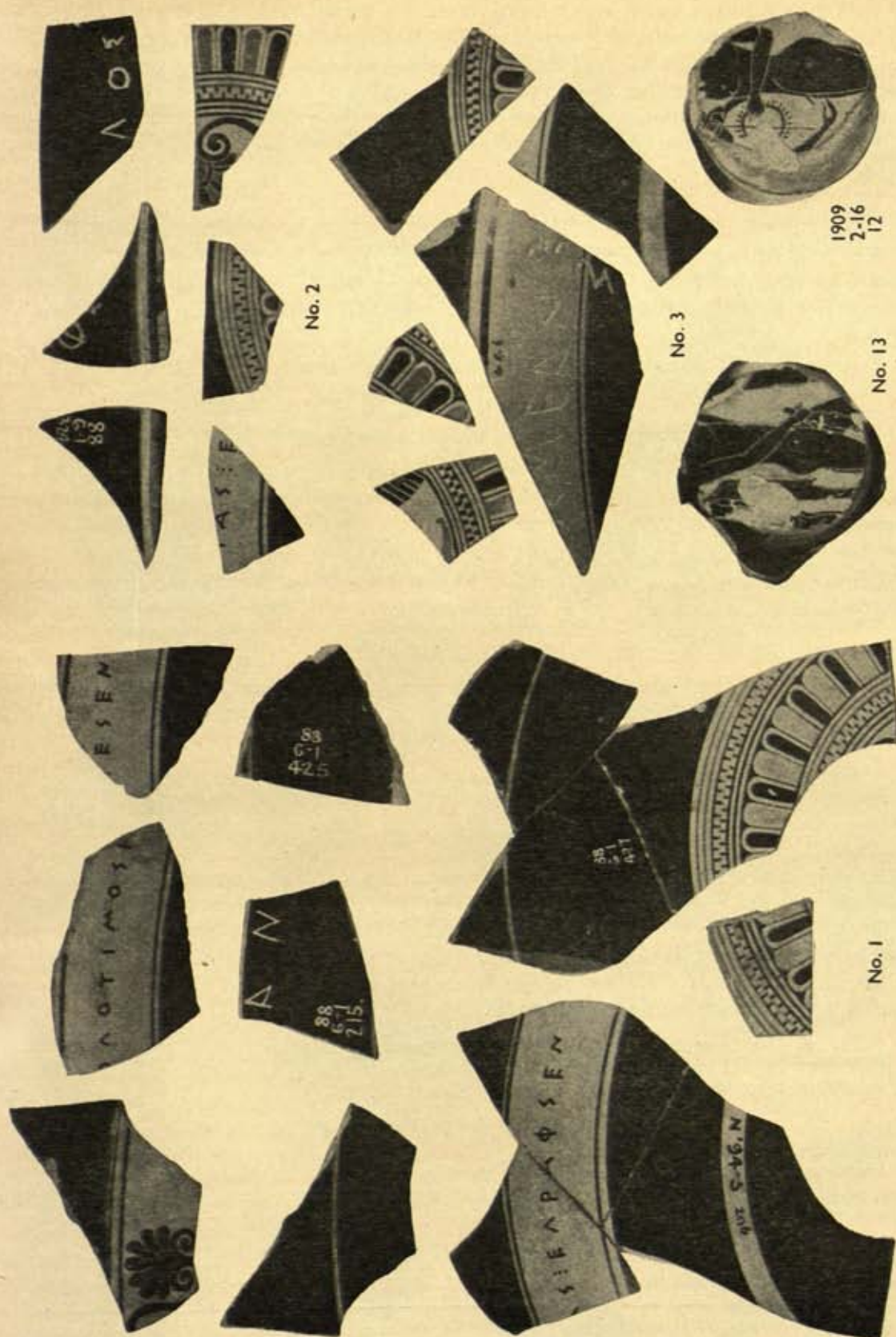


FIG. 1.—GORDION CUPS FROM NAUCRATIS.

1948.8-15.6 takes 7 and 8 with it by the interior decoration and 5 by the treatment of the handle-zone. In make and character this cup goes closely with nos. 1 and 2, but is distinguished from them by certain possibly later features in the tondo-border (relief-line between tongues; absence of thinned glaze line dividing dot-rows), and by being uninscribed. Position and extent of the incised inscription preclude the possibility of there having ever been a painted one.

On a further fragment associated by Beazley with the Ergotimos-Kleitias cups, see below, no. 14.

II. SONDROS GROUP

The fragments grouped under nos. 4-7, though still smaller and finer than most Little Masters, are of slightly heavier build than those of group I. The arrangement of the fragments suggested by Beazley and Payne seems to me impossible; I would associate them as follows:

4. Fig. 2. One fragment: London, 88.6-1.429 (B601₆).

Exterior: black lines at top and bottom of handle-zone, which bears the inscription:

Σονδρος : ε[ΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ]

Interior: very broad reserved line at junction of sharply tooled-off lip.

Beazley and Payne¹⁴ associate this with 88.6-1.432 (no. 5 below) and 433 (no. 9 below). The wall of 432, however, is much thicker, and the reserved line on the interior of 433 much narrower than the corresponding features of 427.

5. Fig. 2. Two fragments: London 88.6-1.432 and 431.

Exterior: black line at bottom of handle-zone (top not preserved) which bears the inscription:

Σονδ[ρος : ε]ΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ

Interior: trace on 432 of reserved line at junction of lip.

Beazley and Payne¹⁵ associate 432 with 427 (see no. 4 above) and 431 doubtfully with 430 (see no. 6 below). The thickness of the wall, however, is the same in 432 and 431: thicker than 429, thinner than 430.

6. Fig. 2. Two fragments: London, 88.6-1.430: Cambridge, N125.

Exterior: black line at bottom of handle-zone (top not preserved) which bears the inscription:

Σονδ[ρος : ε]ΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ

Reserved band on bowl.

Interior: toes of right foot (male) within border as in nos. 1 and 2, except that the tongues are shorter, as in 3, and there is only one free black line outside the outermost dot-band, as against two in 1-3, 7, 10, 11 and all other cups of this class known to me in which this part is preserved.

These two fragments are connected by the unusual thickness of their wall and by the brownish colour of the glaze on the lower part of the exterior. Beazley and Payne¹⁶ associate 430 with 431, but see on no. 5 above.

7. Fig. 2. Two fragments: London, 88.6-1.434 and 1948.8-15.9.

Exterior: line at top but none at bottom of handle-zone, which bears part of handle-palmette and volute (no trace of added colour), and inscription:

[Σ]ονδρ[ος : ε]ΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ

Reserved band on bowl.

Interior: apparently no reserved line at junction of lip; edge of tondo-border with outer dot-band, which has no line dividing the two rows, and just detectable remains of white dot and relief-line between tongues.

This cup lacks two distinctive features of the Gordion: black line at bottom of handle-zone and reserved line at junction of lip inside; but the dot-band in the tondo-border is rare

¹⁴ *JHS* XLIX 266; pl. XVII, 22.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.* 266; pl. XVII, 18 and 15.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.* 266; pl. XVII, 17. The Cambridge fragment is illustrated in *CVA* fasc. ii, III H, pl. XXI, 8.

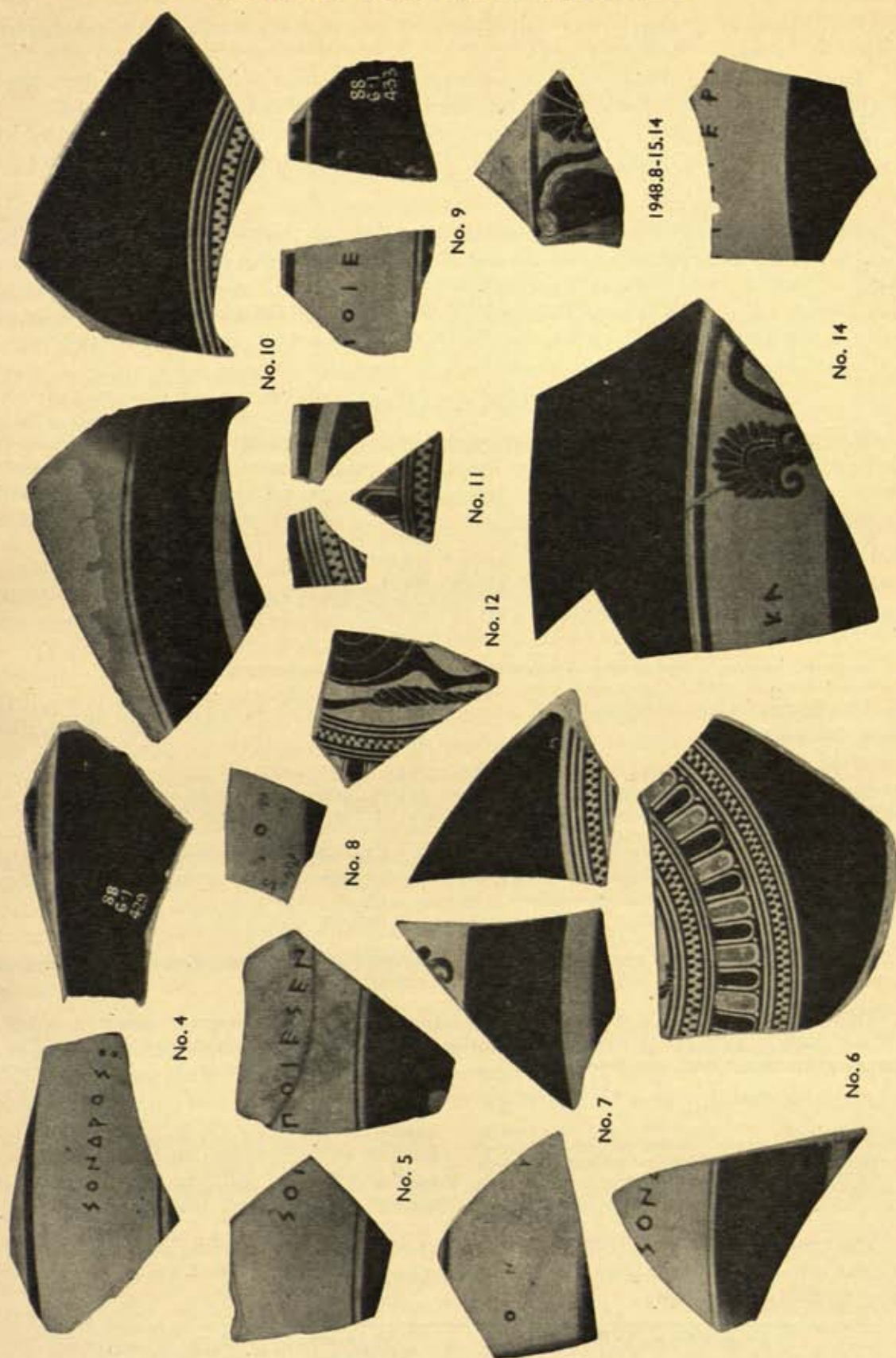


FIG. 2.—GORDION CUPS FROM NAUCRATIS.

in other forms of Little Master, and the character of the lettering as well as the name associates it with this group.

Beazley and Payne¹⁷ associate 434 with 428 (no. 8 below), but the wall of the latter is much thinner, and it must come from a smaller more delicate cup like those of group I.

8. Fig. 2. One fragment: London, 88.6-1.428.

Exterior: no line at bottom of handle-zone (top not preserved) which bears inscription:

ΣΟΝ[ΔΡΟΣ: ΕΤΙΟΙΣΕΥ]

Beazley and Payne¹⁸ associate this fragment with 434, but see on no. 7 above. The character of the lettering and the absence of any trace of a letter at the left-hand edge of the fragment make Beazley and Payne's restoration of the name as Sondros nearly certain, rather than Tleson. This, with its small scale and delicate fabric, make it probable that the fragment is from a Gordion cup, though it lacks the black line at the bottom of the handle-zone.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

Nos. 9-11 stand in make and format between the cups of group I and those of group II. They cannot belong to any of the pieces listed above, nor, though very like, do they seem to come from one cup themselves. Nos. 12 and 13 cannot on the evidence be associated with any of the other pieces; no. 12 seems perhaps closer to those of group II and no. 13 to those of group I. No. 14 stands by itself.

9. Fig. 2. One fragment: London 88.6-1.433 (B601₆).

Exterior: black lines at top and bottom of handle-zone, which bears the inscription

[. . . Ε]ΠΟΙΕ[ΣΕΥ]

Interior: narrow reserved line at junction of sharply tooled-off rim.

This fragment was associated by Beazley and Payne¹⁹ with 88.6-1.429 and 432, but see nos. 4 and 5 above.

10. Fig. 2. One fragment: London, 1948.8-15.10.

Exterior: black line at bottom of handle-zone (top not preserved); much of the surface of the handle-zone is gone, but there is a trace of black at the extreme left bottom (? volute of handle-palmette); reserved band on bowl.

Interior: trace of reserved line at junction of rim; edge of tondo-border with outer dot-band, the rows divided by a line of thinned glaze; white dot between tongues but no trace of relief-line. See further on no. 11.

11. Fig. 2. Two fragments: London, 1948.8-15.11 and 12.

Exterior: reserved band on bowl.

Interior: tondo-border, with very short, broad tongues, divided by relief-lines and white dots, between dot-bands, the rows divided by a line of thinned varnish.

Small size, fine make, dot-bands with dividing line, and plain reserved band on exterior of bowl combine to make it virtually certain that these fragments come from a Gordion cup and not from some other form of Little Master on the one hand nor a Siana on the other. It is conceivable that they go with no. 10, but one would expect a trace of the relief-line to be visible on that.

12. Fig. 2. One fragment: Cambridge, N124.²⁰

Interior: inner part of border, broad tongues divided by relief-lines, dot-band with line of thinned glaze dividing rows; of the picture remains part of back end of a bull to right, finely drawn.

The combination of line dividing the dot-rows and relief-lines dividing the tongues makes it almost certain that this is from a Little Master cup, not a Siana, and if it is a Little Master almost certainly a Gordion.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.* 266; pl. XVII, 11.

¹⁸ *Loc. cit.* 266; pl. XVII, 21.

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.* 266; pl. XVII, 19.

²⁰ *CVA*, fasc. ii, III H, pl. XXI, 24.

13. Fig. 1. One fragment: London, 1948.8-15.13.

Upper part of stem from Siana-type foot. Underneath: at centre, dot and circle in red; on stem, black line. Interior: Orion (homing hunter with club to right).

The identification of the figure is due to Beazley and Payne,²¹ who also pointed out that the fragment was not from a normal Little Master cup, the foot being probably of Siana shape. A small cup of delicate make, with foot of Siana shape and decoration in the finest Little Master style: surely a Gordion cup. Beazley and Payne attributed another beautiful fragment in London, 1909.2-16.12 (Fig. 1),²² apparently from a normal Little Master cup, to the same hand. Recently²³ Beazley has attributed 1909.2-16.12, and presumably our fragment with it, to the Phrynos Painter. That Master's great London cup, B424, and the other cup, Boston 03.855, which bears the name of Phrynos, seem both, like 1909.2-16.12, to have been normal lip-cups, though in both the foot is missing.²⁴ The inscriptions on both are in the niggly hand of the younger generation, and do not connect with those on Gordion cups.²⁵

14. Fig. 2. Two fragments: London B601₁₀ and B601₇.

Exterior: very tall, straight black lip sharply tooled off; black line at top but none at bottom of handle-zone, which contains stout-stemmed handle-palmette and inscriptions:

[. . . κυλ]ικα (complete at right)
[καλον ειμ]ιπποτερι[ον]

Interior: reserved line at rim but none at junction of lip.

Both fragments have been published but have not previously been related. The connection seems to me certain.²⁶ Beazley and Payne²⁷ pointed out that the character of the lettering on B601₁₀ connected it with the inscribed fragments of nos. 1 and 2 above. Later²⁸ Beazley suggested that it might actually belong to one of them, but the absence of a line at the bottom of the handle-zone forbids this. For the restoration [κυλ]ικα I am indebted to Professor Beazley. The inscription on B601₇ was doubtfully read by Cecil Smith as [Εὐχε]ῖρος Εργ[οτίμου] ἐποίησεν]. Beazley and Payne²⁹ saw that this would not do, but offered no alternative. My reading is, I think, sure. Curiously, it suggests a connection with Eucheiros, since it recurs on his Rhodes cup.³⁰ This last has certain features which recall Gordions: dot-bands in the interior border; lines underneath the foot (one, three, one); a rather narrow foot-plate. The last two features are shared by the London Eucheiros,³¹ and in both cases the character of the lettering is similar to that on Gordion cups.

No. 14 was perhaps not strictly a Gordion cup, but without the foot and the interior decoration it cannot be placed exactly. It is rather large; the sharply offset rim is black, but tall and straight, instead of being slightly convex; there is no black line at the bottom of the handle-zone or reserved line at the interior junction of the lip. In all that remains it most closely resembles the London Archikles cup, B418, described by Beazley as 'special, akin to the Gordions'.³²

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²¹ *Loc. cit.* 267, no. 48; pl. XVI, 4.

²² *Loc. cit.* 267, no. 47; pl. XVI, 3; the number there wrongly given as 1909.2-16.2.

²³ *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum*, 10, no. 11.

²⁴ The foot attached to B424 is ancient but not relevant.

²⁵ Another work of the same hand is surely the pseudo-Panathenaic from the Acropolis, Graef no. 923, pl. 59.

²⁶ Mr. P. E. Corbett, who has also carefully examined these fragments, feels some doubt.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.* 266.

²⁸ *JHS* LII, 187.

²⁹ *Loc. cit.* 270, no. 58; pl. XVII, 26.

³⁰ *Clara Rhodes*, III, 34.

³¹ B417; *JHS* LII, 175.

³² *JHS* LII, 199. Black lip, sharply offset, tall and straight; no black line at bottom of handle-zone or reserved line at interior junction of rim; big lettering; stout-stemmed palmettes; no relief-line in tondo-border; short stem and narrow foot-plate. B419, whose figure work resembles that of B418, also has short stem and straight (but reserved) lip.

PROMETHEUS AND CHIRON

IN the last long trimeter speech of the *Prometheus Vincitus* Hermes describes to Prometheus the future course of his punishment: he will be swallowed up in the earth, and then after a long interval of time brought back to daylight for laceration by Zeus's eagle. Hermes goes on (1026 ff.):

τοιοῦδε μόχθου τέρμα μή τι προσδόκα
πρὶν ἂν θεῶν τις διάδοχος τῶν σῶν πόνων
φανῇ θελήσῃ τ' εἰς ἀναύγητον μολεῖν
"Αἰδην κνεφαῖά τ' ἀμφὶ Ταρτάρου βάθῃ.

The only substantial variant is θεός τις F Tri. in 1027.

There is no proof that ancient critics saw any definite allusion here. The Medicean scholium is simply ὡς τοῦ βοηθοῦντος ταῦτα (ταῦτά Paley) πεισομένου, an obscure note to which I shall return. Matthias Garbitius (1559), the first scholar quoted by S. Butler in his *variorum* edition of 1809, suggested that the reference was either to Hercules or, more probably, to 'some other hero' destined to free the human mind from darkness and doubt, perhaps a Sibylline vision of the Christian redemption. This last fancy was defended anonymously in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1796 and found a belated champion in F. A. Paley, on the eve of his admission to the Church of Rome, in 1846—'Ceterum venturum esse Messiam et descensurum in inferos antiquitus praedictum quis hic non agnoscit?' Later Paley silently dropped this theory.

Meanwhile C. G. Schütz in his edition of 1782 had argued that the words meant simply that there was no hope at all of Prometheus's liberation, since the implied condition was plainly impossible. This view is already found in some of the later scholia, for example those of Tri., but the fact is obscured in the corrupt version available to Schütz. Butler himself rejected Messianic prophecy and revived Garbitius's alternative suggestion that Hermes referred to Hercules, 'qui quodammodo successor laborum Prometheo dicatur, non solum quod tot et tam aerumnosa atque ardua perpessus fuerit, sed quod in iis perferendis ad vitae humanae cultum ac convictum tot et tam praeclara beneficia contulerit'. How Butler explained the reference to Tartarus does not appear, but he may perhaps have taken μολεῖν to mean merely 'visit': he can hardly have pictured Hercules as a god voluntarily spending eternity in Hell. In any case this explanation is plainly wrong, though it may possibly be implied in the Medicean scholium already quoted, since τοῦ βοηθοῦντος suggests Heracles.

New light was first thrown in 1824 by F. G. Welcker, when he called attention, in *Die Aeschylische Trilogie Prometheus*, pp. 47 ff., to two passages in the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus, already much discussed, but never in this connection. They run as follows:

(a) II.5.4 (§ 85 Wagner) ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πρὸς Χείρωνα συνέφυγον [sc. οἱ Κένταυροι] . . . τούτῳ περιπεπτωκότας τοὺς Κενταύρους τοξεύων ἴησι βέλος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, τὸ δὲ ἐνεχθὲν Ἐλάτου διὰ τοῦ βραχίονος τῷ γόνατι τοῦ Χείρωνος ἐμπήγνυται. ἀνιαιθεὶς δὲ Ἡρακλῆς προσδραμὼν τό τε βέλος ἐξεῖλκυσε καὶ δόντος Χείρωνος φάρμακον ἐπέθηκεν. ἀνίατον δὲ ἔχων τὸ ἔλκος εἰς τὸ σπηλαῖον ἀλλάσσεται. κάκεῖ τελευτῆσαι βουλόμενος καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐπεὶ περ ἄθνατος ἦν ἀντιδόντος Διὶ Προμηθέως τὸν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ γενησόμενον ἄθνατον οὕτως ἀπέθανεν.

The words ὁ Ἡρακλῆς after ἴησι βέλος are found only in the Vatican Epitome. For ἀλλάσσεται all editors print Scaliger's ἀπαλλάσσεται. Proposed emendations in the last sentence must be discussed later.

(b) II.5.11 (§ 119 Wagner) καὶ περαιωθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον τὴν ἀντικρὺ κατετόξευσεν [sc. ὁ Ἡρακλῆς] ἐπὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τὸν ἐσθίοντα τὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἦπαρ αἰτὸν ὄντα Ἐχίδνης

καὶ Τυφῶνος· καὶ τὸν Προμηθεᾶ διέλυσε δεσμὸν ἐλόμενος τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας καὶ παρέσχε τῷ Διὶ Χείρωνα θνήσκειν ἀθάνατον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ θέλοντα.

After Τυφῶνος the MSS. have ὃς καὶ, but the omission of ὃς, suggested in 1783 by Heyne, is confirmed by the Vatican Epitome. The Vatican Epitome also omits ἀθάνατον after θνήσκειν, in which it is followed by Wagner. For διέλυσε Bekker read ἔλυσε, which is generally accepted. The discussion of other emendations may again be postponed.

As they stand in the manuscripts, the two passages are apparently in conflict. While the second is always taken to state that it was Heracles who gave Chiron to Zeus as one willing to die instead of Prometheus, the first plainly asserts that Prometheus gave to Zeus someone (obviously not himself) willing to take over Chiron's immortality.

Out of the welter of editorial comment one fact starkly emerges: all editors, from the *princeps* of 1555 onwards, have in one way or another so altered the first passage as to make it state or imply what they have all believed to be affirmed in the second, namely that Chiron, with Zeus's permission, died in place of Prometheus. It will be convenient to glance rapidly at scholars' treatment of the first passage before considering their handling of the second.

Aegius in 1555 tacitly printed an unconvincing correction: for ἀντιδόντος Διὶ Προμηθεῶς he reads ἀντιδόντος δὲ Διὸς Προμηθεῖ. How this helps hardly appears, but his quite illegitimate Latin version shows, despite its odd punctuation, what he wanted it to mean: 'cum per immortalitatem, qua donatus erat, minime interire posset, tamen Prometheo Iouis permissu, immortalitatem adepto Chironis loco, tandem esse desiit'.

Thomas Gale in 1675 repeated Aegius's text, but in his note called attention to the manuscript reading, Διὶ Προμηθεῶς, and proposed to keep Διὶ but emend Προμηθεῶς to Προμηθεᾶ, apparently understanding Ἡρακλέους with ἀντιδόντος. In 1743 Hemsterhusius quoted both passages of Apollodorus to illustrate Lucian's twenty-sixth *Dialogue of the Dead* ('Menippus and Chiron'). He proposed in the first passage to read ἀντιδούς τῷ Διὶ Προμηθεᾶ τὸν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ γενησόμενον ἀθάνατον, though suggesting the possibility of reading (with Gale, but I think in a different sense) ἀντιδόντος Διὶ Προμηθεᾶ as a rare but defensible grammatical construction. Heyne in 1783 printed the manuscript reading, but rejected it. In a long note, substantially repeated in his second edition of 1803, he quotes, as others had done, the second Apollodorus passage as a guide to the meaning of the first and continues thus: 'Promiserat igitur Iupiter, se Prometheum liberaturum, et quantum intelligitur, immortalitatem ei daturum esse, (erat tamen ille immortalis, utpote e Titanum genere) si daret immortalem, qui pro ipso vellet mortalis fieri; accidit ut Chiron dolore cruciatus hoc ipsum in votis haberet; itaque ille ad inferos descendit, ut ap. Lucian. D. Mort. 26.' Heyne then quotes Hemsterhusius's correction but adds 'ex altero tamen loco procliuior sum ad legendum: ἀντιδόντος δὲ Διὶ Προμηθεᾶ Ἡρακλέος (sic) τὸν α. (sic)'. He notes that Gale had already suggested Προμηθεᾶ and his own suggestion is really Gale's with Ἡρακλέους expressed instead of understood.

The second passage of Apollodorus (II.5.11) also suffered much emendation before Welcker's time, but none designed to alter its essential meaning. Gale proposed two changes: first to read ἐλόμενον for ἐλόμενος, so as to make Prometheus, as in other versions of the story, the wearer of the memorial wreath, and secondly to insert ὄντα after ἀθάνατον and to transpose the two words to the place before θνήσκειν (Χείρωνα ἀθάνατον ὄντα θνήσκειν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ θέλοντα). Heyne approved the transposition of ἀθάνατον, but thought that the insertion of ὄντα could be avoided by putting a comma after ἀθάνατον (ἀθάνατον, θνήσκειν).

Such was the condition of Apollodorus's text when Welcker in 1824 first brought these two passages to bear on *P.V.* 1026 ff.: everyone agreed as to what Apollodorus meant to say, but there was much dispute as to how to force him to say it. That this reconstructed story had its oddities had not wholly escaped Heyne, though his naïve doubts ('but after all Prometheus was immortal already!') were seemingly stilled by his 'quantum intelligitur'.

Welcker's own contribution to the interpretation of *P.V.* 1026 ff. must now be considered. He began by pointing out that Hermes's words showed that the liberation of Prometheus was

not so simple as an earlier passage (771 ff.) had seemed to imply. Heracles, in fact, would not be enough: 'Es bedurfte . . . dazu nicht weniger, als dass der Götter einer (d.i. einer von unsterblicher Natur) Nachfolger der Strafe des Prometheus würde, (nicht um hier statt seiner Pein zu leiden, sondern) indem er statt seiner in den dunkeln Tartarus, was immer als das Letzte und Höchste aller Strafen gilt, freywillig wanderte.' He goes on to reject Schütz's explanation of the meaning of Hermes's words in *P.V.* 1026 ff. as unsuitable on the lips of Zeus's messenger, and then seeks a new solution in the two Apollodorus passages (combined, for the detail of the memorial wreath, with Athenaeus XV, 674 D).

In the first passage he reads: ἀντιδόντος δὲ Διὶ Προμηθέως τὸν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τεθνηξόμενον ἄθανατον (statt γενησόμενον) οὕτως ἀπέθανε, remarking that Hemsterhusius's ἀντιδούς τῷ Διὶ Προμηθεῖ produced the same sense. In the second passage he follows the manuscripts, except for Gale's ἐλόμενον, which he thinks certain.

That Welcker was right in explaining *P.V.* 1026 ff. from Apollodorus can hardly be disputed: the vagueness of Aeschylus's language is typical of all such passages in this play, in which Heracles, the Danaids, Hypermestra, and Lynceus are all foretold, but not one of them is named. It is also to Welcker's credit that he faced difficulties which many later scholars have shirked, and especially that he dismissed with contempt Heyne's *Oh altitudo!* acceptance of the transference of immortality to a Prometheus already immortal. It must, however, be observed that to avoid this impossibility he was forced to the violent expedient of changing γενησόμενον to τεθνηξόμενον. He also, as we have seen, insisted most reasonably that Chiron's voluntary death did not really involve the taking over of Prometheus's cruel punishment: his own view is summarised in the words 'Ein Todesopfer wurde nur erfordert, seine Schuld zu tilgen.' Lastly he discusses the suitability in Hermes's mouth of a prophecy holding out some hope of Prometheus's ultimate release, and concludes that Prometheus would have found the words obscure, if not unintelligible, and that in any case dramatic plausibility, in such cases, must not be pressed too far.

Before considering the views of later scholars, it will be convenient at this point to glance at the other ancient references to Chiron's end, which are surprisingly few. His incurable wound, indeed, became proverbial, and it was regularly ascribed to Heracles's arrows, though the circumstances were variously imagined, but I have found only two other witnesses to his voluntary surrender of immortality. One is Ovid, who in *Metamorphoses* II, 649 ff. makes Chiron's daughter Ocyroe prophesy to him that the day will come when, in agony from a poisoned wound, he will long to be able to die,

teque ex aeterno potentem numina mortis
efficient triplicesque deae tua fila resoluunt.

The other is Lucian in the dialogue (*Dial. Mort.* xxvi) already mentioned, and there he says nothing of the wound, since it suits his satiric purpose to assume that Chiron abandoned this world through sheer boredom without pausing to reflect that the other would be more boring still. No other ancient writer to my knowledge consigns Chiron to Hell, though he was sometimes placed in the sky as Centaurus or later as Sagittarius. Apart from *P.V.* 1026 ff. no-one but Apollodorus connects Chiron with Prometheus in any way.

Welcker's view of the identity of Aeschylus's θεῶν τις found immediate acceptance. In a Leipzig dissertation *De Aeschyli Prometheo Soluto* published in 1828 (reprinted in *Opuscula* IV, 253 ff. in 1831) Hermann (pp. 8, 28) assumes its truth, without mentioning Welcker. He returned to the subject shortly before his death in his *De Prometheo Aeschyleo* 1845/6 pp. 12 ff. (reprinted in *Opuscula* VIII, 154 ff. in 1877). In this dissertation he adopts in the first passage Welcker's τεθνηξόμενον ἄθανατον, and in the second Gale's ἐλόμενον. In his posthumous edition of Aeschylus, produced by Moritz Haupt in 1852, he twice quotes the two Apollodorus passages, in one case (I. 268) printing Welcker's τεθνηξόμενον but omitting the following ἄθανατον, no doubt by a slip, since he includes it in the other (II. 145) and professes in each case to follow Welcker. Hermann's own comments are of little moment: the most important

is in the 1845/6 dissertation, where he writes (p. 12) 'Nec puto, ut Schoemannus p. 148, mori debuisse Prometheus his verbis significari, sed mortem Chironis mercedem fuisse solutionis e vinculis'. I have not seen the work of Schoemann here criticised.

It is needless to enumerate the readings of the Apollodorus passages adopted by later critics: all alike assumed that the first passage must be altered to suit their renderings of the second, and most were content to adopt one or other of the old suggestions made with that intention. The only significant novelty is R. Wagner's clever correction, first made in *Commentationes Ribbeckianae*, 1888, p. 147, n. 1, and then printed in his Teubner text of 1894, to read αὐτὸν for τὸν in the first passage, thus: ἀντιδόντος Διὶ Προμηθέως αὐτὸν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ γενησόμενον ἄθανατον. This emendation has been widely accepted and is sometimes printed (for instance by George Thomson in his edition of the *Prometheus*, 1932, p. 31, n. 1) as though it were the manuscript text.

The difficulty of fitting *P.V.* 1026 ff. to Apollodorus's reconstructed text has mostly been met on Welcker's lines, though two eminent English scholars, Jebb (on Sophocles *Trach.* 714) and Frazer (on Apollodorus II.5.11 and later on Ovid *Fasti* V. 183) were content to assume, in the teeth of all evidence, that Prometheus was mortal till he acquired Chiron's immortality. Even the freak story peculiar to Euphorion (*fr.* 99 Powell, from Schol. *Il.* XIV, 295), that Prometheus was the fruit of the rape of the child Hera by the giant Eurymedon, scarcely makes him mortal, and Aeschylus in the *P.V.* repeatedly emphasises both his divinity and his immortality.

Many of those who have dealt with *P.V.* 1026 ff. since Hermann have failed to grasp the fact that Apollodorus supports Welcker's interpretation only if Welcker's τεθνηξόμενον, or something like it, is accepted, and in general most comments have been unhelpfully vague. Three discussions stand out from the ruck, those of H. Weil, A. Körte, and W. Schmid. Weil, in *Études sur le Drame Antique*, 1897, has much of value to say of the lost *Prometheus Solutus*, but his remarks (pp. 77 ff.) on our passage amount to little more than the suggestion that Aeschylus has imperfectly combined two incompatible stories, in one of which, perhaps derived from an early *Titanomachy*, Prometheus was in fact confined in Tartarus till Chiron was sent down to take his place. In this Weil at least recognises the important fact that in Aeschylus's version Prometheus's sojourn in Tartarus was only an episode unessential to his punishment, but he does not deal with the Apollodorus passages and says nothing of the immortality problem.

Körte's view, expressed in *Neue Jahrbücher* XLV, 1920, pp. 211 ff. resembles Weil's, but goes more deeply into the difficulties. Like Weil he holds that *P.V.* 1026 ff. though genuine, is logically irreconcilable with Aeschylus's version, but he suggests that in the earlier story from which it is derived Prometheus was threatened, as his ultimate punishment, with actual loss of immortality. He thinks that the episode of Prometheus's sinking underground, between *Prometheus Vincitus* and *Prometheus Solutus*, was an attempt to veil the inconsistency. In Apollodorus II.5.4 he adopts Welcker's τεθνηξόμενον.

Schmid's views, expressed in *Untersuchungen zum Gefesselten Prometheus*, 1929, 78 f., and briefly repeated in Schmid-Stählin, III 1, 1940, p. 295, n. 7, were of course coloured by his well-known theory that the *Prometheus Vincitus* is a work of the sophistic age modelled on the genuine *Prometheus Solutus*. He naturally seizes eagerly on apparent inconsistencies in the extant play, and he considers the Chiron motive 'überhaupt unverständlich' in the context of *Il.* 1026 ff. He is convinced that it can have played no part in the *Prometheus Solutus*, and he hazards the improbable guess that the story told by Apollodorus may be an invention of late mythographers, designed to explain the Aeschylean lines, which are better understood, he thinks, as an impossible condition ironically thrown out by Hermes: Schütz's theory, in fact, though Schmid does not name him.

It is clear that the whole problem should be reconsidered from the start. Let us begin by imagining the situation in the *Prometheus Solutus* when the eagle first lay pierced by Heracles's arrows. Uncertain as the reconstruction of that play may be, it is likely that Weil, Körte, and Thomson are right in thinking that Heracles's act was an unauthorised defiance of Zeus.

Hyginus, indeed, in *Fab.* 59 says that Prometheus first revealed his secret, and that Heracles was then sent, presumably by Zeus, to kill the eagle. This version has often been attributed to Aeschylus, but it is irreconcilable with Io's question in *P.V.* 771, τίς οὖν ὁ λύσων ἐστὶν ἄκοντος Διός; and with Prometheus's own words in fr. 201 of the *P. Solutus*, which he addressed to Heracles when σωθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, as Plutarch tells us:

ἐχθροῦ πατρός μοι τοῦτο φίλτατον τέκνον.

It cannot be doubted that Weil was right in preferring to connect the plot of the *P. Solutus* with a passage of Probus *ad Verg. Ecl.* VI. 43 which he was the first to cite: Hunc quidem uolturem Hercules interemit, Prometheum tamen liberare, ne offenderet patrem, timuit. Sed postea Prometheus Iouem a Thetidis concubitu deterruit, pronuntians quod ex his nasceretur qui ipsis dis fortior futurus esset. Ob hoc beneficium Iupiter eum soluit. Ne tamen impunitus esset, coronam et anulum gestanda ei tradidit.

Thomson is justified in writing (p. 30): 'Further, it is not unlikely that Zeus now transfers part of his displeasure to his son, who, as predicted of him, has delivered the prisoner without the Father's consent'. Indeed, if Heracles shot the eagle without permission, his offence was surely capital: what punishment could fit such human defiance of Zeus but death?

With this situation in mind, let us turn back to Apollodorus II.5.4, and remind ourselves what the unemended text there says:

κάκει τελευτῆσαι βουλόμενος καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐπεὶ περ ἄθνατος ἦν ἀντιδόντος Διὶ Προμηθέως τὸν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ γενησόμενον ἄθνατον οὕτως ἀπέθανεν.

With Chiron added to the picture, we have before us three figures: an immortal, Chiron, incurably wounded, and longing to die, but unable to do so unless some mortal will put on his immortality: a mortal, Heracles, Zeus's favourite son, but fresh from a capital offence against his father: and a second immortal, Prometheus, the most cunning of the gods, tortured by Zeus for ages past, but now on the brink of final release, and ready to conciliate his ancient enemy.

Prometheus, says Apollodorus, gave Zeus someone ready to take over Chiron's immortality, and so Chiron died. Heracles is the only mortal in the picture. We know that he was one of the tiny handful of mortals who in fact achieved immortality, and it is obvious that Chiron's vicarious death would make it easy for Zeus to pardon his son.

I suggest, therefore, that it was to Heracles and not to Prometheus that Chiron, at Prometheus's suggestion, was allowed by Zeus to surrender his immortality. It would be easy to insert (<Ἡρακλέα> after Προμηθέως, either before or after τὸν (a few lines before, as we have seen, only *Epit. Vat.* gives ὁ Ἡρακλῆς), but it is unnecessary, for the interest of this episode is centred on Chiron, and the important point is that a substitute was found. It seems possible that the Medicean scholium already quoted, ὡς τοῦ βοηθοῦντος ταῦτα (or ταῦτά) πεισομένου is part of a narrative in which Zeus had sworn that any man who helped Prometheus should incur his punishment, an oath which Zeus evaded by letting Chiron take his offending son's place.

Certain points still need examination. Apollodorus ascribes the shooting of the eagle to the eleventh labour and Heracles's attainment of immortality from the pyre of Oeta (II.7.7) to a point some time after the conclusion of the twelfth. Chiron, however, in Apollodorus's story was wounded as early as the fourth labour, and he may well have waited a little longer still for the actual attainment of his desire: or Zeus may have allowed Chiron to die, while keeping Heracles's immortality in reserve till his worldly tasks should be done. Apollodorus's words in II.7.7, ἐκείθεν δὲ τυχὼν ἄθνασας, are reconcilable with such a view, and in any case the order of Heracles's achievements is notoriously variable and the *Bibliotheca* is an amalgam of discrepant sources.

What of the second Apollodorus passage (II.5.11), always taken to state that Heracles gave Chiron to Zeus as one ready to die instead of Prometheus? The passage, as has been

said, runs thus in the manuscripts: καὶ τὸν Προμηθεῖα διέλυσε δεσμὸν ἐλόμενος τὸν τῆς ἑλπίδας καὶ παρέσχε τῷ Διὶ Χείρωνα θνήσκειν [ἀθάνατον] ἀντ' αὐτοῦ θέλοντα (ἀθάνατον being omitted by *Epit. Vat.*). It would be easy so to emend this as to make it fit the other passage unambiguously, for instance by inserting <Προμηθεύς> at some point in the closing phrase, but no change is really necessary. As they stand, the words can legitimately mean any one of four things: (a) that Prometheus gave Chiron to Zeus as one willing to die instead of Heracles, (b) that Prometheus gave Chiron to Zeus as one willing to die instead of Prometheus himself, (c) that Heracles gave Chiron to Zeus as one willing to die instead of Prometheus, (d) that Heracles gave Chiron to Zeus as one willing to die instead of Heracles himself. The first and last of these alternations, (a) and (d), are both consistent with the essential features of my reconstruction, but since (a), like (b), involves a rather abrupt change of subject in παρέσχε, (d) seems somewhat more attractive: it makes Heracles, indeed, do what the first passage ascribes to Prometheus, but the difference is trivial, a mere variation of emphasis.

Lastly, it may be urged that Hermes's language in *P.V.* 1026 ff. suggests that the death of the unnamed god will have a more direct bearing on Prometheus's release than my theory implies. Chiron, in any case, as many critics have observed, did not in any real sense take over Prometheus's sufferings, yet he did descend to Tartarus at the moment when Prometheus was released, and his death, on my theory, remains intimately linked with Prometheus's liberation. Hermes, as Schütz and Welcker saw, had no wish to raise Prometheus's hopes: his words, like many true prophecies, are meant to mislead.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

THE COINS FROM THE EPHESIAN ARTEMISION RECONSIDERED

[Plate XXXVIII. Coins or coin-groups illustrated are marked with an asterisk.]

IN 1904-5 the British Museum excavations at Ephesos were resumed under D. G. Hogarth, and resulted in the discovery of what he held to be the foundations of earlier buildings beneath the great Artemision of the Croesus period unearthed by Wood.¹ In these earlier buildings Hogarth distinguished three successive stages:

A. A Central Basis, faced with green schist, standing on virgin sand, and joined in the middle of its west side by a narrow jetty to a second rectangular platform, both of limestone; the whole built, in his view, about 700 B.C., and lasting until it was destroyed by the Kimmerians about 660.

B. A rebuilding and enlargement of the same about 650, the resulting temple lasting till about 600.

C. A further building and enlargement finally superseded by the Croesus temple about 550.

Hogarth's chronology has met with strong criticism, notably from Löwy,² who regarded all remains as belonging to the foundations of the Croesus temple. Gjerstad³ criticising both, but with sound good sense, accepts the general outline sketched by Hogarth for the architectural history but proposes a middle dating:

A. in the third quarter of the seventh century; B. and C. at successive intervals of twenty-five to thirty-five years. Even so, as will appear, such a date for A. must be too early, at least for the finished building, and it is a question whether both scholars have not made too much of the successive reconstructions. The foundations of the earliest structure, the Basis (A), contained a wealth of objects in gold (or electrum, including 24 electrum coins), in silver, ivory, amber, etc., laid between its lower courses in such fashion as to make it certain that they belonged to a foundation deposit.⁴ The date of the latest of these objects must therefore determine the date when the deposit was closed, the building constructed. This date cannot be earlier than the first decade of the sixth century, as Paul Jacobsthal shows in a parallel article (pp. 85 ff.) the results of which, with the greatest kindness, he had already communicated to me.⁵ In arriving at this date the coins were deliberately left out of account; for, the evidence for them being vaguer and more limited, it seemed better to date the coins by the objects than the objects by the coins. It is my part first, to show that, properly considered, they are not only compatible with, but actually support his dating; and second, to draw what conclusions such a date suggests for the history of coinage.

During the excavations not less than 93⁶ electrum coins were unearthed, to which should be added 7 silver dumps: 49 and 4 dumps in recorded contact with other objects and with remains of buildings. They have been strangely neglected by numismatists and historians,⁷ owing partly to the fact that they were only published in a brief chapter contributed by Head to Hogarth's volume⁸ in which the brilliance of the other finds might well have put them in the

¹ D. G. Hogarth, *British Museum: Excavations at Ephesus*, hereafter cited as *Ephesus*.

² *Wien. Akad. Sitzb.* 213. 4. (1932). Picard, *Ephèse et Claros* (1922), 14 ff. had followed Hogarth's dating.

³ *Liverpool Annals* XXIV (1937) 15; with further references.

⁴ *Ephesus* 237-8.

⁵ I owe him much more than this, for we have discussed the problems of the Artemision together intermittently for the past ten years, and without his constant help this article could not have been written. Many of my references are due to him and I must here make my acknowledgements once for all.

⁶ Almost certainly more; Hogarth (p. 74 note) heard of

two concealed and sold by his workmen. One of these may perhaps be the coin described below, p. 167 no. 67.

⁷ E.g. no mention of them in *Hist. Num.* under Ephesus, and only an incidental one under Lydia. Their publication was a year too late for E. Babelon's *Traité des mon. grecques*; Picard, however (*ibid.* p. 24), was aware of some of the difficulties they raised.

⁸ *Ephesus* 74 ff. Pls. 1 and 2. The British Museum possesses electrotypes of nearly all the coins there illustrated and on these, apart from Head's chapter, this article is based. I have not been able to examine the originals in Istanbul, and have relied on his publication for weights and similar details.

shade; but more, perhaps, owing to the nature of this publication itself. Though Head listed and described the coins in general with accuracy and added, on occasion, illuminating comments, he does not appear to have grasped the full implications of the stratified pieces, and made little distinction between them and the unstratified. It is true that, in effect, there is little difference in content between the two, as is shown not only by their types and style but also by the fact that coins from the same dies occur in both categories; but the stratified, viewed in their context, can provide valuable evidence for the chronology and development of coinage. Head's concern, however, is mainly directed towards showing that both together formed a foundation deposit equivalent in pure gold to a round sum of 10 heavy Lydian staters.⁹ Even more baffling is the implicit contradiction between the dating which he gave for the coins, and that assigned by the excavator himself to the earliest shrines and the other objects found with them. In his list Head ranged the coins (most of which he regarded, not always with justification, as Lydian) by style, in what seemed their chronological order; and then distributed them among the Mermnadai from Gyges (?) to Alyattes (?), admitting that these divisions were arbitrary and that the date of the earliest (nothing is said of the later!) might be pushed further back.

Hogarth, in discussing (pp. 239-40) the question 'at what date was the earliest basis founded?', obviously found the 24 coins actually discovered in its foundations very much in his way. He begins by quoting Head to the effect that the 'time of Gyges' is 'a heading good for (relative) classification only'; then, assuming a much earlier date than Head's for the beginning of coinage,¹⁰ he pushes the four primitive pieces back into the eighth century, if not before; and, after stating that the date of the remaining 20 coins 'is not more certain', he rides off to the consideration of the other objects. His final conclusion, as was said before, is that the deposits were laid down before 700 B.C.; yet it was clearly Head's impression, though he was not concerned to substantiate it in detail, that at any rate the bulk of the coins, including those from within the basis, belonged at earliest to the second half of the seventh century. One gets the impression that his study of the coins was finished before Hogarth had reached any firm conclusion over the general dating; for he even toys with, and only reluctantly rejects, the idea that the coins might have formed part of a dedication made by Croesus when he superseded the old electrum coinages by his bimetallic coinage of gold and silver, somewhat on the analogy of the spits found in the Argive Heraion, which are held by some to have been a dedication by Pheidon of out-moded currency on the introduction of a silver coinage.¹¹ No wonder, perhaps, that in the face of such unresolved contradiction the use made of the evidence afforded by the coins has been less than it deserves. Let us examine it again from the beginning. A select list of the relevant coins, numbered and arranged, where possible, by find-spots, with detailed descriptions, will be found in an Appendix. The first step must be the consideration of the stratified pieces themselves. Coins were found in definite contexts on eight occasions:

I. 24 coins from the Central Basis, the earliest building on the site; to these should be added four dumps of silver also found in the same context¹² (nos. 1-28*).

II. 4 coins from the filling of the western platform which was linked to, and roughly contemporary with, the Basis.

III. A hoard of 19 coins from a pot lying on the bottom sand in a space on the south side between these two, but under earth rammed down for the first reconstruction of this primitive complex (nos. 29-47*).

IV. A single coin found in the same conditions in a similar space on the north side.

V. 5 coins found underneath the foundations of the south wall of this first reconstruction.

⁹ There are obvious objections to this view: there is no reason to suppose (1) that the coins from all over the site formed a single deposit or (2) that even if so, the deposit was recovered intact; on the contrary, as Picard (*op. cit.* p. 25) has already observed.

¹⁰ Following Ridgeway's article *Coinage* in the Cambridge

Companion to Greek Studies (1st Ed.), 445.

¹¹ It was this, perhaps, that originally suggested to Head the attempt already mentioned to equate the coins in weight with 10 of the gold staters which Croesus was the first to issue in the form of coin. For Pheidon see below, p. 166.

¹² *Ephesus* 119.

The find spots of three further lots comprising 12¹³ more coins were also recorded. These were:—

VI. 8 coins found with a quantity of ivory, jewellery, etc. (pp. 42 and 235) of Hogarth's A period.

VII. 2 more, from a stone cist of A or B period? (p. 44).

VIII. 2 more, possibly as late as the C period (p. 46).

Unfortunately in the last three lots the record does not describe the coins themselves, so that only the first five are to the purpose, and of these the first and third are really all that matter, the coins in the other deposits being practically repetitions, sometimes from the same dies, of the coins from the two larger ones.

Coins from the Central Basis (p. 157, I)

These were found together with pieces of jewellery, etc., sometimes actually lying between the courses, in such a way, as has been noted above, as to indicate a foundation deposit, and this is, perhaps, a convenient place to say a word about such things.

Foundation deposits are not uncommon in Egypt and the Middle East from the third millennium B.C. onwards. In Egypt they usually take the form of materials and implements (often in miniature) employed in building and in the dedication ceremonies: typical are those at Nebesheh (Ahmose I. c. 1580 B.C.) and at Naukratis (here inscribed for Ptolemy II c. 275 B.C.).¹⁴ For the Middle East they can be conveniently studied in Mrs. E. Douglas Van Buren's *Foundation Figurines and Offerings*.¹⁵ In this area the content is more varied. Inscribed cones, tablets, etc., are commonly met with: of such, for instance, combined with Greek and Lydian coins, consists the deposit laid by Darius I beneath his *apadana* at Persepolis.¹⁶ Apart from such inscribed records the bulk of deposits consists of statuettes, themselves often inscribed, and buried with apotropaic or propitiatory intent. These are occasionally accompanied, notably in the temple of Im-shushinak at Susa (c. 1150 B.C.) and Sargon's palace at Khorsabad (c. 715 B.C.)¹⁷ by quantities of small objects, ranging from cheap beads and shells to seals and valuable pieces of jewellery, offered presumably for the use or pleasure of the god.¹⁸

In Greek lands foundation deposits are rare. Apart from the Artemision we have a hoard of the end of the geometric period from the archaic temple at Delos containing gold, ivory, and bronze objects, but no coins; others from beneath the cult statue of Hera Akraia at Perachora consisting of coins only of about 400 B.C.; from Priene, coins of the mid-second century B.C. of Orophernes of Cappadocia, probably with jewellery also; from Sardis, coins only, of the third and early second centuries, B.C.¹⁹

In publishing the Im-shushinak deposit de Mecquenem made the interesting suggestion, that it was buried in a communal ceremony in which those assisting threw into the foundations each his gift according to his ability. Did our Ephesian deposit arise in something of the same way? It would explain the somewhat haphazard nature of the coins and other small objects; and is there, perhaps, a hint of a similar deposit later, when the Artemision was rebuilt in the fourth century after Herostratos's fire, in the sentence quoted by Strabo²⁰ from Artemidoros? ἄλλον ἀμείνω [ναόν] κατεσκευάσαν συνεέγκαντες τὸν τῶν γυναικῶν κόσμον καὶ τὰς ἰδίας οὐσίας.

However that may be, 28 pieces of currency were recovered from this foundation deposit, of which 9 (nos. 1-9*), without type or device of any kind, are discussed later on p. 164. Of the rest 7 (nos. 10-16*) showed a lion's head, 7 (nos. 17*-23) a lion's paw, 2 (nos. 24-5*) a horse's

¹³ Head says 13 (p. 75 Note 2.) and described all as being 'under B foundations', the evidence for which does not seem cogent. I can find no trace of the odd one.

¹⁴ Petrie, *Tanis* II 14, and *Naukratis* I 28 ff. The Toud treasure (*Syria* XVIII 174 ff.) was an ex-voto not a foundation deposit.

¹⁵ Hans Schoetz & Co., Berlin, 1931; cp. also E. Dhorme, *Les Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* 185-6 and 195.

¹⁶ Herzfeld, *Trans. Int. Num. Congr.* (1936) 413.

¹⁷ Susa: R. de Mecquenem, *Mem. Délégation en Perse* VII 61. Khorsabad: V. Place, *Niniveh et l'Assyrie* I 191.

¹⁸ Cf. Dhorme, *ibid.* p. 185.

¹⁹ *BCH* LXXI-II, 148; Payne, *Perachora*, 108 (a very odd deposit, this); Regling, *Priene* 9; Bell in *Sardis*, XI Part I, p. v.

²⁰ 640 (22).

head, and the remaining 3 a hawk's (no. 26*), a griffin's (no. 27*), and a seal's (no. 28*) head, respectively. The coins with lion's heads are all of the same kind and belong to a single series, the commonest of early electrum issues (*Traité* Pl. II. 4-13), the style of which we must now examine as a whole. The lions themselves derive from an early Mesopotamian prototype of the second millennium B.C. transformed by Hittite hands,²¹ then modified by later, perhaps direct, Assyrian influence. Characteristic is the strong, almost rectangular, shape with practically no surrounding mane to blur its outline, or to cover the large, projecting ear, set well forward; the ruff of hair, in herring-bone pattern, slanting from the base of the ear across the neck, framing the cheek; ravaging jaws with no tongue visible between them; a wart-like knob rising from the forehead between the eyes; usually a wart at the upper base of the ear but no stylised pattern along the upper lip as on Hittite lions in general.²²

The nose-wart is a most interesting feature, particularly important for the chronology, and calls for detailed discussion. It invariably lies flat on the lion's nose, and may be either smooth or sprouting with bristles. It is to be distinguished from the pair of warts sometimes appearing between the eyes of Hittite lions, which was copied in early Greek sculpture.²³ In a sense it is a phenomenon similar to the familiar knobs sometimes borne by griffins, but in their original form the two appear to be independent of each other. The knob on the earliest griffins consists of a slender stem usually crowned by a smooth bulb; occasionally the same beast carries a pair of knobs; later, perhaps through contamination with the lion's wart, the stem may be omitted.²⁴

The griffin's knob looks like some foreign body screwed on to the beak; the normal lion's wart is a perfectly plausible organic development, if only it were real. The knob is first met with in the early seventh century and in the Aegean basin, not in Mesopotamia;²⁵ the nose-wart, on the other hand, like the herring-bone ruff which accompanies it on these coins, is found in Assyrian sculpture increasingly from the ninth century onward, but in Greek orientalisising art only from the second half of the seventh century. So far as I can trace neither feature appears in Hittite work, so both may have come to Lydia either indirectly through the Aegean or, perhaps more likely, by direct contact in the seventh century.

In Assyrian sculpture a rudimentary nose-wart, an oval hairless swelling in prolongation of the brow, is already visible on the lion attacking the chariot in the famous hunting relief of Ashurnasirpal (883-859, fig. 1).²⁶ A limestone lion's head of about 700 B.C. (fig. 2),²⁷ still of the earlier close-maned type, with eyes and patterned lip-wrinkles once inlaid, has an oval socket on the nose clearly sunk for inlay of a similar protuberance. Under Ashurbanipal (668-626 B.C.) when the lion assumes the later form, with heavy swelling mane masking the outline of the head, the nose-wart becomes comparatively common; for instance in his lion-hunt in the British Museum, or on the relief in Paris from Nineveh showing the King spearing a lion in close combat.²⁸ About this time the same smooth form appears in the Aegean also, where it may be noted on proto-Corinthian pottery;²⁹ then a little later on Nebuchadnezzar's frieze of glazed brick from Babylon (c. 600 B.C., fig. 3)³⁰ and even on the coins of Croesus.

²¹ E. Akurgal's *Späthethitische Bildkunst* 39-79, is now indispensable for the study of Hittite lions and their relations west and east.

²² Akurgal *ibid.*; p. 41, for the ear-wart, and *passim* for the stylised pattern.

²³ For Hittite lions with this feature see Akurgal, *ibid.* p. 46 Abb. 35, 38, 39; for Greek lions see, for example, the so-called Menekrates (Rodenwaldt, *Korkyra* II, 176 ff.) and the lion's head spout from Samos (Buschor, *Altämischer Standbilder* 216).

²⁴ Jacobsthal has an exhaustive study of griffin's knobs in his forthcoming work on Pins. Cf. for the normal form Buschor, *Plastik der Griechen*, Pl. 21 (Olympia); a very early knob is stylised as a kind of flower (recalling that of Tiamat for which see below) on an early seventh century krater from Samos (*AM* 1933 Pl. 2, p. 86) cf. also *Larisa* II Pl. VIII 18; occasional absence of the bulb may be due to damage (e.g. de Ridder, *Bronzes de l'Acropole*, I. 150 No. 436); but there are certainly no bulbs on, e.g. a pair belonging to a griffin on an early b.f. lebes (*BMC Vases* II. 80 B 101, described as a 'large bird with two crests'); and on the griffins on a bowl from

Olympia (IV. Pl. XLIX b); for knobs without stem see the bronze from Delphi (de la Coste-Messelière, *Delphes* fig. 13)—here perhaps imitating the lion's nose-wart, and paired with a knob of normal form; also later coins of Abdera (*BMC Gk. Coins Thrace* 65, Nos. 3-4, etc.).

²⁵ Furtwaengler, s.v. *Gryps* in Roscher, *Lexikon*, who, however, derives the knob from the wart on the coins we are discussing: for the excrescence on the monster Tiamat see below. Barnett (*JHS* LXVIII 10) has suggested a Hittite origin for the knob, deriving it from the lock of hair occasionally worn by similar monsters (e.g. 'bird-men' Akurgal, *ibid.* p. 80, fig. 52).

²⁶ Hall, *Bab. and Ass. Sculpture in B.M.*, Pl. XVIII.

²⁷ *Ibid.* Pl. LIX. Professor Sidney Smith kindly gave me this date.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Pl. XLVII and *Encycl. Photog.* (Louvre) II Pl. 7. 8. (I understand from Mr. Gadd that the attribution there given to Sennacherib is incorrect.)

²⁹ Payne, *Neocorinthia* Pl. XV 7-8 and 11 (c. 640-25 B.C.).

³⁰ *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern* II Pl. 54a, Koldewey, *Wiederer-stehende Babylon*, Abb. 16 (whence fig. 3).



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

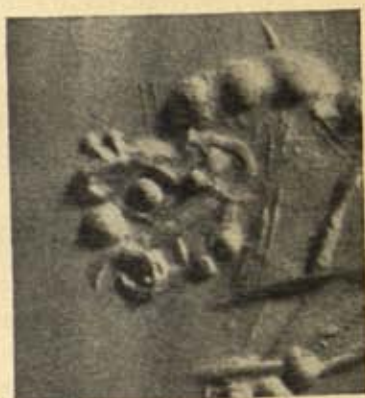


FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

On the other hand, the nose-wart with bristles has an even longer though less connected history. The lion on an extremely early but isolated cylinder seal from Susa of about 3,000 B.C. (fig. 4) already shows two bristles sprouting in the appropriate place.³¹ The monster Tiamat, the lion-griffin, on a relief of Ashurnasirpal³² (fig. 5) has a form of it like a flower stylised (the whole not unlike that military badge, the stylised grenade) which he seems to owe to the leonine side of his nature. I can trace no recurrence of this feature till it suddenly becomes common about 650 B.C. The earliest instance seems to be on the fresco of Ashurbanipal's palace at Til-Barsip (fig. 6), which shows the nose-wart as a half-globe with bristles radiating from it in all directions exactly as on the most finished of our Lydian coins.³³ In the second half of the seventh century it appears on Rhodian pots and in Syrian and Etruscan products, the bristles sometimes sprouting to exaggerated lengths, as on the Phoenician bowl from the Bernadini tomb (second half of seventh century, fig. 7), or a Clazomenian sarcophagus in Berlin (fourth quarter of sixth century).³⁴ Nature's lions know no such swelling, either with or without bristles, though occasionally a simulacrum of it, due to shadow or to variation in the colour of the skin, may be noticed between the eyes. In its bristling form it has some analogy with the whirling rosette sometimes portrayed on the lion's shoulder and occasionally elsewhere, on cheek, hind-quarters, or paw.³⁵ It has recently been suggested that the shoulder rosette derives from the decorated harness of royal tame lions of the 6th dynasty of Egypt.³⁶ Whatever its origin, the influence of natural hair-patterns on its development, and the fact that similar patterns appear on other parts of the body, cannot be disregarded in considering its form and significance. It is not easy to resist the view that it sometimes acquires a sidereal, even solar, significance:³⁷ thus the maned lioness on the side of Inana-Ishtar's throne at Susa (end of 3rd millennium) has a stellate shoulder whorl.³⁸ The whirling triskeles may be compared, which appears on the shoulder of Apollo's beast, the griffin, on a mid-fifth century stater of Lykia.³⁹ The lion himself has solar among other associations, and indeed the nose-wart on the earliest of our coins takes the form of a rough, four-pointed star, while on the later it becomes almost a radiate globe (App. no. 66*).

From this lengthy digression we may now return to the general survey of the style of this series. It shows a certain movement covering, maybe, a generation or more: the eye, at first triangular, with slightly concave base, becomes smaller and more rounded; the nose-wart shrinks to a discreet pellet; the ruff becomes neater. Not all these steps are represented among the coins from the basis, but nos. 10*-12 and 14* are among the earliest and latest respectively. There is a general resemblance among the earlier to lions on late proto-Corinthian, e.g. the Macmillan aryballos⁴⁰ (fig. 8, note the hatched ruff); and on Rhodian pottery of the second half of the seventh century, e.g. Kinch, *Vroulia*, pp. 207-10, fig. 91 (fig. 9; note the bristling nose-wart). Close in style, as Körte has already observed, is the lion with herring-bone ruff from a tomb near Arslan-Tash in Phrygia of about 600 B.C.⁴¹ Closer still with their ruffs and rectangular forms are the heads of two opposed lions on a neo-Babylonian, or, rather, late Assyrian seal in Paris⁴²—end of the seventh century (fig. 10).

All analogy, therefore, suggests that this homogeneous series began not too early in the third quarter of the seventh century B.C. and lasted well on into the sixth. It has sometimes, and as

³¹ *Encycl. Photog.* (Louvre) II 69 No. 22 (here reproduced, fig. 4, by permission of Editions 'Tel'). I owe the date to the kindness of Professor Frankfort, who tells me that it is not the only motif from Susa which disappears completely to re-emerge a millennium or more later.

³² Hall, *ibid.* Pl. XXII.

³³ Thureau-Dangin, *Til-Barsip*, Plate LIII; cf. the coin no. 66*.

³⁴ *MemAmAc* III No. 23 Pl. XVI and *AD* II 25.

³⁵ Shoulder: on a bronze bowl, Layard, *Nimroud*. II 68. Shoulder and cheek, the Bernadini bowl just cited. Paw, Layard *Mon. Nin.* I. Pl. 3 and 4.

³⁶ Helene Cantor, 'Shoulder Ornament on Near Eastern Lions', *J. Near East Studies* VI (1947) 250 ff.

³⁷ Cf. Thureau-Dangin; *Arslan-Tash* 70-2.

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³⁸ *Encycl. Photog.* (Louvre) I. 225; Pézard-Pottier, *Ant. de Susiane* 60, No. 52.

³⁹ B.M. (recent acquisition).

⁴⁰ Payne *Necrocorinthia* Pl. I, 7 and pp. 67 ff. where the Hittite and Assyrian elements in the type were first distinguished.

⁴¹ *AM* XXIII (1898) Pl. III p. 27; delightful picture in *JHS*, 1882, Pl. XVIII. Akurgal however (*ibid.* pp. 43 and 56) places this piece in mid-sixth century, and at the same time postulates Achaemenid prototypes for it. This is too difficult for me.

⁴² *Encycl. Photog.* (Louvre) II. p. 93, no. 132 (reproduced here, fig. 10, by permission of Editions 'Tel') where it is described as Neo-Babylonian. My colleague Mr. Barnett tells me that the second is more likely.

I think correctly, been attributed to Lydia, and this attribution must now be discussed. Whether the Lydians invented coinage or no, a question touched below, their coinage must have been one of the earliest. The general appropriateness of the type is obvious. The lion, the royal beast *par excellence* of the Middle East, belongs to Herakles and to the Lydian deity with whom he was identified, perhaps Sandon a sun god,⁴³ from whom both branches of the Lydian royal



FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.

house descended. As such, lions are closely involved in their story: one of the women of King Meles gave birth to a lion cub, which, on oracular advice, was carried round the city walls to make them proof against assault; the lion provides the half of Croesus's acknowledged coin-type and also his main dedication at Delphi.⁴⁴ It is not unreasonable then to conclude that his predecessors also used the beast as their badge. Lenormant, however, who was the earliest to attribute this series to the Lydian Kings, unfortunately joined to it early electrum coins bearing lions whose varying styles should have shown that they belong elsewhere.⁴⁵ Head was at first inclined to give most of the coins to Miletos, but later justly distinguished the series

⁴³ Who may be the eponym of Sardis: see the discussion in Roscher, *Lexikon* IV. 2. p. 319 and *P.W. Suppl.* III s.v. 'Herakles' p. 972.

⁴⁴ *Traité* Pl. X for Croesus's lion and bull coinage. Herodotos I. 84, I. 50.

⁴⁵ *Ann. Soc. Fr. Num.* IV 173, No. 9, etc.

now under discussion from the Milesian and other coinages, and gave it to Lydia.⁴⁶ Babelon, for what seem insufficient reasons, reverted to Lenormant's view that all came from a single mint, but conceived that mint as Miletos not Sardis.⁴⁷ As Head saw, the differences are such as to require different mints, and the mint of our present series can hardly be other than Sardis. The reasons, based on style, distribution, and occasional inscriptions are worth tabulating.

Style. The chain of lions' heads which appears in the present series is isolated from other lions by the details of treatment enumerated above; and the style itself, fundamentally Anatolian but with touches of direct Assyrian influence, is especially suitable to the geographical and political conditions of the later Lydian kingdom. The coinage of Croesus provides the last link in this chain.

Distribution. Coins of this series are the commonest of the early electrum coins and must have been struck in large numbers. They are met with nowadays not only, or especially, on coastal sites of Ionia, but also widely distributed in up-country districts of Western Anatolia.⁴⁸ Further, they often bear one or more little countermarks,⁴⁹ money changers' stamps, added privately after issue to mark them as acceptable currency. This feature, and sometimes even the stamps themselves, they share with the Persian sigloi circulating later in the same area. In a word they were a currency in the same wide-ranging class as the Persian and in a sense its predecessor.

Inscriptions. On the coins of a series stylistically preceding that of Croesus two lions' heads are divided by a vertical inscription which, whatever its meaning, is shown to be Lydian by two of its letter forms, the digamma, which does not occur in Ionic, and another letter, of doubtful significance, known only in the Lydian alphabet.⁵⁰ One of these coins was actually found in the basis deposit (no. 14*). Six, who first observed the inscription and realised its importance, interpreted it as the name of Alyattes, and in spite of later objections from Buckler and Jongkees⁵¹ it is difficult to believe that the close correspondence between name and inscription is coincidence. The latter should perhaps be read Alyaš as an alternative form of Alyattes. In the same way we find Adramys and Adramyttes side by side,⁵² and similar couples and single names like Madduattes and even Alluuaš in earlier Hittite cuneiform texts from Boghaz-Kewi.⁵³

It may be concluded, then, that this particular series of lion coins formed the early coinage of Lydia. It was represented in the basis by thirds, twelfths, and forty-eighths of the stater (nos. 10*-16), the latest, with the Lydian inscription being about 600 B.C.; and with them will go the twenty-fourths, forty-eighths and ninety-sixths with the lion's paw (nos. 17*-23).

The rest of the coins in the basis need not detain us except to note that they confirm the date. A twelfth and a twenty-fourth (nos. 24-5*) with a harnessed horse's head and a somewhat advanced type of incuse already tending to a conscious pattern suggest a time just before 600. Of the three fractions with creatures' heads the forty-eighth with the seal (no. 28*) is Phocaean and goes with the well-known stater.⁵⁴ It is interesting to compare both with the seal-head water-spouts on the temple of Artemis at Larisa in the Troad.⁵⁵ The other two, a twelfth with the hawk (no. 26*) and a ninety-sixth with the griffin (no. 27*), may actually be Ephesian coins, for both creatures are especially associated with the Ephesia: hawks' heads, one in terracotta of very similar style,⁵⁶ were found during the excavations; while the incuse reverse of the griffin bears the head of another of the Ephesia's animals, the stag. These again must fall

⁴⁶ *Numismata Orientalia: Coinage of Lydia & Persia*, p. 15, corrected in *BMC Gk Coins Ionia*, p. xvi and *Lydia* p. xviii.

⁴⁷ *Traité* II. 1. pp. 45-54. A fuller discussion was promised in Vol. I. 2, a part which never reached publication.

⁴⁸ I have heard of them in the plain of Sardis and in the Troad and have myself been offered one at Lycian Patara. No. 66 (B.M. from the Cunningham Coll.) probably came from the East.

⁴⁹ *BMC Gk Coins Lydia* 2, No. 5, etc.

⁵⁰ *Six Num Chron.*, 1890, p. 202.

⁵¹ Cf. Buckler in *JHS* XLVI 36 and Jongkees *Mnemosyne* 1938, p. 25, where all the material is collected.

⁵² Steph. Byz. s.v. quoting from Aristotle *Politici*: F. H. G. (Müller) II. 191. Ἀδραμύττειον πόλις τῆς . . . Μυσίας . . . κἀλεῖται ἀπὸ Ἀδραμύτου (sic) κτιστοῦ . . . τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ Ἑρμῶνος τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως. τὸν γὰρ Ἑρμῶνα Λυδοὶ Ἀδραμῶν καλοῦσι Φρυγιστὶ.

⁵³ A. Götz, *Mit. der vorderasiatischen Gesellsch.* XXXII (1927, publ. 1928) 40 ff., the suffix is apparently -ttas not -attas.

⁵⁴ *B.M. Guide to the Coins of the Greeks*, Pl. I. 10.

⁵⁵ Larisa II Taf. 58, first quarter of sixth century.

⁵⁶ *Ephesus* 200, fig. 39. Head called our type a griffin, but comparison with this terracotta leaves little doubt of its identity.

about 600 B.C., the seal with its prominent eye perhaps a little earlier, the griffin, already with an incuse type, the latest of all.

The Pot-hoard Found beneath the space between the Basis and the Western Platform (p. 157, III)

Hogarth's relative date for this deposit is before the first reconstruction.

Of its 19 pieces one (no. 29*) again has no type; and this is a convenient place to discuss the curious class to which it belongs, and which includes 5 electrum (nos. 1-5*) and 4 silver pieces (nos. 6-9) from the Basis, and 5 more electrum (nos. 48-52) and 3 silver (nos. 53-5) unstratified. As the earliest coins may be defined as pieces of metal sealed with a private or public mark so as to be recognisable in currency by the issuer and his fellows, and known at large as of honest weight and metal, these typeless pieces, which do not admit of recognition, represent a more primitive stage of metallic currency. They are little ingots, of regular weight indeed, but bearing no mark of origin. Like the true coins which developed out of them, all except the smallest tend to be oval rather than round. Formally they may be divided into three classes. The first class consists of dumps of metal, rough underneath but smooth and concave above, apparently made by pouring a quantity of molten metal of the required weight on to some rough surface, clay, or stone, and letting it cool.⁵⁷ The well-known Mycenaean pieces from Enkomi⁵⁸ and a little piece from the Basis (No. 1*), all electrum, belong here. To these should apparently be added the 7 dumps of silver 'globular lumps like rude weights or coins but without stamp,' as described by Hogarth on p. 119, of which 4 also came from the Basis and 3 from outside it. Unfortunately they are not illustrated or discussed in further detail. The three weights given, however, 7, 17, 18 grs., whether or no intended to cover all seven pieces, do not look haphazard, and suggest a decimal system: 1, 2½, and upwards. But among honest pieces of this form others with a base core wrapped in an envelope of precious metal might pass undetected, and fraud of this nature was not difficult. In 1935, for instance, a small deposit of dumps from Anatolia came to light, of uncertain but presumably primitive date. They appeared to be of gold, and the two shown to me were of uniform weight; their specific gravity, however, indicated that they were almost entirely of lead. In early times the only certain method of testing the metal of pieces turned out in this way was to cut into them,⁵⁹ and in the second class of typeless pieces this was actually done by hammering the butt-end of a metal rod from above into the smooth upper-side of the dump with force enough to reveal its interior. This is the origin of the incuse, and the rod ultimately turns into the punch die (χαράκτῆρ). This second class, to which belong nos. 2-3* from the basis, appears to pass very soon into the third, which shows a further development. The rough underside now bears deliberate markings. It is completely covered with a series of striations, close parallel lines, thin or thick (No. 4* from the Basis, nos. 63-4*, B.M.), or with little splashes (no. 65* B.M.). The intention was perhaps to show how much wear, with consequent loss of weight, the piece had suffered, whether through honest circulation or fraudulent sweating. This the blunting of the sharply cut parallel lines would quickly reveal. These are the commonest of the typeless pieces and comprise most of those from the Artemision and elsewhere. The striated obverse implies a prepared surface, even possibly a die, to punch the ingot on; the reverses may have two or even three incuses (sometimes struck from the same punch), and are indistinguishable from those of early type-bearing coins.

To this final category belong the remaining pieces in the pot. All except two (nos. 46-47) consisted of two series, half-, third-, sixth-, and twelfth-staters, with the types respectively of a goat's forepart (nos. 30-4*) and a pair of opposed game-cocks (nos. 35-45*). For no obvious reason Head ascribed both series to Lydia,⁶⁰ but there is nothing to tie the types down, and

⁵⁷ It is of course possible to cut pieces of metal off a bar or lump and to use them as currency, and some primitive currency was in fact made in this way, e.g. the leaden lumps of the 2nd millennium B.C. from Ashur (*Num. Chron.* 1922 pp. 179-80); but the weight would then be more difficult to regulate, and it was from the cast dump that the earliest coins were developed. The mysterious silver half-shekels of

Sargon and Sennacherib, some apparently bearing a head of Ishtar, were also cast, *ibid.* pp. 177-8 and 182.

⁵⁸ Cp. Evans in *Corolla Numismatica* 365.

⁵⁹ The touchstone would only record the quality of the envelope.

⁶⁰ *Ephesus* 80-1 and 89. For a cock stater still from the same obverse die cp. Naville Sale IV (1922) lot 836.

their mint, or mints, must remain uncertain. The goat series is particularly primitive in appearance: the field of the convex, but uneven, obverse, is covered with sets of parallel striations running in different directions (nos. 30* ff.). In fact it almost gives the impression of being struck from dies made for the striated third class of typeless coins, on to which the device of the goat has been engraved as an afterthought. The technique of the cock series is rather more advanced: the field is less convex but still covered with sets of short striations, now, however, arranged in squares at right angles to each other, and framing the group of the two opposed birds. It is interesting to note that similar striations appear on another very early coin with the running figure of a winged and bearded daimon, which came on the market during Hogarth's excavations, and may well be one of the coins to which he refers on p. 74 note 1.⁶¹ For the goats and gamecocks we may compare early Corinthian and Attic pots of the last quarter of the seventh century.⁶² The remaining coin (no. 46*), a twelfth with the facing head of a lion-panther, though of less primitive fabric may be compared in style with the beast on a transitional Corinthian olpe.⁶³ Hogarth's relative date for the deposit of the pot-hoard is, as mentioned above, before the first reconstruction of the original buildings. It is, therefore, very little later than I, the foundation deposit; that is to say in the light of Jacobsthal's conclusions, shortly after 600 B.C.; and the comparisons just cited accord well with the view that the coins were struck anyhow not long before that date.

It should, moreover, be observed in general that, while a number of the earliest coins cannot be closely dated, there is, so far as I know, none which by its style requires to be placed earlier than well within the second half of the seventh century. This fact takes on a special significance in view of the contents of the foundation deposit and the pot-hoard, which, as we have seen, must have been laid down about 600 or slightly later. Of the twenty-eight pieces of currency in the foundation deposit, including the silver lumps; nine in all (practically one-third), were typeless; of the nineteen in the pot-hoard, one. The remaining pieces from the primitive area, generally unstratified, were mostly contemporary with those from the Basis, as is shown by the fact that several are even struck from the same dies; and in any case all must have been deposited before the reconstruction under Croesus. This remainder numbers fifty-three in all, including three silver lumps; and among them again are eight typeless pieces, more than an eighth of the total. Now there is no reason to suppose that the finds from the Artemision do not represent a fair sample of the currency actually in circulation at the time they were laid down; and the high proportion of those pieces (otherwise extremely rare) which represent the stages immediately preceding true coinage compels the conclusion that we are very near in time to its invention. As one passes from the mere dump, through the punched dump, the punched and striated dump, the punched and striated dump with a type cut into it, to the normal coin, and all lying in nearly contemporary deposits, little if at all affected in appearance or weight by wear, one has the feeling of assisting at the very birth of coinage. If the deposits may be dated round about 600 B.C., then this great event can hardly have taken place much more than a generation earlier. Were the Lydians the inventors? Xenophanes says so,⁶⁴ but the earliest Lydian lions described above (Nos. 10-16*), though primitive indeed, are without the striated surface beneath them which characterises the uncertain coins from the pot-hoard with the goat (nos. 30-45*). Was it, rather, that Lydians were the first to punch the back of currency ingots of their native electron, and to give them a striated surface; and Greeks the first to seal them with a device? However that may be, so low a date for the invention of coinage brings interesting historical consequences. The silver coinages of main-

⁶¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1912, p. 140 No. 11 (B.M.); another example in the American Num. Soc. (*Museum Notes* III Pl. II 9). The daimon (for whom cp. the ivory plaque *Artemis Orthia* Pl. CLX, 2) moves in the conventional archaic scheme, and striations run up to the underside of his outspread arms where they have been sometimes taken for feathers, and the daimon wrongly credited with two pairs of wings. Other striations appear round the outside of the field, and perhaps formed a frame for the upper part of the

figure. The flans are too small to show the whole design.

⁶² E.g. for goat *Necrocorinthia* No. 539, Pl. 26, 4, aryballos with chimæra, and No. 746 Pl. 24, 2; for cock (with comb swept back) b.f. fragment from the Agora, *Hesperia Suppl.* II (1939) 119, B.34, fig. 85; and *Necrocorinthia* No. 780, Pl. 26, 9.

⁶³ *Necrocorinthia* No. 158, Pl. 11, 2.

⁶⁴ Pollux IX. 83.

land Greece show none of the preliminary stages through which the electrum coinages of Asia Minor evolved, and are clearly derivative. We can hardly, therefore, date the beginning of the first, that of Aegina, before the last quarter of the seventh century, and if Pheidon had anything to do with it (which there are other grounds for considering unlikely), then his date must be brought down also.⁶⁵ The long gap between the Aeginetan coinage and that of other leading cities, always so puzzling, is reduced to reasonable proportions, and the economic development of the cities round the Saronic gulf is seen to be more uniform. At Corinth there can be no coinage of the Bacchiads, or indeed of the Cypselids before Periander, while the first Athenian coinage, Solon's armorial didrachms, would fit better if most of it could be put below the nineties of the sixth century.

All these consequences and more must flow from a late dating of the Artemision deposits, and we must be thankful to the excavator who, in the face of continuous and increasing difficulties, preserved and recorded so much of the detailed evidence, though he may not always have read it aright.

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

APPENDIX

[Coins marked with an asterisk are illustrated on Pl. XXXVIII enlarged 2 diameters.]

93 electrum coins and 7 silver dumps were found in all in the excavation of the pre-Croesean area. Those especially cited in the preceding article are described below under three headings, according as they came from the foundation deposit of the central Basis (p. 157, I), the pot-hoard between this Basis and western platform (p. 157, III), or without context and unstratified. These are followed by coins from other sources cited in supplement or illustration. Numbering is consecutive, the numbers given to the coins by Head in Chap. V. (p. 74) of *Ephesus* being added in brackets, thus (H 1, etc.). All are electrum except nos. 6-9 and 53-5. Unless otherwise stated the fractions are fractions of the stater once called Phoenician, but now usually known as Milesian or Lydian.

From the Central Basis (= p. 157, I):

- 1*. Obv.: smooth convex surface. Rev.: flat roughened surface. 7.00 mm., 1.65 grm. Eighth (H 2).
- 2*-3*. Obv.: similar. Rev.: square incuse. 7.0 and 5.5 mm., 0.58 and 0.29 grm. Twenty-fourth and Forty-eighth (H 6 and 9).
- 4*. Obv.: striated surface. Rev.: square incuse. 5.00 mm., 0.64 grm. Twenty-fourth (H 4).
5. Obv.: "uncertain type" ⁶⁶ perhaps as No. 2 above. Rev.: square incuse. 0.58 grm. Twenty-fourth.
- 6-9. Globular dumps of silver without stamp (H p. 119).
- 10*-12. Obv.: lion's head r., with nose-wart like a four pointed star rising from between the eyes; triangular eye; short, close-fitting mane with ruff of hair running from ear to chin in herring-bone pattern. Rev.: oblong incuse, divided into two compartments. 13.00 mm., 4.70-4.73 grms. Thirds (H 32-3, 35). All from same reverse punch.
- 13*. Obv.: similar, with nose-wart like a bristling globe. Rev.: square incuse. 0.65 mm., 1.17 grm. Twelfth (H 39). From same obv. die as H 40-2 from filling of Western Platform, and H 38 from beneath South Wall.
- 14*. Obv.: similar; knob reduced to pellet; mane shaggier; flatter, freer style; on r., downwards, 1 1/3 (only tops visible). 7.0 mm., 1.19 grm. Twelfth (H 43). As on other coins of this series, e.g. Nos. 60-62 below, the type is perhaps one of a pair of opposed lion's heads, the other being off the flan. The letters, unobserved by Head, were first noted by Hill in incorporating the electrotype in the Museum collection. As he saw, they must be the end of the name 7 1/3 1 A 7 discussed above (p. 163).
- 15*-16. Similar, nearer in style to Nos. 10-12, though nose-wart appears to be absent, perhaps owing to reduced scale. 5.00 mm., 0.29-0.30 grm. Forty-eighths (H 46-7). Same dies.
- 17*-19. Obv.: lion's paw. Rev.: square incuse. 5.5-6.5 mm., 0.58 grm. Twenty-fourths (H 54-6). Same dies as H 57 from beneath wall of B cella.
- 20-22. Similar. 4.0 mm., 0.29 grm. Forty-eighths (H 64 and p. 93 add.).
23. Similar. 0.16 grm. Ninety-sixth (H p. 93 add.).
- 24*. Obv.: horse's head l., bridled; mane hanging in long straight rolls. Rev.: square incuse. 9.0 mm., 1.20 grm. Twelfth (H 77).
- 25*. Similar, but foreleg also shown. 6.0 mm., 0.60 grm. Twenty-fourth (H 78).
- 26*. Obv.: hawk's head l. Rev.: square incuse. 6.0 mm., 1.13 grm. Twelfth (H 84 'gryphon' but see p. 163).
- 27*. Obv.: griffin's head r. Rev.: square incuse within which, stag's head l. 5.0 mm., 0.13 grm. Ninety-sixth (H 85, without mention of reverse type).
- 28*. Obv.: seal's head l. Rev.: square incuse. 5.0 mm., 0.32 grm. Phocaeen Forty-eighth (H 87).

⁶⁵ The coinage of Pheidon has recently been treated from this point of view in an excellent article by Llewellyn Brown in *Num. Chron.* 1950, pp. 177 ff., with important conclusions for the early coinage of Corinth also.

⁶⁶ Not further described or illustrated by Head.

From the pot-hoard (p. 157 III).

- 29*. Obv.: flat, striated surface. Rev.: two square incuses, impressed with the same punch, one partly overlying the other. 10 mm., 2.36 gm. Sixth (H 1).
- 30*. Obv.: forepart? of goat l., set in field striated with groups of parallel lines running at different angles. Rev.: an oblong, flanked on either side by a square incuse. 15.5 mm., 7.58 gm. Half (H 12). One of the rev. punches was used again for Nos. 31-3, so the coin must be contemporary with them though it looks more primitive.
- 31-3*. Obv.: forepart of goat r., with foreleg, set in striated field, as in No. 30. Rev.: two square incuses. 1.25-1.30 mm., 4.67-4.77 gm. Thirds (H 13-15). All from the same die and punches. The punch used for the upper incuse was also used on the half stater No. 30. The original obverse die was perhaps made for the stater and carried two goats opposed, but in striking a smaller coin only half the die was used, though traces of the other goat's nose may be discerned; e.g. on No. 33.
34. Obv.: goat's head r., in similar striated field. Rev.: square incuse. 7.00 mm., 1.30 gm. Twelfth (H 16).
- 35-6*. Obv.: two cocks standing, opposed; between them, in the field, at breast level, a small cylindrical object (modius?); the field striated as before, but more formally, in a chequer pattern. Rev.: an oblong flanked by two square incuses, arranged as on No. 30. 14.0-15.0 mm., 7.15-16 gm. Halves (H 19-20).
- 37-42*. Obv.: the same die. Rev.: two square incuses. 12.5 mm., 4.70, 4.80 grms. Thirds (H 21-26).
43. Obv.: similar but without the cylindrical object. Rev.: similar. 12.5 mm., 4.70 grms. Third (H 27).
44. Obv.: similar, same die; all of the design lost except the heads. Rev.: two square incuses. 7.5 mm., 2.38 grms. Sixth (H 28).
45. Obv.: two cock's heads, opposed. Rev.: square incuse. 6.5 mm., 1.19 gm. Twelfth (H 30). The same dies as H 29 unstratified.
- 46*. Obv.: stylised lion's head facing. Rev.: square incuse. 7.0 mm., 1.18 gm. Twelfth (H 53).
47. Obv.: uncertain type. (Head 'cock's head'.) Rev.: square incuse. 6.5 mm., 1.19 gm. Twelfth (H 31).

Unstratified.

48. Obv. and Rev.: smooth, flat surface. 6.0 mm., 0.53 gm. Twenty-fourth (H 7).
- 49-50. Obv.: smooth convex surface. Rev.: square incuse. 3.0-4.0 mm., 0.14 gm. Ninety-sixths (H 10-11). Head thought that the obverse of No. 50 might possibly bear the type of a lion's paw like Nos. 17 ff.
- 51-2. Obv.: flat, striated surface. Rev.: square incuse. 5.0 mm., 0.57 and 0.27 gm. Twenty-fourth and Forty-eighth (H 5 and 8).
- 53-5. Globular lumps of silver without stamp, as Nos. 6-9 (H p. 119).
56. Lion's head, etc., as Nos. 10-12, nose-wart as 4-pointed star. 13.5 mm., 4.73 grms. Third (H 34). Same rev. punches as 11?
- 57-8. Similar, nose-wart as radiate or bristling globe, traces of inscription on r.? 10.0 mm., 2.33 gm. Sixths (H 36-7). Same dies.
59. Similar lion's head. Rev.: square incuse. 17 mm., 1.19 gm. Twelfth (H 44).
- 60*-2*. Obv.: two lion's heads, with vestigial nose-wart, opposed; between them vertically downwards $\Gamma \Delta \Gamma \Lambda \Gamma$. Rev.: oblong (Nos. 60-1) or square (62) incuse. 13.00, 15.3, 10.0, 8.0 mm., 4.71, 2.37, 1.67 gm. Third, Sixth, Twelfth (H 71-3). The obv. die was made for a stater and used throughout the series with the result that on the smaller coins one or other of the heads is always practically off the flan and the inscription incomplete.

From other sources.

- 63*. Obv.: striated surface. Rev.: oblong between two square incuses. 119.5 mm., 10.81 gm. 'Babylonian' stater. *BMC Gk Coins Ionia*, 183, ('Miletus') No. 1; types have been suspected in the incuses, notably a running fox in the oblong, but these seem to me an illusion.
- 64*. Obv.: surface covered by five widely-spaced parallel lines. Rev.: similar. 1.45 mm., 6.85 gm. Half-stater. *Ibid* p. 2 No. 3.
- 65*. Obv.: surface covered by parallel lines of oblong splashes. Rev.: square incuse. 8.0 mm., 1.47 gm. Tenth? B.M. (Mavrogordato Coll.).
- 66*. Obv.: lion's head r., with nose-wart like a radiate (bristling) globe. Rev.: oblong incuse. 11.5 mm., 4.76 gm. Third. *BMC Gk Coins Lydia*, 2 No. 8 (Cunningham Coll.).
- 67*. Obv.: winged daimon, in flat cap, bearded, with long wig-like hair, going r. in the kneeling-running posture with outstretched arms; head, thighs and legs to r., wings, chest and arms frontal; striations running up to the arms and perhaps framing the whole figure. Rev.: oblong between two square incuses, the bottoms covered with criss-cross lines. 15.0 mm., 7.04 gm. Half-stater obtained in 1906 and perhaps from the Artemision. B.M. *Num Chron*, 1912, p. 140 No. 11.

ARMILLAE^{1a}

EVERY schoolboy knows the legend of Tarpeia, who betrayed the Capitol to the Sabines. She demanded what they carried on their left arms: *quod vulgo Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio laevo . . . habuerint* (Livy, I, 11). The enemy pressed in and treacherously fulfilled their ambiguous promise by throwing their shields on her instead of the golden ornaments and so killed her. In later years the antiquarian remembers the story when before the *Mons Tarpeius* in Rome. The historian justifiably disregards the tradition. The mythologist is interested in parallels from Greek or folk-lore.¹ The archaeologist is only concerned when dealing with the denarii of L. Titurius Sabinus or of P. Petronius Turpilianus with the representation of Tarpeia dying under the shields.²

At the date of these coins, first century A.D., the story, told most fully in Livy I, 11, Dionysius of Halicarnassus II, 38, and Plutarch, *Romulus*, 17, was naturally well known. Its oldest form is more important than its alteration to serve Roman patriotism or the desire for a romantic novel. According to Dionysius, who enters most carefully into the question of sources, it was already noted by Q. Fabius Pictor and L. Cincius Alimentus, and was therefore current in the last half of the third century B.C. The golden bracelets (Dionysius calls them ψάλλια) were by then established as an element of the story. Have we evidence for such ornaments? The legend of Tarpeia, as far as I know, has never been mentioned in connection with the rings with pendant *bullae*, which have been noticed on numerous Etruscan monuments, worn chiefly by men—where by women, clearly only by goddesses—generally on the left arm, exceptionally on the right or on both.³ The analogy is in fact striking. That the material was gold is shown by the originals which have been preserved.⁴ It is true that we cannot always decide whether these encircled arm or neck. But the bracelet of a woman carried off by Zeus on the inside of a r.f. cup in the Vatican, where the individual *bullae* are added in slip, is gilded.⁵ The geographical spread of the ornament is not limited to Etruria in the narrower sense. Dionysius, or his source, says that the Sabines had taken over ἀρροδιάρτα from the Tyrrhenians, and we find these *armillae* also on Latin *cistae* found in Praeneste,⁶ including the famous *cista* of Novios Plautios.⁷ I know of no examples further south in Campania and Samnium. On Paestan vases amulet bands are common and run diagonally across the breast. Only Herakles on the Herakles krater by Assteas in Madrid⁸ has a pearl band round his left arm which has some similarity with those we have discussed, but it is nevertheless different.

The earliest example is the puzzling statue of a warrior from Capestrano.^{8a} The next still belong to the late fifth century. The monuments—engraved mirrors, vases, statuettes, *cistae*—allow us to assume the fourth century as *floruit* of this particular ornament. Some may continue into the third century, but there are certainly no examples in the second and first. The result for the story of Tarpeia is that the version given by Fabius Pictor cannot have been very old in the lifetime of the annalist, even if the kernel of the legend stretches back into mythical times.

The particular form of the *armillae* suggests the possibility that the *bullae* worn by boys

^{1a} I owe my thanks to Professor T. B. L. Webster for translating the German manuscript.

¹ RE IV A, 2332–42 (Mielentz).

² RE IV A, 2340 f., Grueber, *BMC Coins Rom. Rep.* III pl. 37, 4–5, Baumeister, *Denkm.* III p. 1822 fig. 1916; Grueber, *loc. cit.* pl. 66, 11, Mattingly, *BMC Coins Rom. Emp.* I pl. 1, 16, von Sallet-Regling, *Ant. Münzen*, 78.

³ Some examples: Bronze statuettes: Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* pl. 367, 1 and 3, mirrors: *id.* pl. 296, 1–2 pl. 299, 1–2 pl. 301, 2, red-figure vases: *id.* pl. 275, 1–2 (=Beazley, *Etr. Vase Paint.* pl. 9, 2 pl. 27, 9).

⁴ Giglioli, *loc. cit.* pl. 376, 3.

⁵ *Id.* pl. 275, 1, Beazley, *loc. cit.* pl. 9, 2.

⁶ E.g. *Mon. Inst.* VI/VII, 61/2, Brunn, *Kleine Schriften* I, 260–261. Giglioli, *loc. cit.*, pl. 282, 1.

⁷ Baumeister, *Denkm.* I p. 453 f. fig. 500 f., *Wien. Vorl. Bl.* 1889 pl. 12, Bulle, *Sch. Mensch*² 628 fig. 193, 632 fig. 195, Robert, *Hermeneutik* 107 fig. 88, *Muz* fig. 628, Swindler, *Anc. Paint.* fig. 372, Löwy, *Polygnot* fig. 30, Giglioli, *loc. cit.* pl. 285.

⁸ Hoppin *B.F.* 438. Leroux pl. 45. Bieber, *Den. Km.* 108 f. fig. 107 f. *History* 259 fig. 351. Trendall, *Paest. Pott.* pl. 7.

^{8a} Older literature in Otto, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, II, 1, 392, pl. 56 (Kaschnitz-Weinberg).

round the neck were transferred to the arm when they grew up and their necks became too big; however that may be, they show that monuments on which they appear must be Central Italian. That is important for one of them, the so-called Argonaut krater (fig. 1) in Florence,⁹ for which the older literature is given in full by J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting*, 34 f. There the attributions of Ernst Buschor (Italiote) and Carl Watzinger (Campanian) are rejected on purely stylistic grounds. The latter assumption appears to be only based on the *communis opinio* that the *cista* of Novios Plautios in spite of the artist's inscription, which expressly mentions Rome as the place of fabrication, is Campanian. Carlo Albizzati first stated that the vase in Florence was Etruscan; Sir John Beazley has confirmed this, and has also refuted briefly and convincingly all the interpretations so far produced for the enigmatic scene. As there are no

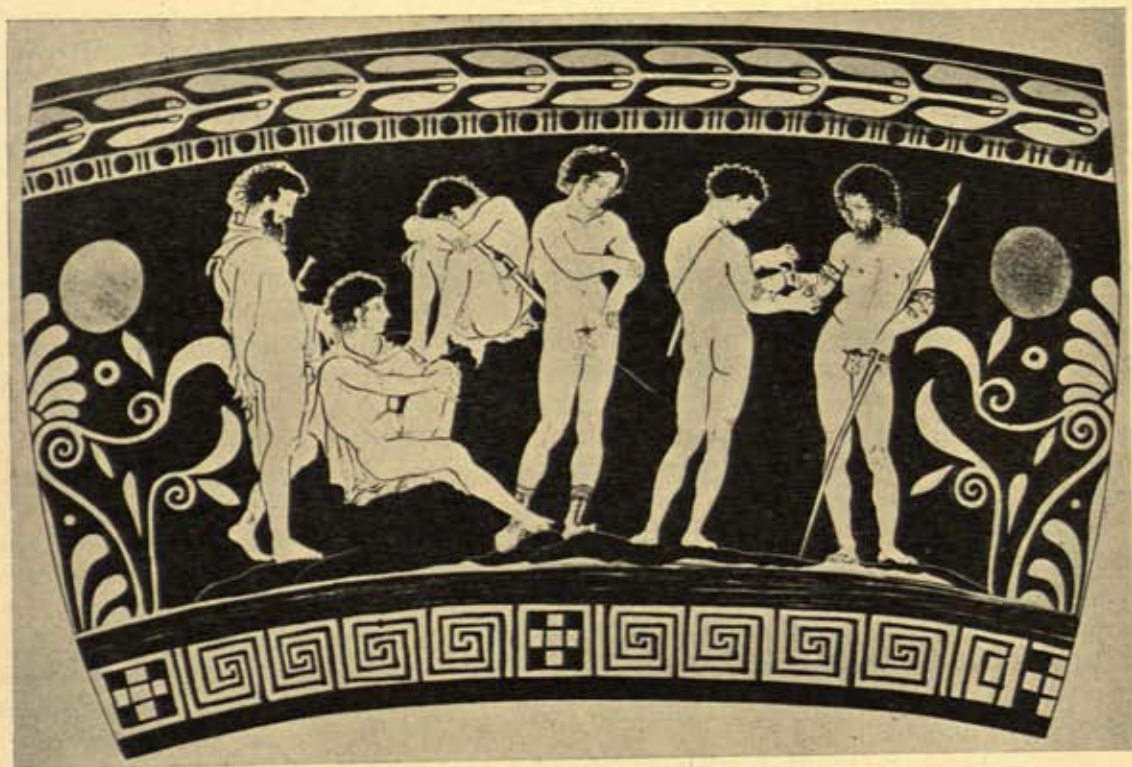


FIG. 1.—(FROM BEAZLEY, *Etruscan Vase Painting*).

[The editors are indebted to the Oxford University Press for the loan of this block.]

inscriptions, we must try to use the situation to understand the figures. This must be possible for a work, which, though neither in technique nor in execution a masterpiece, recalls so strongly and clearly the grand manner of the original.

A certain weariness hangs over all six figures, particularly the three on the left. The youth who sits with his knees drawn up is ἐξ τὰ μάλιστα κατηφής (Pausanias X, 25, 5). Although he does not cover his head in his cloak, he buries his face in his arms. The same position is sought by the Trojan sitting to the right of Athena on the *cista* in London with the sacrifice at Patroclus' pyre,¹⁰ he tries in vain to hide his bowed head, but his hands are tied behind him. The man on the extreme left with one hand behind his back also recalls representations of the sacrifice of the Trojans,¹¹ but he also is unchained. This anxious and troubled company cannot be prisoners of war; some have weapons, none are wounded. There has therefore been no pre-

⁹ FR pl. 175, Beazley, *Etr. Vase Paint.* pl. 9, 1, Buschor, *Kriegertum der Parthenonzeit*, 42 fig. 33.

¹⁰ Walters, *BMC Bronzes* pl. 31, *Jdl* XLV 72 fig. 8.

¹¹ Giglioli, *L'Arte Etr.* pl. 266, 348, 1. *Jdl* XLV, 65 fig. 2,

67 fig. 3-5, 69 fig. 6, 73 fig. 11. Messerschmidt, *Nekropolen von Vulci* (*Jdl* Erg. Heft. 12) 155 fig. 96 pl. 35. De Ruyt, *Charun* figs. 3, 8 and 41.

ceding battle. But Buschor's ¹² latest idea of the morning before a battle is equally impossible. Such low spirits could in fact prevail in an army before a hopeless battle, but such a demoralised band is not immortalised in painting. Nothing suggests arming for war. On the contrary, three swords and a light throwing spear are much too insufficient an armament for six men, even granting that they are naked because they are heroes. Shield, helmet, sword, and spear are the minimum we can demand for hoplites, for light armed troops at least a club. An army so badly equipped would really have urgent need of a talisman; Albizzati first assumed this for his Jason, Watzinger kept it, and now Buschor requires it again for his army on the morning before the battle. But Sir John has justifiably pointed out that we know no such talismans in literature or art. Amulets are seen on Greek monuments as well as others. But in Greece the use of these *περίσμικτα* is the opposite of the use of *armillae* in Central Italy. Children have them very commonly, women fairly often, men very seldom.¹³ They evidently only help against fever, Evil Eye, or other magic but not against cut or thrust. There are invulnerable heroes like Caeneus or Cycnus and heroes who only have one vulnerable spot like Achilles or Ajax; but these do not wear amulets.

But why is a sixth armband being tied round the bearded man on the right, who has five already? The position of the two standing men recalls pictures, on which a wounded man is tied up, such as Sthenelus and Diomedes on the Chalcidian amphora sold with part of the Hope Collection in 1849 in London,¹⁴ or Achilles and Patroclus on the Sosias cup.¹⁵ But this is not a bandaging scene. On Greek pictures there are other bands which have nothing to do with surgery.¹⁶ Victors at the games, who win more than one band, wind them not only round their heads but also round their arms and legs.¹⁷ Once one is actually tied round the middle of the body:¹⁸ the only ancient illustration of the absurd scholion to Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 589, which says that the royal diadem is bound round the body. On a pelike in Florence¹⁹ an older man is tying such a taenia round a youth's arm with just as much care as is used for the armband on our krater. Finishing post and palaestra gear prove that the scene on the pelike is played in the gymnasium.

While the Greeks are satisfied with simple bands, the Central Italians, who cared more for material things, seem to have preferred more lasting prizes. That *armillae* were treasured as things of value is shown by the Tarpeia legend. If we examine the picture of the krater on the assumption that it is an athletic contest, all the problems are solved. Six men have competed against each other. The eldest is left victorious, and has won each time the golden armband of the vanquished as his prize. The group on the left are three earlier unsuccessful competitors. The man with the boots is the last who has dared to contest the claim of the master. He has just had to give up his armband; while his companion ties it, the sixth, on the final victor, he feels sadly his bare left arm and his right hand grasps the place where the ornament used to be. We can say also what kind of a contest it was. At least some part of it was given to spear-throwing, for the winner carries a light akontion, not the heavy military spear. Perhaps the two lines over his left little finger are the *amentum*, tied round it. If we have got so far in the interpretation, we can add a final piece of confirmatory evidence. Watzinger²⁰ has pointed out that three of the men are infibulated. The *κυνοδέσμη* is worn in the palaestra, but not in battle nor when fighting dragons. This removes every doubt about the interpretation of the picture.

Infibulation is found not only in Greece but also in Etruria: the wrestlers and boxers and—significantly—the spear thrower in the *Tomba della Scimmia* in Chiusi²¹ are sufficient as examples. The brutal faces of the athletes on this grave show that on the krater we have no

¹² Buschor, *loc. cit.* 44.

¹³ *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* VIII (1905) Beiheft (Usener-festschr.) p. 1–22 (Wolters). On p. 6 fig. 2 there is no band on the man's ankle; it is the edge of his cloak.

¹⁴ *AZ Anz.* 1849, 100 no. 62. Rumpf, *Chalk. Vas.* pl. 12.

¹⁵ *ARV* 21, 1.

¹⁶ Literature *ÖJh* I, 42 (Jüthner). Passow, *Studien zum Parthenon*, 1 ff.

¹⁷ *ARV* 81, 3; 121, 7; 190, 5; 223, 5; 292, 202; 299, 8; 320, 49; 528, 50; 571, 36.

¹⁸ *ARV* 39, 58.

¹⁹ *ARV* 572, 13.

²⁰ *FR III* p. 351.

²¹ *Mon. Pitt. Ant. Ital.* I, Clusium 1, pll. A, B, 1 p. 11 f. (Bianchi-Bandinelli).

scene from daily life but from the heroic age. Infibulation is found there too as on the *cista* of Novios Plautios and the Etruscan vase which goes back to the same original.²² A similar situation from Greek heroic legend can be quoted, Odysseus' victory over the young Phaeacians. But there the contest is the throwing of the discus, and the sword which Euryalus (*Od.* viii, 400) gives to the victor is an atonement for offence given, not a reward for victory. It is more likely that our picture is an Etruscan story in Greek style. We cannot tell the names, for our literary tradition is too scanty, and there are no inscriptions as for the adventures of the brothers Vipinas.²³ Etruscan legends could be depicted in Greek style.²⁴ Contrariwise, the Etruscans interpolated their deities of the dead into Greek themes as in the case of Alcestis and Admetus,²⁵ the Nekyia²⁶ or the sacrifice of the Trojans. The last in particular shows that it is not necessary for all Etruscan pictures which in style are near the punishment of Amykos to derive from the Argonaut story.

A word more about armbands as a prize for victory. We, like the Greeks, find something unmanly and unsoldierly in a hero who has several armbands on both arms. That is not the view of the ancient inhabitants of Central Italy. The Roman soldiers received *armillae* as a decoration; they were always given in pairs and therefore worn on both arms.²⁷ On monuments of imperial times, as on the famous funeral monument of Caelius from Vetera,²⁸ they are, it is true, given another form. But the golden and silver armbands which L. Papirius Cursor gave to his troops in 293 B.C. after the capture of Aquilonia (*Livy* X, 44) may very well have had the form of our rings with *bullae*. And, in fact, on a Praenestine *cista* in Berlin,²⁹ which represents a triumph and may be no later than the generation of L. Papirius Cursor, the *liticen* wears arm-rings of this form. In any case the Roman *dona militaria* were not talismans put on before the battle but decorations given after victory.

They are decorations for service in war, not for success in sporting contests. There is, however, also a text for that. In the *Scriptores historiae Augustae* Julius Capitolinus writes in the life of Maximinus 2, 4: '*natali Getae, filii minoris, Severus militares dabat ludos propositis praemiis argenteis, id est armillis, torquibus et balteolis*'. The young Maximinus enters himself. As he is not a soldier, he can only compete with the baggage-carriers: '*tunc Maximinus sedecim lixas uno sudore devicit sedecim acceptis praemiis minusculis non militaribus iussusque militare*'. If he had been in the army already, he would have won the military prizes. The situation corresponds exactly with that on our vase picture. The passage is late but we have been able to trace the family tree of the *dona militaria* to the time of the Republic. May that not also be possible for the *praemia*? The krater in Florence seems to suggest this.

A. RUMPF.

²² Beazley, *Etr. Vase Paint.* pl. 14, 1.

²³ *Jdl* XII, 57 (Gustav Körte) XIV, 43 (Petersen).

²⁴ *Jdl* XII, 70, XIV, 46. Messerschmidt, *Nekrop. von Vulci*, 141 fig. 45 pll. 14-24.

²⁵ De Ruyt, *Charun* fig. 16. Beazley, *Etr. Vase Paint.* p. 133, 1.

²⁶ De Ruyt, *Charun* figs. 2, 5. *Jdl* XLV 84 fig. 24. Weege, *Etr. Mal.* 29 fig. 25. pl. 63; Giglioli, *L'Arte Etr.* pl.

248; Swindler, *Anc. Paint.* fig. 417.

²⁷ *RE* II 1189 (Domaszewski).

²⁸ Friederichs-Wolters no. 1814; Baumeister, *Denkm.* III p. 2050 fig. 2263; Lehner, *Röm. Skulpt. Bonn* pl. 1; Lehner, *Führer* pl. 23; Winter, *Kunstg. in Bild.* 405, 1; *Germania Romana* pl. 28, 5; *III* pl. 1, 2; Reinach, *Rép. Rel.* II 52, 3.

²⁹ Berlin Antiquarium 6238, *Führer Bronzen* 93, *WV. E* pll. 9-10, Nachod, *Rennwagen* 76, 90, Giglioli, *loc. cit.* pl. 294.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES FROM THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

It is a privilege to be allowed to take a part, however humble, in the chorus of heartfelt congratulation, sincere admiration and affectionate good wishes which will greet Professor Sir John Beazley on the occasion of his sixty-sixth birthday. Among my proudest memories is the fact that, during the tenure of my Readership in Greek Epigraphy, my duties were 'to lecture or give instruction . . . under the direction of the Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art', and I owe much to his inspiration, his example and his friendship. Nor will it, I hope, be inappropriate if I here offer to him notes on some inscriptions presented to the University of Oxford and housed and exhibited in the Ashmolean Museum, with which the thought of Beazley, the gracious *genius loci*, is for me, as for many others, inseparably associated. I shall say nothing of the interesting group of Greek inscriptions in Pusey House,¹ nor of the large collection of Latin inscriptions in the Ashmolean, and shall, in the interests of brevity, confine myself in the present article to the Greek inscriptions which were in the possession of the University in 1763, leaving to a future occasion some remarks on the considerable accessions made since that date.

The history of the collection has already been told ² more than once and need not here be repeated in any detail. Its foundation dates, for practical purposes, in 1667, when Henry Howard (1628-84), sixth Duke of Norfolk, presented to the University all that remained in his possession of the ancient marbles acquired by his grandfather, Thomas Howard (1586-1646), second Earl of Arundel and Surrey, but sadly damaged and depleted during the Civil War and the Protectorate, when Arundel House was unoccupied by its royalist owners and irreparable harm was done to its contents. Fortunately John Selden and other scholars had paid close attention to some of the inscriptions on their first arrival in this country in 1627, and in the following year he published a selection of twenty-nine Greek and ten Latin inscriptions from Lord Howard's collection.³ In 1676 Humphrey Prideaux (1648-1724) published, at the instigation of Dr. John Fell, the first complete edition of the Oxford marbles as such.⁴ This was followed in 1732 by the voluminous compilation ⁵ of Michael Maittaire (1668-1747), like Prideaux a member of Christ Church, which contains the texts of the inscriptions (though Maittaire thought it superfluous to collate them afresh) together with a mass of notes and comments, chiefly on the Parian Marble, by Selden, Price, Lydiat, Reinesius, Spon, Chishull, Maffei, Bentley, Dodwell and other scholars. On a much higher level of accuracy and scholarship was the sumptuous work,⁶ published at Oxford in 1763, of Richard Chandler (1738-1810), Demy and later Fellow of Magdalen College, who travelled for the Society of Dilettanti in Asia Minor and Greece. In this he edited anew all the ancient marbles, sculptured or inscribed, at that time in the possession of the University, with illustrations of a considerable number of them. The book is divided into three parts, of which the first deals with 167 uninscribed marbles, the second with ten inscriptions in Egyptian, Cyprian and Palmyrene and ninety in Greek, and the third with 145 in Latin and other languages. Despite its excellence, Chandler's work suffered from two serious drawbacks; it was expensive and it was heavy and unwieldy. This led William Roberts, of Corpus Christi College, to issue in 1791 a cheap and portable volume, without illustrations or 'epigraphical' copies, devoted exclusively to the Greek

¹ Published by T. B. L. Webster, *JRS* XIX. 150/2; cf. L. Robert, *REJuives*, CII. 121.

² See, e.g., A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 538/40, W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik* ², 19, S. Chabert, *Histoire sommaire des études d'épigraphie grecque*, 33.

³ *Marmora Arundelliana; sive saxa Graeca incisa, ex venerandis praeae Orientis gloriae rudimentis . . . publicavit et commentariolos adiecit Joannes Seldenus J. C.*, London, 1628. Larfeld's description of the jurist and scholar John Selden (1584-1654) as Archbishop of Canterbury (*Griech. Epigraphik* ², 19) is mistaken and probably rests upon a confusion with another eminent seventeenth-century benefactor of

Oxford University, Gilbert Sheldon (1598-1677), who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1663 to 1677.

⁴ *Marmora Oxoniensia, Ex Arundellianis, Seldenianis, aliisque conflata, Recensuit et Perpetuo Commentario explicavit, Humphridus Prideaux Aedis Christi Alumna*, Oxford, 1676. This work incorporates a number of comments by John Selden and by Thomas Lydiat, the chronologer.

⁵ *Marmorum, Arundellianorum, Seldenianorum, aliorumque, Academiae Oxoniensi donatorum; Cum Variis Commentariis & Indice, secunda editio*, London, 1732.

⁶ *Marmora Oxoniensia*, Oxford, 1763.

inscriptions in the collection; this reproduces in a shortened form the contents of the corresponding section of Chandler's edition and comprises an introduction, inventory, texts, Latin translations and a full index.⁷

A new era in epigraphical study was reached when, in 1815, the Berlin Academy undertook the publication of a comprehensive *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*; August Böckh, a scholar of extraordinary ability and boundless energy, was appointed as editor, and B. G. Niebuhr, F. Schleiermacher, P. Buttmann and I. Bekker were chosen to assist him in his task. The first instalment of the *CIG* appeared in 1825, and the work, in four large folio volumes, was completed in 1877, ten years after Böckh's death. In this *Corpus* all the Greek inscriptions published by Chandler naturally found their places, and it may be of interest to tabulate the concordance between Chandler's numeration and that of the *CIG*, indicating the provenance of each inscription and the donor who presented it to the University. I follow here the order of the *CIG* rather than that of Chandler, so observing the geographical arrangement according to the provenance of each text. The donors are indicated as follows:

A = Arundel marble, presented in 1667 by Lord Henry Howard (see above).

D = inscription acquired by Dr. James Dawkins (1722-57), archaeologist and traveller, of St. John's College, and presented after his death by his brother, Henry Dawkins.

P = presented by Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret (d. 1761), letter-writer.

R = presented by Dr. Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755), topographer and nonjuring bishop, of St. John's College.

S = presented by John Selden (see above).

V = 'olim apud D. Vernon in aedibus suis non procul a *Camalodūno* in Comitatu *Essexiensi*', presumably acquired by Francis Vernon (1637?-77), traveller, of Christ Church.⁸

W = presented by Sir George Wheler (1650-1723), traveller and collector, of Lincoln College.

TABLE OF CONCORDANCE

<i>CIG</i>	Chandler	Donor	Provenance	<i>CIG</i>	Chandler	Donor	Provenance	<i>CIG</i>	Chandler	Donor	Provenance
87	xxiv	D	Attica	2864	xvi	D	Miletus	3307	lxxix	V	Smyrna
265	lv	W	"	3087	xxxiii	D	Teos	3333	lxxi	S	"
266	lvi	W	"	3098	lxix	D	"	3343	xciv	A	"
270	liv	W	"	3099	c	D	"	3351	lxxvii	A	"
271	lvii	A	"	3110	lxxxvii	D	"	3357	lxxv	"	"
273	liii	W	"	3112	lxxxvi	D	"	3360	lxxviii	S	" ?
275	lii	W	"	3114	xcix	D	"	3391	lxxviii	A	" ?
405	lxxii	D	"	3117	lxxxviii	D	"	3413	xliv	D	Phocaea
427	lxi	D	"	3121	xcviii	D	"	3642	xlvi	D	Lampsacus
523	xxi	D	"	3137	xxvi	A	Smyrna	3643	xl	D	"
800	lxiii	W	"	3142	l	A	"	3683	xiv	D	Cyzicus
825	xciii	W	"	3143	li	A	"	3695	xv	D	"
929	lxii	W	"	3148	xlvi	A	"	4183	lxxxiii	W	Uncertain
989	lx	D	"	3162	xx	A	"	4503	xi	D	Palmyra
1052	xxviii	D	Megara	3170	xlvi	A	"	6197	lxx	A	Rome
1567	xxix.1	D	Chaleum	3191	xxxvii	A	"	6485	lxxxv	A	"
1594	xxix.3	D	"	3193	xxxviii	A	"	6520	xcvii	A	"
1607	xxix.2	D	"	3199	xl	R	"	6818	xxxii	D	Uncertain
1692	xxx	W	Delphi	3202	xxxv	A	"	6841	xiii	P	"
2254	xxv	D	Samos	3204	xxxvi	V	"	6843	xviii	D	"
2256	xxx	D	"	3208	xxxiv	A	"	6868	xix	A	"
2266	xl	A	Delos	3212	lviii	S	"	6881	lxxx	D	"
2275	xli	A	"	3219	xc	S	"	6893	xc	D	"
2285	xl	A	"	3225	xxxix.1	A	"	6901	lxxxiv	A	"
2287	xl	A	"	3254	lxxxix	A	"	6914	lxiv	A	"
2374	xxiii	A	Paros	3261	lxxxii	A	"	6915	lxv	W	"
2556	xxvii	A	Crete	3262	xcii	S	"	6962	lxvi	P	"
2690	lxxiii	D	Iasus	3270	xcvi	A	"	6975	lxvii	A	"
2750	xii	D	Aphrodisias	3282	lxxiv	A	"	7023	lix	D	"
2860	xxii	A	Miletus	3288	lxxvi	"	"	8855	xxxix.2	A	Smyrna
2863	xvii	D	"	3304	lxxx	A	"	5810	xcv	R	Rome

⁷ *Marmorum Oxoniensium Inscriptiones Graecae ad Chandleri exemplar editae*, Oxford, 1791 (reissued without change, 1887).

⁸ For Vernon's diary, which contains a large amount of epigraphical material, see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVI.

58/62, and Suppl. VIII. 213/27.

⁹ The donor of *CIG* 3288 was William Dennington, barrister-at-law, of *CIG* 3357 Sir Andrew Riccard, Alderman of London.

To the foregoing list we may add *CIG* 6894, an Arundel marble of uncertain provenance, omitted by Roberts because it occurs in Chandler's work among the Latin inscriptions, as being a bilingual epitaph in which the Latin text precedes the Greek.¹⁰

Some misunderstanding has been caused by the fact that both Prideaux (pp. 287/307) and Maittaire (pp. 53/62, 90/98) added to their editions of the Oxford marbles an 'Appendix ad marmora Oxoniensia', in which a number of Greek inscriptions (34 in Prideaux, 29 in Maittaire) were published with transcripts and Latin translations. It has sometimes been assumed, not unnaturally and yet mistakenly, that all these also are in Oxford, whereas in reality only one, *CIG* 6841, has ever been there (Prideaux, App. no. II, Maittaire, App. no. CLII, Chandler, XIII). Thus, e.g., *CIG* 2953b, 3091, 3151, 3174 are described in *CIG* as 'lapis Oxoniensis' or 'marmor Oxoniense', and T. Homolle discussed the first of these as a 'marbre d'Oxford' (*BCH* II. 333/44; cf. the lemma of *IG* XI. 631).

The inscriptions are drawn from a wide, though limited, field—Attica, Central Greece, the islands of Delos, Paros, Samos, and Crete, Asia Minor, Palmyra, and Rome; but the Peloponnese, Boeotia, Northern Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Syria, North Africa, and the western European provinces of the Roman Empire are not represented. One of the documents assigned by Böckh to Miletus (*CIG* 2860) has been shown to be Delian in origin (*Inscr. Délos*, 1425), and the provenance of a number of the stones remains uncertain. In subject-matter also the collection shows considerable variety, containing at least one representative of most of the principal classes of inscriptions—decrees, treaties, royal letters, honorary inscriptions, subscription-lists, ephebic and agonistic records, sacrificial calendars, inventories, dedications, emancipations, contracts, deeds of gift, epitaphs—while the Parian Marble, its most interesting member, may almost be said to constitute a class of its own. The five epigrams included are all re-edited in G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, nos. 114, 241, 554, 866, 956. No archaic or fifth-century inscription is included in the collection; the earliest is the Attic decree (*CIG* 87 = *IG* II². 141) in honour of the Sidonian King Strato, passed shortly before the middle of the fourth century B.C. (see below).

Before the completion of the *CIG*, the rapid influx of new inscriptions, due to intensive travel and excavation, had rendered its earlier volumes almost obsolete. Wisely rejecting the alternative suggestion of a series of supplementary volumes, the Berlin Academy resolved to start the undertaking *de novo*, but to confine it to Europe. A number of separate *corpora* were planned and to some extent published—*Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Peloponnesi et insularum vicinarum*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae Septentrionalis*, etc.—but happily in 1906 these were combined under the single and convenient title of *Inscriptiones Graecae* (*IG*). Of this great work a large proportion has already been published, some of it (notably the Attic volumes) in a second edition, and other portions are in preparation, while others again have been undertaken independently of the Berlin Academy, under French (Delphi, Delos) or Italian (Crete) auspices. Thus almost all of the Oxford inscriptions of European provenance are now to be found in *IG*, *Inscriptiones de Délos* or *Inscriptiones Creticae*. These are shown on the opposite page.

To these editions of Oxford inscriptions in *IG*, with their full bibliographies and carefully verified texts, there is little which need be added; but on a few of them I comment briefly.

IG II². 141, the honorary decree for Strato of Sidon, has recently been republished, with some additional bibliographical references and a historical commentary, in my *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 139. An excellent photograph of the stone appears in R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style*, pl. 11. For Cephisodotus, mover of the decree, see E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VIII. 11.

The famous Attic sacrificial calendar, *IG* II². 1367, is discussed briefly by P. Stengel, *Hermes*, LVII, 548/9, and in detail by P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, 148/58 (with photograph,

¹⁰ The lemma of *CIG* 6894 is misleading, for 'inter marm. Oxon. II, xli' would naturally be understood as referring to Chandler's *Marmora Oxoniensia*; the inscription

is in fact found in Prideaux, p. 286, no. CL, in Maittaire, pp. 33, 89, no. XLI, and in Chandler, Pt. III, plate I, no. VII.

fig. 6), who claims it as Hadrianic. S. Dow deals with ll. 4/6 in his article on 'The Egyptian Cults in Athens' (*Harv. Theol. Rev.* XXX. 224/5). For a photograph see also P. Graindor, *Album*, pl. xxxv.

Of the ephebic documents IG II². 1967, 1973, 2037, 2130 (Oxford fragment) photographs will be found in P. Graindor, *Album d'inscriptions attiques*, pll. xii, xv, xxxiv and lxxv. Photographs of 1973 and 2130 (Athens fragments) are included in Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*², 30 no. 124 with pl. 46, 32/3 no. 140 with pl. 50, and of the latter also in J. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, 617, 253 no. 1470 with pl. cx.—S. Dow comments on 1973.8/10 in *Hesperia*, III. 169, and J. A. Notopoulos assigns the list to A.D. 50/1–52/3 in *Hesperia*, XVIII. 25/6, 53.—For the form εὐφηβος, used in 2037.1, see A. Wilhelm, *Wien. Stud.* LVI. 87.—Notopoulos dates 2104 in A.D. 171/2 (*op. cit.* 28/9, 53), and M. Crosby comments on the name Φιλοφίτος in l. 8 (*Hesperia*, X. 21).—Of 2130 one large fragment, from the right-hand half of the stone, is in Oxford, while twenty-eight fragments are assembled in Athens. Notopoulos restores (*op. cit.* 45) l. 36 (in the Athenian portion), and J. P. Shear discusses, in connexion with a group of coins, the κύθροι of l. 69 (*Hesperia*, V. 313/4).

For IG II². 3765, on a headless herm, see A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 584 no. 178, and J. H. Oliver's publication of an inscription from the 'Valerian Wall' honouring the same youth (*Hesperia*, IV. 64/5).

TABLE OF CONCORDANCE

IG	CIG	IG	CIG	IG, etc.	CIG
IG II ² . 141	87	IG II ² . 7807	800	IG XIV. 1336	6485
1367	523	8151	825	1750	6197
1967	265	10996	929	1966	6520
1973	266	13194	989	Inscr. Délos. 502	2266
2037	270	VII. 11	1052	1425	2860
2104	273	IX (1). 330	1567	1527	2285
2130	275	331	1607	1662	2287
3012	271	332	1594	Inscr. Cret. III. iii. 4	2556
3674	405	XI. 1074	2275		
3765	427	XII (5). 444	2374		

The four Attic epitaphs find their several places in the concluding section of IG II², finished by Kirchner very shortly before his death; to 8151 we may add Michaelis, *op. cit.*, 575 no. 141, and to 13194 Michaelis, *op. cit.*, 583/4 no. 177. Of CIG 6915, an epitaph of uncertain origin, the editor remarks 'videtur Atticum esse', but it has not been admitted to IG II².

IG VII. 11 is a member of a large group of Megarian honorary decrees passed within a few years of each other. M. Feyel, *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie*, 85/93, argues in favour of assigning them to 239–229 B.C. rather than, as has hitherto been done by all scholars, to 307–285 B.C., seeing in the 'King Demetrius' named in them not Poliorcetes but Demetrius II.

Of the Delian inscriptions the most interesting is *Inscr. Délos*, 502, dated in 297 B.C. It served among the materials for P. H. Davis's article on 'The Delian Building Contracts' in *BCH* LXI. 109/35, where its text¹¹ was the object of special study on pp. 120/25; more recently M. Feyel has given a new restoration of ll. 8/12, which for the first time renders that passage intelligible (*REA* XLIII. 158/62).—IG XI. 1074, honouring Laodice, daughter of Seleucus IV and wife of Perseus of Macedon, has been re-edited in *SIG³* 639 and in F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, no. 70.—To Delos I would also confidently assign a dedication on a marble seat of unrecorded provenance, appearing in CIG 6841 among the 'inscriptiones incertorum locorum'. At one time among the Arundel marbles, it passed into the possession of the Countess of Pomfret, who gave it to the University. The comment in CIG runs thus:

¹¹ Davis was not quite accurate in describing it (p. 120) as 'first published by August Boeckh as CIG 2266'. Prideaux remarked 'Marmor in utroque latere inscriptiones habet, sed in neutro ob vetustatem legendas' (p. 276

no. cxi; cf. Maittaire, p. 504 no. cxlviii); but S. Maffei while in Oxford attempted to read the inscription on the face of the stone and published the result in *Museum Veronense*, 441. Chandler was more successful in *Marm. Oxon.*, no. xlix.

'Smyrnae Nixonus vindicabat titulum parum probabiliter ob Dorismum. Ne Delo quidem tribuerim, etsi titulis Deliacis similiorem.' But since those words were written our knowledge of Delian inscriptions has immensely increased in consequence of the fruitful excavation of the island by French archaeologists, and no one can, I think, examine the epigraphical section of P. Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos*, or the dedications to the Egyptian gods collected in *IG XI*. 1215/72 (before 166 B.C.) and *Inscr. Délos*, 2047/74 (after 166) without being convinced that *CIG* 6841 should take its place among them. Very often among the Delian examples 'the priest' (of Sarapis) appears as the dedicant or in some other capacity; the word *χαριστήριον* recurs constantly (with *εὐχή* as a rare alternative) to describe the gift; moreover, the Delian Sarapiea *A* and *B* have yielded a considerable number of inscribed marble seats (*IG XI*. 1216/22, 1240, 1243, 1268/9).¹² It may be objected that in the Delian Sarapiea dedications are normally made to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis (with the occasional addition of Harpocrates), while of the Ashmolean seat the recipients are Isis, Osiris and Anubis. But this objection is not, I think, fatal, for gifts are offered to various deities singly or in pairs or triads, e.g. *Βασιλεὺς Ὀσεῖρις* in *IG XI*. 1248, Osiris in *Inscr. Délos*, 2052, Osiris and Isis in *IG XI*. 1233, Anubis in *Inscr. Délos*, 2043, and Roussel has pointed out (p. 279) that Osiris is one of the *σύνναοι θεοί* in Sarapiea *A*, *B* and *C*, and that Osiris was occasionally confused with Sarapis (pp. 90, 112). The seat is described by Michaelis, *op. cit.* 561 no. 87.—I am not satisfied with the accepted text of *Inscr. Délos*, 1527.1. The stone has been damaged at the top left-hand corner since it was edited as complete by Prideaux (150/3 no. cxviii; cf. Maittaire, 25, 87, 478/81 no. xxvi). Chandler (no. xlii) read nothing in l. 1 before ON or in l. 2 before ΩΣ, and his copy shows one letter missing at the beginnings of ll. 3, 5, 6; traces are, however, still visible of E before ΩΣ in l. 2 and of the initial P of l. 6. In l. 5 one letter only is lost before YKIOΣ, and I should retain Λύκιος for the Latin Lucius (as in *CIG* 4716, 5942) rather than write Λ(ε)ύκιος. In l. 1 Prideaux gives MAPKON (accepted by Chandler, Letronne and Strack), but Böckh (*CIG* 2285), followed among others by Dittenberger (*OGI* 133), Durrbach (*Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, 106) and Roussel (*Inscr. Délos*, 1527), restored [Πολέ]μαρχον. I should accept Μάρκον (though the normal spelling at this time is Μάαρκον) were it not that the letter preceding ON seems to me (and to Miss L. H. Jeffery, who examined the stone with me) to be X rather than K. But Πολέμαρχον could hardly have been crowded into the available space, and I prefer [Δή]μαρχον or [Τί]μαρχον. In *Inscr. Délos*, 1534 (where Ἀθηναῖος is a misprint for Ἀθηναῖον) we meet a Σίμαλος Τιμάρχου Σαλαμίνιος.

Of the Parian Marble, *IG XII* (5). 444, I need only say that bibliography and text have been brought up to date in *IG XII Suppl.*, p. 110, to which I would add Laqueur's interesting article in *RE XIV*. 1885/97 and my own brief account in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 539. In my *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 205, I re-edit that portion of the chronicle which relates to the years 400–323 B.C.

The sole representative of Crete is the early second-century treaty between Hierapytna and Priansus (*CIG* 2556), re-edited in 1942 by M. Guarducci in *Inscr. Cret.* III. iii. 4, with a full bibliography and commentary; add D. Levi, *Riv. Fil.* LIII. 214, H. van Effenterre, *La Crète et le monde grec*, 142/5, 156, 301.

Of the three Roman epitaphs two, *IG XIV*. 1750 and 1966, recur in *IGR I*. 282 and 338; the former is described by Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 580 no. 155, and represented by a photograph in F. Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, fig. 41 (opp. p. 65). *CIG* 9810, once in Rome, is not in *IG XIV*.

I pass finally to inscriptions which have not appeared in *IG* or cognate works, either because they lie outside their scope or because the volumes in which they will find their places are not yet published.

A greatly improved text of the Delphian proxeny-record *CIG* 1692 will be found in *SGDI* 2674; its date falls between 320 and 306 B.C. (G. Daux, *Chronologie Delphique*, 18 no. D7).

CIG 2254, a letter of Lysimachus to Samos reporting his arbitration between that state and

¹² See Roussel, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 29, 33, 36, 285 n. 6.

Priene, has been collated and re-edited by C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, 46/51 no. 7;¹³ to the bibliography we may add V. Bérard, *De arbitrio inter liberas Graecorum civitates*, 55/7, and M. N. Tod, *Sidelights on Greek History*, 53/6.

CIG 2750, found near Aphrodisias, is described by Michaelis, *op. cit.*, 586 no. 201. Of the eight inscriptions of Teos, all presented by Dawkins, 3098 and 3112 are examined by J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI. 18 n. 14, as affording evidence for the Tean γερουσία.¹⁴

The twenty-nine stones from Smyrna, most of them acquired there by W. Petty for Lord Thomas Howard, form the largest local group of the collection. Six of them are described by Michaelis, *op. cit.* (CIG 3212 = Michaelis, 573/4 no. 136; 3219 = 578 no. 149; 3254 = 587/8 no. 204; 3262 = 578/9 no. 150; 3333 = 577 no. 147;¹⁵ 3360 = 579 no. 152), and seven appear in IGR IV (CIG 3148 = IGR 1431; 3170 = 1436; 3191 = 1424; 3202 = 1420; 3204 = 1421; 3208 = 1432; 3357 = 1474). A full account of Smyrna's history and institutions down to A.D. 324 is given in C. J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna*, where the epigraphical evidence is fully utilised.—Of outstanding interest is CIG 3137, a treaty, probably of 244 B.C., republished in OGI 229. Cadoux gives a translation and commentary, *op. cit.* 118/27 (see especially 127 n. 1), 184/5; A. Wilhelm uses it for dating SIG³ 953 (*Anz. Wien*, 1924, 139); R. Laqueur offers an ingenious analysis of the document in *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, 110/15; L. Robert quotes II. 6/12 in a discussion of the Delphic Soteria (*BCH LIV*. 328/9), cites l. 85 in his treatment of Panta and the Panteenses (*Villes d'Asie Mineure*, 86/9), and identifies the Alexander of l. 101 (*REA XXXVI*. 525), and F. W. Walbank cites l. 11 for the third-century δυνάσται (*JHS LXII*. 9/10). Cf. also W. Ruppel, *Philol LXXXII*. 295/7, M. Rostovtzeff, *REA XXXIII*. 18.—For CIG 3148 see L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, 526, for 3208.10 *op. cit.* 68; 3191 is re-edited in OGI 514.—3212 is briefly described (with a photograph) by A. J. Evans in *JHS XLI*. 257/8, and more fully in *Gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*, 206/7 no. 234, by L. Robert, who also comments (*Études anatoliennes*, 203 n. 5) on W. H. Buckler's new edition, accompanied by a photograph, of 3304 (*JHS LIV*. 75/7).—CIG 8855 is found in H. Grégoire's *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie mineure*, no. 74.

Of the five inscriptions from Cyzicus, Lampsacus and Phocaea, all presented by Dawkins, CIG 3413 (Phocaea) and 3642 (Lampsacus) reappear in IGR IV. 1322 and 180¹⁶; 3683 (Cyzicus) is described by Michaelis, *op. cit.* 592 no. 236, and occurs in the epigraphical list of F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 279 no. 66. With 3695, also from Cyzicus, I have recently dealt in *AJP LXX*. 114/5.

The bilingual dedication (CIG 4503 = Le Bas-Wadd. 2571b) brought by James Dawkins from Palmyra, dated 24 January, A.D. 233, is published in *CISem II*. iii. 4031.

Finally, there is a group of twelve inscriptions (to which CIG 4183, there assigned to Pontus, must be added) of unknown provenance. Seven of these are described by Michaelis, *op. cit.* (CIG 6841 = Michaelis, 561 no. 87; 6893 = 589 no. 211; 6914 = 579/80 no. 154; 6915 = 579 no. 153; 6962 = 562/3 no. 91; 6975 = 575/6 no. 143; 7023 = 591 no. 221). CIG 6818 may belong to Teos, 6841 I have above assigned to Delos, 6915 may well be Attic.—In the lemma of 6868, 'Maittair. n. 504' should read 'Maittair. p. 504 n. cl.'—For 6975 see E. Pfuhl, *Jdl XX*. 127 no. 11.—In 7023 Chandler's text is repeated, but no reference is made to the additional line EIMI . . . T shown in Chandler, Part II, pl. VIII no. lix.

MARCUS N. TOD.

¹³ Welles notes (*op. cit.* 46 n. 1) 'I have been unable to learn the date of this discovery or to identify "Mr. Wood".' I quote the relevant facts from *The Concise Dictionary of National Biography*. 'WOOD, ROBERT (1717?–1771), traveller and politician; travelled in France, Italy, Western Europe, and Asia Minor, with John Bouverie and James Dawkins; published 'Ruins of Palmyra', 1753, and 'Ruins of Balbec', 1757; member of Society of Dilettanti, 1763.' 'DAWKINS, JAMES (1722–1757), archaeologist and Jacobite; born in Jamaica; educated at St. John's College, Oxford; D.C.L., 1749; travelled on continent; assisted James Stuart (1713–1788) and Nicholas Revett in taking measurements of Greek architecture at Athens;

visited with Robert Wood ruins of Palmyra and Baalbec 1751.'

¹⁴ In CIG 3087.5 I cannot accept Böckh's [τοῖς αἰ]οῖς, for ΛΕΟΙΣ is quite clear and the preceding letter seems to be K, as read by Chandler. I suggest a double festival, ἐν τοῖς ἑρμαιοῖς [Ἡρα]κλειοῖς (for Ἡράκλεια at Teos see SIG³ 38.33).

¹⁵ On CIG 3333 Kaibel (*Epigrammata Graeca*, 241) notes 'II vel I a. Chr. n. saeculum produnt litterae ΠΚ, unde falso tradita est ω forma'. But this form of omega is used throughout the inscription, for the script of which see Michaelis, *loc. cit.*, where the monument is assigned to the first century B.C.

¹⁶ CIG 3642 = Ehrenberg-Jones, *Documents*, 129.

ATTIC VASES IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND¹

[PLATES XXXIX–XLI]

A GROWING interest in the study of archaeology has led in recent years to very substantial developments in the several collections of antiquities in Australia and New Zealand. Pottery has perhaps made the greatest contribution to this expansion, and the total amount of available material here has reached a point at which definitive publication in the *Corpus Vasorum* has become well worth while. Provision for this has already been made, but in the meantime it seemed to me that some account of the Attic vases in this part of the world might be of service and interest to scholars, since our collections by reason of their remoteness are not well known, although they contain several distinguished pieces, including a few which have been lost to sight for some time. For the sake of brevity, and because they are likely to be of wider interest, I confine myself here to Attic black-figure, red-figure and white-ground.

The main Australian collection of Greek vases is housed in the Nicholson Museum at the University of Sydney. The nucleus of this collection was acquired, some 90 years ago, by Sir Charles Nicholson, Chancellor of Sydney University from 1854 to 1862, during his travels in Italy and was catalogued by Miss Louisa Macdonald in 1898. Considerable additions have since been made by gift or purchase, as may be seen from a comparison between the vases listed by Miss Macdonald and those mentioned in the second edition of the *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum*, published fifty years later.

The Australian Institute of Archaeology in Melbourne has a fine collection of pottery, but it is mostly prehistoric or Cypriot and does not fall within the scope of this article. Melbourne, however, has two other smaller collections—one, in the National Gallery, consisting largely of vases acquired by the late Professor Talbot-Tubbs during his travels in Greece and Italy, but with nothing of great significance; the other, in the Classics Department of the University, comprising some twenty representative specimens of Greek pottery purchased as a memorial to John Hugh Sutton, who was killed in the first world war. Some of the better vases from the National Gallery have now been deposited on loan with the University to make their collection more representative for teaching purposes.

In New Zealand the most important collection is that of the Otago Museum, Dunedin. Until recently it contained comparatively few Greek vases, but in 1948 a generous gift enabled it to acquire the collection of Professor A. B. Cook of Cambridge as a memorial to the late Willi Fels, who during his lifetime had been one of the Museum's chief supporters and benefactors. The gift also included a number of pieces of Greek sculpture formerly owned by Professor A. B. Cook, including the magnificent head which he believed to come from one of the Parthenon metopes (E 48. 218; *JHS* 1941, 6 ff.; Seltman and Chittenden, *Greek Art*, no. 156, pl. 37).

There are also a few Greek vases in each of the other main cities of New Zealand—at Christchurch, in the Canterbury Museum and in Canterbury University College, at Wellington in the Dominion Museum,² and at Auckland in the War Memorial Museum.

With the exception of those in Sydney, few of the vases have been catalogued or published. Philippart in his *Collections de Céramique grecque en Angleterre* (*Antiquité Classique* IV, 210–11)

¹ For facilities to study the vases in their respective collections and permission to publish them, I am deeply grateful to Professor C. A. Scutt (Melbourne University), Daryl Lindsay (National Gallery, Melbourne), Dr. H. D. Skinner (Otago Museum), Dr. R. A. Falla, Miss M. K. Steven (Christchurch), and Dr. G. Archey (Auckland); for help in many ways to Dr. H. K. Hunt of Melbourne University and Professor G. R. Manton of the University of Otago; and for a grant to enable me to travel to New Zealand, to the Research Committee of Sydney University. Much of the credit for the Nicholson Museum's recent

acquisitions is due to Mrs. Oakeshott, who has also supplied most helpful details and information about them. Lastly I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Sir John Beazley for his never-failing kindness to me over many years and particularly for his help and advice with the attributions of many of the vases here listed.

² Miss Denise Dettmann of Victoria University College, Wellington, informs me that she will soon be returning there with a small teaching collection of Greek pottery, including a large number of fragments. One b.f. lekythos is included here; the rest will appear in due course in the *CV*.

gives a summary glance at the A. B. Cook vase-collection, now in Dunedin, and new acquisitions there have been from time to time published in the *Annual Report of the Association of Friends of the Museum*.³ The lists which follow include all the vases in the different groups here known to me: there may be a few minor pieces in private hands which have escaped my notice, but not, I think, very many.

I. Attic Black-figure

The early stages of b.f. are represented only by a horse-head amphora in Sydney:

1. Sydney 30 (R 713).⁴ A and B. Horsehead in panel. A. NMH², 273, fig. 58b.

Next comes an ovoid neck-amphora of the Sakonides-Lydos Group:

2. Sydney 13 (R 715). A. Bearded man watching two galloping horsemen. B. Two panthers. A. NMH², 273, fig. 58a; B. Pl. XXXIXa.

The subject of the reverse associates our vase with Athens 902 (Rumpf, *Sakonides* no. 60, pl. 27c, d) and an amphora in the Kent Collection at Harrogate (Charlton, *AJA* 1944, 254, figs. 4-5), though the drawing is less precise and a rather formless floral has been substituted for the swan. Nearer still is Würzburg 169 (Langlotz, *Gr. Vasen in W.* pl. 30) which bears the same graffito K below the design and a similar pattern upon the neck. The Sydney vase leads on to a consideration of the *Kleinmeister* cups, since our best example (Sydney 39) has already been assigned by Beazley to the hand of Sakonides.

Lip Cups

3. Sydney 39 (R 740). A. and B. Head of girl. A. NMH², pl. 5a; detail, *JHS* 1939, 282.
4. Dunedin E 39. 106. I. Rider. A. and B. Plain. *Annual Report*, 1939-40, p. 2.
5. Canterbury University College 1. I. Amazonomachy. A. and B. Plain. From the Fitzwilliam Sale, Christie's Cat. 15 July, 1948, no. 15, 1. Repainted.

Band Cups

6. Sydney 48. 256. Fig. 1. A. Horse between two lions. B. Ram between two panthers. From the Fitzwilliam Sale, Christie's Cat. 15 July, 1948, no. 13, 2. L. handle mended and restored.
7. Melbourne University V 13. Fig. 2. A. and B. Fight. Sotheby's Sale Cat. 14 March, 1929, no. 72, pl. 2, 1. Right handle broken and repaired.

The Sydney Sakonides is to be most closely related with Munich 2165 (Rumpf, *Sakonides*, no. 2, pl. 28c, d; see also Beazley, *JHS* 1932, 170-1) which bears the artist's signature on the obverse and on the reverse the inscription χαίρει καὶ πίει τεδι, which appears on both sides of ours, as well as on other cups in Cambridge and the Vatican. The form πίει is probably to be explained as the normal imperative πίε combined with the deictic ι.⁵ The other two lip-cups belong to the class with figure-decoration inside only (LI)—the Canterbury cup has a good deal of repainting, especially on the Amazon's flesh and tunic, and on the red of the two warriors' shields and greaves. The Sydney band-cup is a charming and graceful piece with a slightly mannerist flavour about its decoration. Very near in shape and style, though less precise in its drawing, is B.M. B 393 (*CV* 2 III He, pl. 16, 9)—the animals on the Sydney vase seem of finer breed, with their fragile legs and slender necks. The Melbourne cup (on which the handle has now been restored) seems to be associated with those of the potter Glaukytes (*JHS* 1932, 187 and 200). The scenes on both sides are the same but for small variations of detail. Between palmettes springing out from the handles we are shown a fight, the supporters of each contestant ranged on either side. The field is full of pseudo-inscriptions—sometimes there is a real letter or two, mostly just signs that bear a faint resemblance to letters, but show that the painter felt inscriptions were a vital part of his decorative scheme.

³ Referred to as *Annual Report*. The latest issues have been entitled *Otago Museum—Annual Report*, and a supplementary Bulletin has been issued annually to the Association of Friends.

⁴ Vases in the Nicholson Museum are numbered according to Miss Louisa Macdonald's Catalogue, with the earlier (1870) Reeve Catalogue number in brackets; pieces

acquired since 1898 bear the Museum inventory number. The *Nicholson Museum Handbook* (2nd edn., 1948) is throughout referred to as NMH². All dimensions are given in centimetres.

⁵ Cp. δύν and δίδωμι; see Brugmann-Thumb, *Gr. Grammatik*⁴, 395.

A somewhat later cup,

8. Sydney 47. 03. I. Gorgoneion. A. and B. Eyes, with a ship beneath the handle. *NMH*², 280, fig. 61.

formerly in the Hope Collection (Tillyard, no. 72; later in the Cowdray collection at Dunecht, Sotheby's *Sale Cat.* 2 Dec. 1946, no. 44), was originally published by Tischbein (iii, 60 = *RV* ii 322) with the ships transformed into something resembling butterflies, doubtless under the



FIG. 1.—SYDNEY 48. 256.

influence of the extensive repainting. This has been cleaned off to reveal beneath each handle a ship whose double-prow is due to the desire for a symmetrical design rather than to novelty in ship-construction, and whose sails are depicted conventionally as though seen spread out to the full from the side. The gorgoneion is partly reserved in the red of the clay, as is characteristic with cups of this style.



FIG. 2.—MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY V13.

There are no examples of the work of any of the great b.f. painters here, though several of the later artists and many of the decorators of small vases are well represented. I give, therefore, only lists of the less distinguished b.f., grouped according to shape, with brief annotations where they seem called for.

Neck Amphorae

9. Sydney 33 (R 716). Ht. 27.1. A. Triton holding fish in l. hand. B. Triton. B. *NMH*², 279, fig. 60; here Pl. XXXIXb.

This is one of the best pieces of b.f. in Australia. The shape shows it to belong to the third quarter of the century and the careful drawing, with precise incision and neatly-rendered hair and beard, seems to place the vase somewhere near the Exekias Group.

10. Canterbury Museum 431. 1. Pl. XXXIXc. Only the neck is preserved. A. Seated man between two standing men. B. Athlete between two men. Belongs to the Affected Group and is the work of the artist known as 'Elbows Out'.

Next come four neck-amphorae of the last quarter of the century, showing the influence of the new art of the time.

11. Dunedin E 48. 231, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 39. A. Dionysus with maenads and silens. B. Woman between two warriors on horseback.

The vase has been recomposed from fragments, with clumsy repainting at the joins. The figures, however, show no signs of repainting, though much of the added white and red has now disappeared. Beazley has identified the amphora as a work of the Antimenes Painter. Comparison with the B.M. amphora B 232 (*JHS* 1927, 80, fig. 19) shows it to be a late work, with several of those features characteristic of the later style of the painter, notably the predominance of the Ionic chiton, the double-curve in the knee, and the new drapery system.

12. Dunedin E 48. 227, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 30.5. *Ant. Class.* IV, 210, no. 2. A. Heracles with lyre stepping up on the platform between Athena and Hermes. B. Warrior between old man and woman.
13. Melbourne, private collection, bought at Pompeii and reputedly found in the vicinity. Ht. 25.8. A. Chariot scene. B. Two warriors with round shields.
14. Sydney 34 (R 757). Ht. 23.7. A. Amazonomachy. B. Silens with lyre between silens and maenads.

There are fragments of two more:

15. Canterbury Museum 431. o. Horses with a standing figure.
16. Sydney 32 (R 706). A. Heracles and Geryon. B. Silen and maenads. This vase, which appears as complete in the early catalogues, turned out to be composed of a few original fragments together with a great deal else that was either modern or taken from other vases.

Pelikai (with scenes in panels)

17. Sydney 47. 07. Ht. 25. A. and B. Musical contests with flute and lyre respectively. Repainted.
18. Dunedin E 48. 226, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 37. A. Athena fighting giants. B. Recital. *Sotheby's Sale Cat.* 7 December, 1920, no. 305; *Ant. Class.* IV, 210, no. 1.

Hydriai (the main scene first, the shoulder scene after)

19. Auckland 12964. Pl. XXXIXd. Ht. 44.5. Judgment of Paris. Dionysus with maenads and silens. This was a fine vase of the Leagros Group, and it is unfortunate that during its transfer from the old museum to the new it should have met with an accident from which it has not recovered.
20. Dunedin E 48. 66, formerly in the collection of Sir Francis Cook at Richmond. Ht. 49. Chariot scene. Apollo playing the lyre in the presence of the gods. Strong, *JHS* 1908, p. 44, no. 75; *Ant. Class.* IV, 225; *Greek Art*, no. 72.
21. Dunedin E 50. 108. Ht. 46. Athena with Heracles in a chariot. Fight. *Annual Report* 1949, p. 8.
22. Sydney 31 (R 710). Ht. 45.2. Chariot scene. Heracles and the Cretan bull. Much repainted.

The last three vases are all a little later than the Auckland hydria, though they belong to the same general class, and may be dated *ca.* 520-500.

There are also in Sydney fragments of an interesting hydria of kalpis shape by the Acheloos Painter:

23. Sydney 46. 04. Amazonomachy.

For details of its history I am indebted to Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer of New York. It first appeared in *Sotheby's Sale Catalogue* of 25 June, 1852, no. 155; later in the *Forman Sale*, no. 288 and as no. 142 in the *Vente Hirsch*, whence it seems to have passed into the Rothschild Collection. It was again sold at *Sotheby's* on 27 May, 1936 (no. 76) and re-appeared in the exhibition of Greek Art at Edinburgh (no. 386). Messrs. Spink reported its destruction in 1944 as result of bomb damage, but a few fragments survived and these were acquired in 1946 by the

Nicholson Museum. They preserve part of the figured scene and show Heracles fighting an Amazon who has been forced to the ground, with portions of two other Amazons to r. and l. From a photograph of the vase taken before its destruction it may be seen that the picture was in a panel beginning at the neck-join and spreading out over the shoulder to just above the handles. Between the handles on a reserved band runs a b.f. ivy trail separated from the picture by a narrow band of black.

While dealing with the work of the Acheloos Painter, we may also look at a large lekythos in Sydney, which seems to be from his hand.

24. Sydney 46. 52. Ht. 31.1. Heracles bringing the boar back to Eurystheus. *NMH*², 281, pl. 6; *Proc. Class. Soc. N.S.W.* 1946, 18, pl. 1a.

The subject gives us an unusual version of a well-known legend, since it shows Eurystheus about to step into the pithos and not actually inside it. The same treatment of the subject occurs on Syracuse 9877 (Haspels, *ABL* 55), which I have not seen, but which from the description seems very close to ours. For the shape we may compare the lekythos Palermo GE 1896. 2 (Haspels, p. 47, pl. 15, 4 and 20, 2), noting the same sharp slope taken by the body below the picture where it meets the foot and the seven palmettes upon the shoulder. Another lekythos of the 'compromise' shape, though somewhat more slender, is:

25. Melbourne University V 14. Ht. 30.5. Hermes, Artemis, Apollo and Athena. Recomposed from fragments, with considerable re-painting at joins, on the faces of Artemis and Athena, and on the shoulder-palmettes.

With it we may compare for shape Syracuse 20539 (Haspels, p. 49), for the subject and its treatment, many of the lekythoi listed by Miss Haspels on p. 50.

From these two we may turn to glance briefly at the remaining b.f. lekythoi, which, as perhaps might be expected, comprise nearly half the total of b.f. here. The earliest is:

26. Dunedin E 48. 258, from the A. B. Cook collection. Ht. 17. Panther and deer. The mouth has been restored.

From the shape and decoration it may be assigned to the Dolphin Class (Haspels, *ABL* pp. 14, 193 f.), standing near to Syracuse 11398, with lotus flowers and buds upon the shoulder.

To the group of the 'Arming' lekythoi (Haspels, pp. 65 and 201) of the Phanyllis Class belongs:

27. Melbourne, National Gallery 80, from Cancelli. Ht. 23. Warrior with round shield between two women and two men. On the shoulder upright palmettes (cf. Haspels, pl. 20, 5). With it we may compare a lekythos in Taranto (*CV* pl. 13, 2-3).

To the same general class, but to the 'Hoplite-leaving home' group, belong two lekythoi, almost identical in design,

28. Dunedin E 48. 233, from the A. B. Cook collection. Ht. 18.3

and

29. Sydney 48. 11, from Athens. Ht. 16.6 (mouth broken off). Fig. 3a.

Both show 'hoplites leaving home' and are virtually identical with two lekythoi in Copenhagen (*CV* pl. 109, 7-8; Haspels, p. 205). The Sydney lekythos has three-leafed palmettes on the shoulder.

Not far away from these is a lekythos recently acquired in Athens by Miss Dettmann:

30. Wellington, Victoria University College. Two youths holding a cup between two men.

To the Gela Painter belongs:

31. Dunedin E 48. 252, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 24.5. Chariot. The shoulder shows the characteristic three palmettes with a bud on each side (Haspels, 208; division IIIa). It is one of the painter's later and less careful works.

To the Marathon Group and, in particular, the Class of Athens 581, may be assigned:

32. Melbourne University V15. Fig. 3b. Ht. 20.5. Heracles and the lion. Very close in shape, decoration and style to Athens 579 (Haspels, 224, pl. 31, 3).

33. Dunedin E 48. 229, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 19.5. Maenads and silens (cf. Copenhagen 5614; *CV*, pl. 110, 4).
 34. Dunedin E 48. 247, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 15. Two riders. Slighter work.
 35. Dunedin E 48. 250, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 20. Dionysus, maenad and silen. Very close to no. 33 above.
 36. Dunedin E 48. 253, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 26.5. Dionysus, maenads and silens.

Two lekythoi may be placed among the 'hound and hare' group of the companions of the Sappho Painter (Haspels, 118 and 230):

37. Dunedin E 48. 234, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 10.8. Single combat between two onlookers.
 38. Sydney 49. 07. Fig. 3c. Ht. 14.8. Single combat between two onlookers.

Both have the hound and hare on the shoulder. Probably here also belong the shattered remains of a lekythos in Christchurch, but it is hard to be certain owing to its very ruined state:

39. Canterbury Museum 431. 2. Single combat between two onlookers.



FIG. 3a.—SYDNEY 48. 11.



FIG. 3b.—MELBOURNE
UNIVERSITY V15.



FIG. 3c.—SYDNEY 49. 07.

Next, a group of vases near to the Haimon Painter, associated with whom, as Miss Haspels points out (*ABL*, 137), are numbers of careless mass-produced lekythoi. The first three are nearer to the painter himself than the last three, which are hack products of his workshop.

40. Dunedin E 28. 75, from Episcopi, Cyprus, by exchange with the University of California (8/301b). Fig. 4e. Ht. 17. Chariot scene.
 41. Dunedin E 39. 70. Fig. 4c. Ht. 19.6. Chariot scene, similar to above, but on white ground.
 42. Dunedin E 48. 251, from Athens, ex A. B. Cook Collection. Fig. 4a. Ht. 20. Peleus and Thetis.
 43. Dunedin E 48. 246, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 15.5. Dionysus with maenads on mules.
 44. Dunedin E 48. 248, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Fig. 4d. Ht. 18.6. Chariot with Athena.
 45. Dunedin E 48. 249, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Fig. 4b. Ht. 20. Odysseus and two companions beneath the rams. *Ant. Class.* IV, 210.

With these we may also group as Haimonian in style three cup-skyphoi:

46. Dunedin E 48. 282, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 11, diam. 18.7. A. and B. Lyre-player.
 47. Sydney 48. 12, from Athens. Ht. 8.2, diam. 13.4. A. and B. Silen and maenad.
 48. Dunedin E 48. 230, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 6.5, diam. 8.5. A. and B. Silen and maenad.

The first two are very similar in shape, style and decoration; the third is smaller and deeper, with the figures on a comparatively narrow zone between the handles, and belongs to the latest Haimonian period.

A few more figured lekythoi, late in date, deplorable in style, and for the most part in a bad state of preservation, which makes attribution difficult:

49. Melbourne, National Gallery 3221. Chariot scene. Repaired and repainted. Probably from the Haimon workshop.
50. Sydney 105 (R 716). Ht. 17.8. Two women seated beside a tree. Near the Beldam Painter.
51. Wellington, Dominion Museum. Chariot scene.
52. Wellington, Dominion Museum. Silen and maenad.
53. Wellington, Dominion Museum. Dionysus on donkey and symposium.
54. Auckland 18516, from Pompeii. Ht. 14.5. Departure of warrior.
55. Sydney 106. Chariot scene. Broken, with the design almost completely effaced.

Lastly, two lekythoi with palmette designs, the first on white ground from the workshop of the Beldam Painter (Haspels, pp. 181-6), the second on red ground and much cruder.

56. Dunedin E 39. 72. Ht. 14.8.
57. Melbourne, National Gallery 152. Ht. 15.

The remaining b.f. vases show little of interest.

*Olpai**

58. Melbourne, National Gallery 80V, from Canello. Ht. 20.2. Two women seated on folding stools.
59. Sydney 48. 257, from the Fitzwilliam Sale. Ht. 26.4. Dionysus and maenad. Christie's *Cat.* 15 July, 1948, no. 13, 1.
60. Dunedin E 48. 259, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 20. Silen carrying off maenad. Crude and late work.

Skyphoi

61. Dunedin E 48. 255, from the A. B. Cook Collection. A. and B. Maenads and silens.
62. Sydney 46. 44. A. and B. Dionysus on a donkey with maenads and silens. *NMH*², p. 282, pl. 5b.
63. Sydney 46. 61d (fragment). Sphinx, man and woman. *NMH*², fig. 53h.
64. Sydney 47. 16, formerly in the Sir Francis Cook Collection, Richmond. A. and B. Combats between sphinxes. *Ant. Class.* IV, 225.

Beazley informs me that the first two belong to his group of CHC skyphoi (see *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum*, 22-3), and that the fragment also belongs to this group, but is by a different painter. The fourth is closely related in style but has suffered greatly at the hands of the repainter. Somewhat in the same style is the decoration on two kyathoi, both from the Fitzwilliam Sale (Christie's *Cat.* 15 July, 1948, no. 14) and both ill-preserved with a good deal of restoration.

65. Sydney 48. 259. Dionysus on a donkey between sphinxes and eyes.
66. Canterbury University College 2. Dionysus on a donkey with maenads and silens.

Three late cups, similar in shape and style:

67. Auckland 3771. Fig. 5. I. Silen. A. and B. Two horsemen between seated figures. Under the handles, dolphins.
68. Dunedin E 48. 228, from the A. B. Cook Collection. I. Destroyed. A. Heracles and an Amazon between two sphinxes. B. Amazonomachy between two riders.
69. Sydney 35 (R 808). I. Silen. A. and B. Dionysus and silen between silens on donkeys.

Beazley kindly informs me that the Auckland cup belongs to his Leafless Group and is by the Whitworth Painter (the painter of Manchester 16938 and some fragments from Perachora) and that the Dunedin cup belongs to the Caylus Group.

Oinochoai

70. Auckland 29699. Ht. 24. Heracles fighting Amazons.
71. Dunedin E 28. 86, from Taranto, by exchange with the University of California (8/4183). Ht. 19.5. Women seated between youth with lyre and silen. Restored with some parts missing.
72. Sydney 48. 17, from Athens. Ht. 10.2. Silen.
73. Sydney 107. Ht. 11.7. Silen.

* For b.f. olpai, see in particular Haspels, *ABL*, 59 ff. and H. R. W. Smith, *CV*, San Francisco Collection, text pp. 31-2.

*a* 48. 251.*b* 48. 249.*c* 39. 70.*d* 48. 248.*e* 28. 75.

FIG. 4.—HAEMONIAN LEKYTHOI IN DUNEDIN.

FIG. 5*a*.—AUCKLAND 3771.FIG. 5*b*.—AUCKLAND 3771.

Pseudo-panathenaic amphora

74. Dunedin F 48. 149, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 13.4. A. Youth between two draped figures. B. Youth. Belongs to the group of Vatican G 52.

II. *Attic Red-figure*

Red-figure before the fifth century is not represented, and our earliest examples are a few cups, for the most part later works of the great archaic cup-painters.

Cups

75. Sydney 46. 40, from Vulci. Plate XL*a*. I. Woman spinning wool. Gerhard pl. 302-3, 3-4; *Burlington Cat.* 1903, G 13, pl. 89; *NMH*² 295, fig. 69; *ARV* 953, where attributed to the Eucharides Painter, no. 67 bis.
76. Dunedin E 39. 108. I. Youth. A. and B. Symposium. *ARV* 955, where attributed to the Antiphon Painter ('seems from the photographs to be by the painter himself'), no. 51 bis. The foot is modern; there is a good deal of restoration and repainting and the upper part of A is missing.
77. Sydney 40 (R 806). I. Seated youth fluting. *ARV* 252, no. 106, where attributed to the Brygos Painter. Parts of the design have been restored. Late work.
78. Canterbury Museum AR 430, from Orvieto. Pl. XL*b-d*. I. Youth and girl. A. and B. Symposium. *HIKET*[ΕΣ]ΚΑΛΟΣ. I. Panofka, *Eigennamen*, pl. 1, 10; Klein, *Lieblingsnamen*, 94; B. Ap. 16, 33; *ARV* 288, no. 115, where listed as a late work of Douris; *JHS* 1946, 124 n. 12.

The Sydney Eucharides cup (Pl. XL*a*), formerly in the Mallet collection in London, is a graceful and charming piece, which must be accounted among this painter's best efforts in the field of cup-painting. It represents a young woman, wearing an Ionian chiton, seated upon a high-backed chair, her cloak wrapped around her middle and over her lap. Before her is a wool-stand, with a mass of wool on the supports at the top; she holds the distaff in her left hand and from it draws a long thread with her right. In the field is the inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ, originally painted in white, but now barely visible.

The Antiphon and Brygos cups are both ruins, with a good deal missing and much restoration or repaint on what is there. The former shows in the less damaged interior a youth, with the inscription ΗΟΡΑΙΣ in the field, and suspended in the foreground the athlete's vade-mecum, an oil-flask and two strigils. The youth to r. on A is a weaker version of one of the young athletes on the Berlin stand (FR, pl. 162, 1).

Not least among the pleasures of vase-hunting in the Antipodes is the unexpected discovery of some vase that has long been lost to sight. Great was my satisfaction therefore to find in the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch the fragments of a cup by Douris, known and published last century but thereafter lost. The cup in question seems to have made its long journey to New Zealand some sixty years ago in an exchange with the museum at Florence for some local material of ethnographical interest, but the precise circumstances have gone unrecorded. Professor Martin Robertson has recently (*JHS* 1946, 123-5) discussed the Canterbury cup in relation to another vase, similar in style and sentiment, also belonging to the artist's later period (*ARV* 291, no. 185).⁷ The Canterbury fragments (Pl. XL*b-d*) preserve nearly all the tondo; there is a small triangular fragment missing to the l. of the boy's head, and a good deal of repainting along the joins. The inscription *HIKET*[ΕΣ]ΚΑΛΟΣ was painted on in purple red, the two lost letters were in the missing piece beside the boy's head. The design shows a youth, nude save for a himation draped over his arms and behind his back, being embraced by a girl. His left hand rests on top of a knotty stick, with his right he gestures in the direction of a couch, of which part of the back and the right leg is visible. On this we note the same Ionic volute decoration as on the couches in the symposium scenes on the exterior and on that in the vase figured by Robertson. To right is a closed door with a stool in front of it. The exterior unfortunately has suffered considerable damage and the significant parts have mostly gone; the whole vase must have been one of Douris' more attractive later pieces, to be dated not far from 480 B.C.

⁷ At the time of writing the whereabouts of the vase were unknown to Robertson, but it has subsequently been located

by Miss Richter in a private collection in Paris and published by her in *JHS* 1949, 73, fig. 1.

From the Early Classical period there are a further three cups, all in the Otago Museum.

79. Dunedin E 39. 107. Fig. 6. I. Two youths. A. and B. Seated youth between two standing youths. *Annual Report* 1939-40, p. 4; *ARV* 962, where attributed to the Splanchnopt Painter, no. 9 bis. Some repainting, especially along joins and on the feet of the youths inside.
80. Dunedin E 28. 82, by exchange with University of California (8/931). Fig. 7. I. Two youths conversing. A. and B. Boys with horses. The foot is modern, and has been riveted on. Some repainting, especially on B. *ARV* 962, no. 3 bis, where assigned to the manner of the painter of Bologna 417.
81. Dunedin E 48. 232, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Fig. 8. I. Dionysus and a silen, with maenads and silens around. A. Man and woman, man and nike conversing. B. The like. Restored from fragments with considerable repainting. *Ant. Class.* IV, 210. Attributed by Beazley to the Orchard Painter.

The first two cups are characteristic products of the workshop of the Penthesilea Painter. That by the Splanchnopt Painter is by far the better of the two; the scenes on the exterior seem to be associated with school-life (cf. Würzburg 488, Langlotz, pl. 156; *ARV* 590, no. 10), on one the seated youth is holding up his writing-tablets and the boy beside him a school-bag; on the other, one of the boys carries a flute-case. All three scenes bear the inscription in applied red HO PAIS KALOS , though in the interior it is misspelt, the artist having repeated the last three letters of παῖς instead of those of καλός . The other vase is dull and ill-drawn, with a horse scene dear to the hearts of Penthesileans. It is a pity that the third vase is so ill-preserved, as conventional and expressionless though the painting may be, the Orchard Painter seems to have included very few cups (none are listed in *ARV*) among his works.

Most of the Early Classical r.f. vases out here are the works of those minor artists of the period who specialised in the decoration of small lekythoi and call for little comment.

Lekythoi

82. Dunedin E 30. 202. Ht. 17. Athena seated, holding helmet in her l. hand. *Annual Report* 1930-1, p. 3, no. 2; *ARV* 208, 'near to the painter of Palermo 4'. Mended, with some repainting, especially on the l. shoulder of Athena.
83. Dunedin E 48. 223, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 17.5. Woman running r., with arms outstretched. Attributed by Beazley to the Providence Painter (in a letter to A. B. Cook).
84. Melbourne University V 17. Ht. 17. Dionysus moving to r. with ivy spray and kantharos. *ARV* 445, attributed to the painter of the Yale Lekythos, no. 37.
85. Dunedin E 48. 222, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 18.5. Maenad with thyrsus. *Ant. Class.* IV, 210; *ARV* 495, attributed to the Aischines Painter, no. 21.
86. Melbourne University V 16. Ht. 21. Hermes with caduceus. *ARV* 497, attributed to the Aischines Painter, no. 107.
87. Sydney 47. 06, from the Marshall Brooks collection. Ht. 29.3. Women with sashes. *ARV* 498, no. 146 (Aischines Painter); *Sotheby's Sale Cat.* 14 May 1946, no. 37; *NMH*² 301, fig. 73.
88. Sydney 47. 19. Ht. 19.8. Nike. Aischines Painter.
89. Dunedin E 48. 339, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 21. Nike with sash, flying to r. *Ant. Class.* IV, 210; *ARV* 511, no. 77, where attributed to the Karlsruhe Painter, though included in error among his white-ground vases instead of r.f.
90. Wellington, Dominion Museum. Ht. 18.5. Youth moving r. and looking back l.
91. Sydney 48. 13, from Athens. Ht. 12.6. (Mouth broken off.) Maenad, with torch and thyrsus.
92. Melbourne University V 18. Ht. 35.5. Mistress and maid.

The last lekythos listed above, which was found in Athens in April 1927, is of the comparatively rare class which has the decoration on the shoulder and leaves the body plain except for meander-bands top and bottom. It has been recomposed from fragments but nothing is missing save for most of the handle and a largish piece of the body immediately below it, though there is a good deal of repainting on the meanders, the palmettes besides the handles, and on the drapery of the two figures. The scene represents a maid holding a box and standing before her seated mistress, who points rather imperiously with her right hand at a wool-basket on the floor in front of her.

The three remaining vases of this period are of greater interest. Two are column-kraters:

93. Sydney 42 (R 701). A. Citharode with three listeners. B. Men and boys. *ARV* 959, where attributed to the Pan Painter as no. 11 bis, correcting the entry on p. 381; *NMH*² 299, pl. 7; *The Canon*, Aug. 1950, p. 14, pl. 1.

This is a work of the Pan Painter's mature period, similar in subject to his panathenaic amphora in New York (20. 245, *ARV* 363, no. 23; Richter and Hall, no. 66), and representing



FIG. 6a.—DUNEDIN E 39. 107.



FIG. 6b.—DUNEDIN E 39. 107.



FIG. 7a.—DUNEDIN E 28. 82.



FIG. 7b.—DUNEDIN E 28. 82.

a citharode, head held high as he sings in accompaniment to the strains of the carefully drawn kithara, which he strikes with the plectrum held in his right hand. From the instrument hangs down its decorated cover, ending in a fringe. Grouped around him are three figures, to left a bearded man leaning on his stick and listening with apparent interest, to right two well-draped youths, one standing and the other seated, muffled up in his cloak. The vase has been broken and there are a few small pieces missing, though nothing of moment.

- 93 *bis*. Dunedin E 50. 198. Ht. 40.5. A. Damaged, the figure lost. B. Satyr. No frames to the pictures. By the Pig Painter.

The other vase is a small askos recently purchased at Sotheby's (*Sale Cat.* 21 Dec. 1948, no. 186):

94. Sydney 48. 260. Fig. 9. Women's heads.

It is a charming little piece, attributed by Beazley to the Painter of London D 12 (*ARV* 628 ff.), showing on each side the head of a young woman between ivy leaves. There are a good many more small askoi, mostly of later date and with animal decoration, which I list here for convenience.

Askoi

95. Melbourne, Rev. J. S. Drought. Panthers.
 96. Melbourne, National Gallery. A. Bull. B. Boar.
 97. Dunedin E 48. 279, from the A. B. Cook Collection. A. Dog. B. Panther.
 98. Dunedin E 39. 73. A. Panther. B. Swan.
 99. Wellington, Dominion Museum. A. and B. Panther.
 100. Sydney 41. A. and B. Silen.
 101. Dunedin E 48. 285, from the A. B. Cook Collection. A. Sphinx and griffin. B. Lion with head moulded to serve as a spout. In the centre below the handle a strainer.

The r.f. vases of the second half of the fifth century are a mixed lot, a dozen or so of some interest either for their subject or by reason of their painter, the remainder mostly small pieces of a very minor character, the sort of inexpensive item which is acquired by the passing traveller and brought back home, to find its way in time into one of the local collections, if it does not vanish from sight altogether.

To begin with the larger or more important vases:

Nolan amphorae

102. Dunedin E 48. 68, formerly in the collection of Sir Francis Cook, Richmond. Pl. XL1a. Ht. 23. A. Nike with torch in r. B. Draped youth. *Ant. Class.* IV, 225; *ARV* 665, where ascribed to the Richmond Painter, no. 3.
 103. Melbourne, Rev. J. S. Drought (on loan to the Nicholson Museum, Sydney). Ht. 30.1. A. Woman bidding farewell to man wearing petasos, about to set out on a journey. B. Draped youth. There is some repainting on the obverse, and the reverse is almost completely modern. From the shape and what can be seen of the style beneath the repaint the vase seems to belong to the Group of the Achilles Painter.

Calyx-krater

104. Dunedin E 48. 67, formerly in the collection of Sir Francis Cook, Richmond. Ht. 35.6, diam. 38.7. Strong, *JHS* 1908, p. 44, no. 78; *Burlington Cat.* 1903, H 41, pl. 95; *Ant. Class.* IV, 226. A. Departure of Triptolemus. B. Three women.

The vase has been mended and repainted along the break, especially on the head and shoulders of Persephone, and is a good example of the work of one of the painters of the Polygnotan Group (cf. *ARV* 698-9).

Column-krater

105. Sydney 46. 42. A. Symposium. B. Youths and woman. *Greek Art*, no. 98; *The Canon*, Aug. 1950, pl. 2, p. 15; *NMH*², pl. 8.

The scene represents four diners reclining on two couches, beside which are tables and a foot-bath. The pair to l. are making approaches to a hetaira, the youth in the centre (whose face has been chipped away) holds up a kylix after making his throw at cottabos, the fourth diner, a balding, bearded man sings to the accompaniment of his lyre. The vase is by the Naples Painter and seems from the description almost identical with *ARV* 706, no. 21.



FIG. 8.—DUNEDIN E 48. 232.

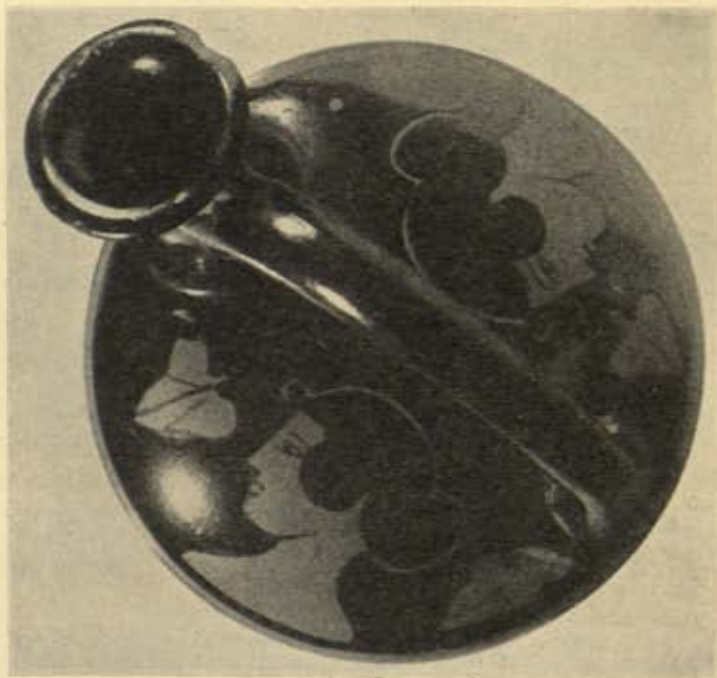


FIG. 9.—ASKOS: SYDNEY 48. 260.

Pelikai

106. Dunedin E 48. 220, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Pl. XLIb. Ht. 22. A. Boreas. B. Oreithyia. *AZ* 1845, pl. 31, 2. 'In the manner of Polygnotus, and I thought by the painter himself' according to Beazley in a letter to its former owner.
107. Sydney, Miss Una Fitzhardinge, on loan to the Nicholson Museum. Ht. 12.8. A. Mistress and maid. B. Maid. *ARV* 801, no. 16, where assigned to a group of vases in the manner of Aison, and perhaps even from his hand.
108. Melbourne, National Gallery 861/2, from Cyrene. Ht. 16.1. A. Two women standing beside a square box. B. The like.
109. Melbourne, National Gallery 80W, from Cancelli. Ht. 15.4. A. Youth and woman with thyrsus. B. Youth. Bad state of preservation, with a good deal of incrustation.

Hydria

110. Dunedin E 48. 221, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 18.3. Two women, one with sash.

Oinochoai

111. Sydney 57 (R 721). Ht. 17.6. Mistress and maid.
 112. Melbourne, National Gallery 80 S, from Cancelli. Ht. 16.6. Woman with scarf running to l.

Stemless Cups

113. Canterbury Museum AR 430. 1. Fragment, preserving most of the tondo. Nude youth beside stele. A poor work of the Codrus Painter.
 114. Sydney 58 (R 739), from Cervetri. I. Nude youth. The surface is badly worn.

Oinochoe (shape 3)

115. Melbourne University V 19. Pl. XLIIc. Ht. 21. Four boys with lyres. The vase has been recomposed from fragments and there is a large portion missing below the handle, as well as a good deal of repainting on most of the figures. Circle of the Meidias Painter.

Two other interesting late classical vases remain. One is the well-known hydria found in Attica and acquired by Professor Cook in 1933.

116. Dunedin E 48. 266. Ht. 22.3. Apollo and the oracular head of Orpheus. *Ant. Class.* IV, 210; Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, pl. 5; *Zeus* III, pl. xvi.

Cook (*Zeus* III, 99 ff.) discusses the interpretation of the scene in some detail, identifying the woman to l. as Eurydice and the one to r. as the Pythia. The main theme occurs again on a late fifth-century cup in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, attributed by Beazley to the Painter of Ruvo 1346 (*ARV* 859, no. 1; *JHS* 1921, pl. 12; *Ant. Class.* IV pl. 27, 1), but here we have a visitor to the shrine shown busily noting down upon his tablets the oracles uttered by the prophetic head. The Dunedin vase has been considerably restored (especially the middle of Eurydice's himation, part of Apollo's body and of the Pythia's drapery). It belongs to the late fifth century and has recently been assigned by Beazley (*EVP* 40, under no. 7) to the same hand as a hydria in Paris owned by M. Chapouthier (*BCH* 1942-3, pls. 1-2), representing Leda and the Egg.

The other vase is a two-row calyx-krater which I recently discovered in fragments in a cupboard in the basement of the National Gallery in Melbourne. Thanks to the kindness of the Director I was able to bring it back with me to Sydney, where it has been pieced together; a good deal of the reverse is missing. Of its earlier history I have been able to find out nothing beyond the fact that it was acquired by the Melbourne Gallery in 1933.

117. Sydney 50. 01 (transferred from the Melbourne National Gallery). Pl. XLId. Ht. 26, diam. 23.3. Above, A. Youth and woman, man and woman between Ionic columns. B. Symposium (mostly missing). Below, A. Eros with wreath pursuing deer. B. Three running boys.

Two-row calyx-kraters are not very numerous. Jacobsthal, in his study of the New York Nekyia krater, listed some 40 (*Metz. Mus. Stud.* V, 1934, App. III, pp. 136-40); to these may be added the Cassel Painter's krater formerly on the Paris market (*ARV* 674, no. 9) and the Dinos Painter's Prometheus krater in Oxford (*ARV* 790, no. 11), together with a few more fragments (Villa Giulia Ptr., Palermo (1817) *ARV* 401, no. 12; manner of the Niobid Painter, Athens Agora P 104, 110, 2223, *ARV* 424, no. 5; Phiale Ptr., Florence PD 29, 31-3, *ARV* 655, no. 50; Polygnotus Group, *ARV* 700, nos. 77-8; fragments from the Agora Excavations, P 44 (*Hesperia* VI, 48-9, figs. 27-8) and P 14321 (above, feet; below, bull)). The new vase must be one of the latest of the series, with a date not far from the end of the 5th century. In style and shape it recalls the two-row calyx-krater in Agrigento by the Giudice Painter (*ARV* 844, no. 2), to which it stands very close.

There follow the small vases of the later fifth and early fourth centuries. They call for little comment; I put first the earlier and better pieces.

Choes

118. Sydney 56 (R 724). Ht. 8. Girl and dog.
 119. Sydney 46. 49. Ht. 6.6. Girl with patera running to r., preceded by a Maltese dog. To l. a table with cakes. Sotheby's *Sale Cat.* 14 May 1946, no. 48; *NMH* 306, fig. 76, where both are published.

Small squat lekkythoi

120. Canterbury Museum AR 430. 2. Ht. 6 (top broken off). Ducks feeding.
 121. Dunedin E 48. 224, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 11.2. Seated sphinx (cf. Copenhagen CV, pl. 168, 1).

122. Dunedin E 48. 341, from Nola. Ht. 10. Thrush.
 123. Dunedin E. 48. 342. Ht. 8. Hare.
 124. Dunedin E 48. 343, from Cumae. Ht. 7.5. Running woman.
 125. Sydney 54 (R 733). Ht. 11.3. Woman with box.
 126. Sydney 55 (R 790). Ht. 12.7 (top broken off). Running woman.
 127. Sydney 48 (R 754). Ht. 8.4. Head of Hermes.
 128. Sydney 47 (R 745). Swan.
 129. Orange, N.S.W., private collection. Ht. 8.6. Panther.

Hydriai

130. Sydney 50 (R 742). Ht. 17.4. Two women.
 131. Sydney 52 (R 748). Ht. 10.4. Woman between tendrils.

Pelike

132. Sydney 53 (R 728). Ht. 13.6. A. Man and Nike. B. Draped youth. Crude, late work.

Owl skyphoi

133. Melbourne, National Gallery 80 R, from Cancelli. Ht. 8, diam. 10.2.
 134. Melbourne, National Gallery 4783/3. Ht. 7.3, diam. 8.6.
 135. Christchurch, Dr. Broadhead. Ht. 9, diam. 10.5.
 136. Dunedin E 48. 257, from the A. B. Cook Collection. Ht. 8, diam. 9.5. See *Zeus* III, 786. There is also in Dunedin (E 48. 354) an interesting Etruscan imitation of an Attic owl vase (Beazley, *EVP* 200, D2; *Zeus* III, fig. 582), and a cup-skyphos (E 48. 368; see *EVP*, 201) with owl-and-olive decoration. On owl vases in general see in addition to the references above: *Toronto Cat.* 373 ff.; *AJA* 1934, 420; *Gracif, Ant. V.* ii 47, nos. 529-37; Beazley, *CV Oxford* 2, text p. 114, pls. 48, 9; 62, 1; Haspels *ABL*, 187-8.

The fourth-century styles are very poorly represented. Best of the early fourth century vases is the recently acquired bell-krater:

137. Sydney 49. 04, from Corinth. Formerly in the collection of Edward Armytage, London. Ht. 25.3. A. Arrival of Theseus in Attica. B. Three draped youths. A. *JHS* 1936, pl. 5.

It has been fully discussed by Pryce in *JHS* 1936, p. 77, who has shown the obverse design to be an illustration of Bacchylides xvii, describing the arrival of Theseus in Attica. To l. are Athena and Poseidon, in the centre Theseus is shown seated behind the altar of Zeus Meilichios, and to r. are his two companions Phorbas and Peirithoos. The vase seems to me almost certainly by the hand of the Oinomaos Painter, as Beazley (*ARV* 879) had suggested was probably the case.

Another bell-krater

138. Sydney 46. 39. Ht. 37.4. A. Maenads and Silens. B. Three youths. A. *NMH*² 308, fig. 77

is clearly to be attributed to the Retorted Painter and may be added to Beazley's list (*ARV* 877) as no. 6 bis, being very near in style and subject to his nos. 6 and 7, to judge from the publications.

There are two other vases from this period, both in a bad state of preservation.

Lebes gamikos

139. Sydney 59 (R 756). Ht. 16.6. A. and B. Women; beneath the handles, winged figures. Typical of the hack work of the time.

Pelike

140. Sydney 44 (R 784). Ht. 23.7. A. Amazon attacking griffin. B. Two draped youths.

The pelike belongs to the period immediately preceding the development of the Kerch style, which is represented by two hydriai:

141. Dunedin E 48. 340, from the A. B. Cook collection. Ht. 11.8. Woman and Eros with tambourines.
 142. Sydney 43. Ht. 29.1. Maenads and Silens. This vase has been restored from fragments and a good deal is missing, but originally it was a good piece, ca. 350-40.

There are few significant r.f. fragments; the best are in Dunedin, from the A. B. Cook collection:

143. E 48. 347. Fragment of the rim of a bell-krater, showing the head of a youth, with a petasos slung over his shoulder. In the manner of the Boston Phiale Painter.
 144. E 48. 348. Fragment of a calyx-krater, showing a symposium. Late fifth century.
 145. E 48. 378. Fragment of an early fourth-century vase (? pelike), showing a grypomachy.

III. White-ground Vases

These are mostly lekythoi,⁸ many already listed in *ARV*, and call for no detailed remarks.

Oinochoe

146. Dunedin E 29. 7. *Annual Report* 1928-9, p. 4. Decoration in b.f. on a white panel with a band of red above. Ht. 15. Centaur with branch running r. and looking back to l. Ca. 500 B.C.

Alabastron

147. Dunedin E 48. 362, from Siana (ex A. B. Cook collection). Ht. 14.5. Negro. *ARV* 201, no. 25 in the Group of the Negro Alabastra.

Lekythoi

148. Sydney 49. 06. Ht. 18.4. Woman wearing saccos moving to r. and looking back to l. Black glaze. Broken and mended. By the Aischines Painter.
 149. Canterbury University College 3, formerly in the Oppenheimer collection, no. 199 (*Christie's Sale Cat.* 23 July 1936, no. 73; *Sotheby's Sale Cat.* 18 Oct. 1949, no. 257). Githarode and Nike. Restored from fragments and much repainted. The inscription ΚΑΛΟΨΗΟΓΡΑΙΣ looks modern.
 150. Dunedin E 48. 372, from the A. B. Cook collection. Ht. 19.2. *Ant. Class.* IV 211, no. 2. Youth at grave mound. Glaze outlines. Workshop and manner of the Tymbos Painter.
 151. Dunedin E 48. 373, from the A. B. Cook collection. Fragment. Youth beside stele. Workshop and manner of the Tymbos Painter.
 152. Dunedin E 36. 281. Ht. 38. Woman and warrior beside a stele on which stands the figure of a small boy. *JHS* 1936, 236, fig. 1 and pl. 14; *Annual Report* 1935-6, p. 2. Glaze outlines. School of the Achilles Painter. For the representation of sculptured groups on lekythoi see Beazley *AWL*, p. 20.
 153. Sydney W2. Ht. 35.4. Youth and woman at stele. *Union Recorder*, 15 May 1941, p. 65, 2; *NMH*² 313, pl. 9a. Matt outlines; by a follower of the Achilles Painter.
 154. Sydney 47. 20. Ht. 27.2. Bearded man and woman at tomb. Only the figure of the man remains in any detail; the stele and all but the head and foot of the woman is missing. *NMH*² 313, fig. 79; *Proc. Class. Assoc. N.S.W.* 1947, pl. 2. Glaze outline. By the Thanatos Painter.
 155. Dunedin E 30. 205. Ht. 25.5. Woman and youth (almost completely vanished) at stele. *Annual Report* 1929-30, p. 2, no. 1. Broken and repaired, though with little repainting, except at joins. By the Bird Painter.
 156. Melbourne University V20. Ht. 25.8. Youth and woman at stele. *ARV* 811, no. 16, attributed to the Bird Painter.
 157. Auckland 12695. Ht. 24. Woman and youth at stele. The vase has been broken and badly repaired, though little of the actual design, apart from the lower part of the youth, has been damaged. The woman holds a box and a plemmochoe in her hands. Matt outline.
 158. Dunedin E 48. 371, from the A. B. Cook collection. Ht. 29. Woman and youth at stele. Matt red outlines; traces of added yellow. Freer style of late fifth century.
 159. Sydney W3. Ht. 48.2. Seated and standing woman at a stele crowned by acanthus leaves. *Union Recorder* 15 May 1941, p. 65, 3; *The Studio*, April 1946, p. 117; *NMH*² 315, pl. 9b; *ARV* 830, no. 24 bis, where attributed to the Triglyph Painter.

The remaining four lekythoi are very badly preserved and have lost nearly all the details of their decoration.

160. Sydney W1. Ht. 23.2. Women at a stele. *Union Recorder*, 15 May 1941, 65, 1.
 161. Sydney 48. 15, from Athens. Ht. 26.5. Two women at a stele. Traces of added white. The small vent-hole above the foot shows it to have been a false-bodied lekythos (see Haspels, *ABL* 129).
 162. Sydney 48. 16, from Athens. All that remains are traces of a figure wearing a bright red cloak.
 163. Dunedin E 48. 370, from the A. B. Cook collection. Ht. 31. Two figures beside a stele, the one to l. holding out a flat basket, to r. wearing a deep red cloak.

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⁸ The colourful alabastron Dunedin E48. 254 (from the A. B. Cook Collection), representing a youth and a girl at a stele, is modern.

AMONG the fairly numerous Boeotian kantharoi with decoration in applied white on black there is a small class of mid-fifth century date, some painted with a garland only, others with figures. My husband drew attention to this small group nearly forty years ago when discussing the undecorated black kantharoi of this shape found at Rhitsona.¹ He knew three vases with figures. The first was the well-known kantharos in Brussels published originally by Graindor² and now appearing again in the third fascicule of the Belgian section of the *Corpus Vasorum*.³ On each side is a σκευοφόρος carrying on his shoulder a yoke from which two baskets are suspended. The painter has shown us the contents of one of the baskets. It is a consignment of pottery—two kantharoi, six kylikes, and two plates are visible.⁴ The vase thus provides an apt illustration of the φορτίον that the Boeotian in the *Acharnians* might have taken back from Athens and of the sycophant's uncomfortable mode of travel.⁵ The second, in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne,⁶ shows a hoplite advancing. The third, in the British Museum, with a large head of Athena, cocks, and hens, is figured on Plate XLII, a-b.⁷ To



FIG. 1.—CADUCEUS
BEHIND HERMES
ON A KANTHAROS
IN READING.

these three there is now a fourth to be added, a kantharos acquired by Reading University in 1938 and said to have come from near the Theban Kabeirion (Plate XLII, c-d).⁸ On one side is a reclining figure with enormous head and diminutive body, holding in his left hand a sceptre or branch and extending his right hand, where a bird perches on his finger. On the other side is Hermes⁹ in a traveller's hat and short cloak, leaning on a stick in the familiar pose of an 'onlooker'.¹⁰ Behind him is a large caduceus, its stem apparently sprouting (Fig. 1). The reclining figure is grossly caricatured; the Hermes, like the σκευοφόρος in Brussels, is moderately grotesque. I have no detailed information about the Cologne hoplite as the vase is not yet accessible.¹¹ The burlesque style of the figures accords well with that of the finds from the Theban Kabeirion,¹² though no examples of this particular ware seem to have been found in the sanctuary. There appears to be no reason to doubt the provenance given for the Reading vase, and if it is a fact that the Brussels kantharos was found at Oreos in Euboea¹³ it could quite reasonably be assumed to have travelled thither from Thebes in antiquity.

Kantharoi of this shape were found at Rhitsona in graves 76, 139, and 123.¹⁴ In grave 76, the earliest of these graves, there were three¹⁵ in company with one taller black kantharos, an early example of the kind that was prevalent in 424 B.C.,¹⁶ and with two skyphoi of different kinds but both in the manner of the Haimon painter. Miss Haspels, on the strength of the black-figured vases, dates the grave in the second quarter of the fifth century;¹⁷ the excavators, on the basis of the black glaze vases, which are clearly earlier than 424 though not very far from

¹ P. N. Ure *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona* 39 n. 1.

² *REA* VII (1905) 325 f. pl. V.

³ *Cinquantenaire* At683, *CV* Brussels III III G pl. 5. 2 a and b.

⁴ See the drawing *op. cit.* 5.

⁵ Aristophanes *Ach.* 900 f.

⁶ Inv. 22160; formerly in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, no. 57.

⁷ Inv. no. 1907. 5-18. 3. Height to rim 0.15 m. My thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish this vase.

⁸ Inv. no. 38. iv. 9. Height to rim 0.145 m.

⁹ The white paint has flaked off the right arm and the boot flaps of Hermes and off a good deal of the caduceus.

¹⁰ For 'onlookers' see Haspels *ABL* p. 151.

¹¹ I am much indebted to Professor A. Rumpf and also to Dr. Fremersdorf, Director of the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, for very kindly searching out all the information available about this vase.

¹² See Wolters-Bruns *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* passim.

¹³ *CV* Brussels III 5 where this provenance is queried.

¹⁴ Ure *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona* 36.

¹⁵ *Id.* *Black Glaze Pottery* pl. IX 8 and two others not figured, see the grave catalogue *ibid.* 40.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* pl. IX 7. For the shape of kantharos predominant in the polyandria of the Thespians who fell at Delium in 424 B.C. cf. no. 7 from the Rhitsona grave 123 *Sixth and Fifth* pl. X.

¹⁷ *ABL* 189.

that year, date it, together with the slightly later grave 139, in the decade 440-430 B.C.¹⁸ A compromise on the middle of the century will not be far out for the date of grave 76 and the *floruit* of this kantharos shape, though the single example of it buried in grave 123 shows that it survived into the last quarter.

The subjects of the paintings are, if we except the hoplite of the Cologne vase, somewhat unusual. The Brussels σκευοφόρος has been dealt with elsewhere.¹⁹ The British Museum vase with a burlesque head of Athena, helmeted, with snake-like hair and snakes on the shoulder that may spring from an unseen aegis, associated with a family of cocks and hens, each on its own plinth, cannot to my knowledge be paralleled on Boeotian ware. In Attic we find cocks in company with Athena Polias on a lekythos by the Athena painter in Buffalo.²⁰ The same painter repeats the head of the Polias, accompanied by an owl, on a lekythos in Dresden.²¹ For cocks on stelai or altars a parallel is to be found on a lekythos by the Athena painter in Athens²² where we have not merely a cock standing on an altar or plinth very similar to that facing Athena on the London kantharos but also two onlookers leaning on their sticks with arms akimbo in much the same pose as the Hermes of the Reading kantharos. The large heavy caduceus of Hermes, however, does not resemble those of the Athena painter, which are slender and light.²³ Nearer to it is the caduceus on a peculiar lekythos in the Cabinet des Médailles,²⁴ put by Beazley near the Beldam painter, which shows Hermes attacking a strange creature (Argus?). Such resemblances as these may be fortuitous, and there is no need to assume that the painter of these characteristically Boeotian kantharoi owed much to Attic influence.

The only figure provided with an inscription is the reclining dwarf of Plate XLII, *d*. We will for convenience call him a Kabeir from his resemblance to the reclining Kabeir on vases from the Theban Kabeirion,²⁵ though they have neither sceptre nor bird. The inscription (Fig. 2) consists in the first place of six letters, retrograde. These, painted in thin paint, comfortably fill the available space, as will be seen from a glance at Plate XLII, *d*, but they are nevertheless immediately followed by five more letters, larger and coarser, in thick paint laid on with a heavy hand, crowding under the handle and finishing up in front of Hermes on the other side of the kantharos (see Plate XLII, *c*). There is a certain similarity in the two sets of letters. I suggest that the six thin letters nearest to the Kabeir constitute the original inscription, while the five thick letters, crowding under the handle and out the other side, are a correction of a faulty original added after the available space had been adequately filled. I imagine some such situation as this. A Theban vase-painter was commissioned²⁶ to paint a Kabeir and to add the inscription *κοης*, the word being written down in Ionic characters for him to copy. Kappa, omicron, and epsilon went well, but he boggled over eta (which he thought had no business to be there, being the *spiritus asper*) and he produced instead a nu. He tried again and produced an eta, still rather nu-like with the uprights on the slope and the cross bar cutting across at an acute angle. He finished with a large cursive sigma in the familiar three-stroke form. Then, it seems, someone else, dissatisfied with the spelling, took the vase from his hand and in thicker bolder lettering painted a more correct version. His first letter, kappa, was not very successful, looking rather like a digamma, but after this poor beginning omicron, epsilon, and eta were correctly and firmly made and he finished up with a four-stroke sigma. There was little room on the front of the vase for this second version.

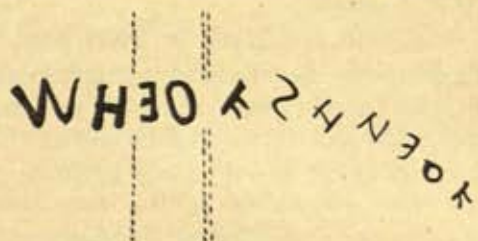


FIG. 2.—INSCRIPTION RUNNING UNDERNEATH THE HANDLE OF A KANTHAROS IN READING.

¹⁸ Sixth and Fifth 81.

¹⁹ See above p. 194.

²⁰ *AJA* XLVIII (1944) 123 fig. 2.

²¹ *Haspels ABL* pl. 45. 2.

²² *AM* XXX (1905) 207 fig. 1.

²³ E.g. *Haspels op. cit.* pl. 45. 1.

²⁴ *CV* II pl. 84. 8, 9 and pl. 85. 4, 5.

²⁵ *Wolters-Bruns op. cit.* pl. 5-8.

²⁶ For an inscription painted to order cf. the kantharos fragment painted in white with the dedication in Ionic lettering . . . 5]ωπος Κα[βίρος, *Wolters-Bruns op. cit.* 54, no. 143.

The writer managed a rather cramped omicron under the handle, then turned the kantharos upside down to get the handle out of the way, and epsilon and eta were painted in this position. His last letter, sigma, was made in the course of turning the kantharos back to its normal position, with the result that the letter lies on its side. For the four-stroke sigma there are parallels on Kabeiric vases of approximately the same date as ours,²⁷ but why the Ionic eta? The painter of the first inscription was an old-fashioned fellow who still did his lettering retrograde, an unlikely person to be in the van of the innovators who introduced the new-fangled Ionic form, and it is plain that he had difficulties with it. From that we can gather that he was working from a copy of some sort and not spontaneously. A copy would be desirable if what he had to write was unfamiliar, and actually there is nothing to show that κοης was a word used in Boeotia. But we do know from Hesychius that κοης or κοης was a title of the priest of the Kabeiroi. Buckler and Robinson discuss this word in *AJA* 1913 pp. 362 f. in dealing with the title κουεις given to the priestess of Artemis at Sardis²⁸ and connect it with the κοταρχης of the Kabeiroi at Didyma²⁹ and the κονης of Hipponax.³⁰ It can hardly be doubted that the κοης of our inscription is the κοης or κοης of Hesychius in yet another form.³¹ The reclining monstrosity on the Reading vase looks more like a Kabeir than a priest of a Kabeir, but it must be borne in mind that Kabeiroi are not always Μεγάλοι Θεοί but often appear as ministers of a greater deity³² and the title Koes may be in some cases the equivalent of Kabeirōs.

We do not know in what particular centre or centres of the Kabeiric cult the Koes functioned. Kern suggests Thessalonike³³ and that may well be, but our vase shows that the title was already in use long before the founding of that city. Buckler and Robinson refer it to the much more famous Samothrace³⁴ and we know from Herodotus and Aristophanes³⁵ that initiates in the Samothracian mysteries were by no means uncommon at this period. The word may have been in use both in Samothrace and in other seats of Kabeiric worship in the islands and on the east coast of the Aegean. Facing the Kabeir on the reverse of the kantharos is Hermes, not inscribed, but identified by his large caduceus (Fig. 1). Hermes does not figure much on Boeotian Kabeiric ware except in Judgment of Paris scenes³⁶ or as a herm.³⁷ It is, however, a well-attested fact that the younger of the two male Kabeiroi at Samothrace was Hermes-Kadmilos or Kasmilos.³⁸ So on this typically Boeotian vase we see a Kabeir whose appearance recalls both the Megalokephaloi and the Pygmies of Hesiod,³⁹ inscribed in Ionic characters with the title Koes, which was apparently not Theban and may well have been Samothracian,⁴⁰ and standing before him, corresponding to the Pais of the Theban Kabeirion,⁴¹ Hermes the son-Kabeir of Samothrace. It seems not improbable that the kantharos was specially made in a Theban pottery to be dedicated at Thebes by an Ionian visitor who, like Herodotus, had been initiated in the mysteries of the Samothracian Kabeiroi.

When the above was already in proof my attention was drawn to the Attic r.f. hydria from Duvanlij in Bulgaria (*Jdl* XLV 302-4, Figs. 18-22), attributed by Beazley to the Kadmos painter and dated about 420 B.C. (Rostovtzeff *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* 102). On the shoulder is painted a theoxenia of the Dioskouroi. Left and right of the empty couch stand a priest with a lyre and a woman who is described as a priestess (by

²⁷ E.g. *op. cit.* pl. 5.

²⁸ See also *Sardis* VII 1 p. 67 and the references there given.

²⁹ *CIG* II 2880-2882; cf. Kern Pauly-Wissowa *RE* s.v. 'Kabeiros' 1445.

³⁰ Bergk *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* 589.

³¹ It is a question whether κοης is an Ionic form of κοης or a Boeotian form of κοης. Cf. κοιρανος, κορυβος on the stone in Tanagra Roehl *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae* 50, no. 157 (a reference that I owe to Miss L. H. Jeffery). The Ionic lettering would seem to indicate Ionic rather than Boeotian dialect.

³² Strabo X 3 15; cf. also the Kabarnoi, priests of Demeter on Paros, *RE* s.v. Καβαρνοι.

³³ *Loc. cit.*

³⁴ *AJA* XVII 364.

³⁵ Hdt. II 51; Aristoph. *Pax* 277 f.

³⁶ Wolters-Bruns *op. cit.* pl. 28. 1, 37. 2.

³⁷ *Op. cit.* pl. 51. 6.

³⁸ Schol. Ap. Rhod. I 917 (*FHG* III 154 no. 27) quoting Mnaseas and Dionysodorus. See also the table Daremberg-Saglio *Dictionnaire* 762.

³⁹ Strabo VII 3 6.

⁴⁰ Cf. Diod. Sic. V 47. 3 (speaking of the Samothracians) ἰσχύουσι δὲ παλαιὸν ἴδιαν διαλεκτὸν οἱ αὐτόχθονες, ἧς πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς θύραις μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τηρεῖται.

⁴¹ Kern *RE* s.v. 'Kadmilos' 1459.

Filow and Welkow *JdI* XLV 302; Chapouthier *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse* 134, n. 2, 161, n. 5; Beazley *apud* Rostovtzeff *loc. cit.*; Hemberg *Die Kabiren* 118, n. 4). Above the couch are the twin stars of the Dioskouroi, and in the background, beyond pillars to right and left, the brethren are seen in human form, leading their horses. Above four of the figures there are inscriptions not discernible in the published photographs. Over each of the Dioskouroi and the 'priestess' is a word of four letters, faint and somewhat uncertain, which Filow and Welkow read as κοας. The priest is inscribed κομος. Here then, if the reading κοας is correct, is presumably our κοης, κοιης, κοης in still another form, and the title is attached not to the priest, but to the twin gods. It is true that it is attached also to the 'priestess'. Filow and Welkow conclude that the name has no connexion with the figures over which it is inscribed. But is it certain that the woman with the imposing diadem, for whom a chair is provided near the couch, is a mere priestess and not perhaps a goddess, the companion of the Dioskouroi, whoever she may be (see Chapouthier, *op. cit. passim*)? The presence of three thuribles, not two, may be not without significance. In this case it seems probable that the third member of the triad is Helen. There is a close resemblance in dress and gesture to the figure of Leda with the egg on the bell krater by the same painter in Vienna (*Münchener Archäologische Studien* 84, Fig. 595) and to the Leda in a similar scene on another krater (*Ann. XXIV-XXVI* 125, Fig. 1), but Leda would not be honoured in a theoxenia (Chapouthier *op. cit.* 127, n. 1) while her daughter Helen certainly was (*ibid.* 132 f.). Assuming that the 'priestess' is Helen, we find the word κοας applied on this vase to three divinities, while on the Reading kantharos κοης is attached to a being who resembles a Kabeir and is in the divine company of Hermes. The connexion and assimilation of the Dioskouroi with the Kabeiroi is too complicated a question to embark upon. Nor is it clear how the title which Hesychius gives to a priest comes to be attached on fifth century vases to representations of gods. But the fact of the occurrence of what appears to be the same title on two widely differing vases may help eventually to throw some glimmer of light on an obscure subject.⁴²

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⁴² For the fullest and most recent discussion of Κοης and kindred words see Masson 'Lydien Kaveś (Καυης)' in *Jahrb. für kleinasiatische Forschung* I (1950) 182 f., which appeared

after this article was written. For this reference, and for others also, I have to thank Mr. Peter Fraser.

A NEW PONTIC AMPHORA

[PLATES XLIII-XLIV]

THE amphora here published (Plates XLIII-XLIV) was acquired for the Reading University collection on the London market in 1947. Nothing is known of its provenance. A detailed description with full illustrations will be given in the first Reading fascicle of the *Corpus Vasorum*, but so notable an addition to the Pontic series (to keep this convenient and generally used name for these vases which are now universally agreed to have been made in Etruria) calls for more comment than is desirable in a *Corpus* publication. The vase has a triple interest: it has unique pictures of scenes from the Troilus story, it affords new material for the study of the Pontic series, and it helps to connect Etruscan vase paintings with the wall paintings of Etruscan tombs. It thus provides a new item in a group of monuments which I have long believed to have been the source of a whole series of statements about the history of the Tarquin family which were dismissed by historians of the last century as obvious inventions, but which are in all probability the only statements about them which are in fact based on contemporary sources, that is to say, the archaeological material of which we can now speak with some assurance thanks to the work of Beazley and members of his school.

To begin with the pictures on our vase. When I first saw it the gaily coloured pictures at once recalled the painting of Achilles lurking behind the fountain on the wall of the Tomba dei Tori at Tarquinia.¹ The interpretation of the actual scene I owe to Beazley, who has described it with his usual pregnant brevity in *Etruscan Vase Painting*² as 'a unique representation, in a furious style, of Achilles carrying Troilos to the altar of Apollo' (Plates XLIII, *b* and XLIV, *a*). This final scene of the Troilus tragedy appears comparatively seldom on vase paintings, and, where it does occur, never, as far as I am aware, depicts this precise moment. Generally Achilles has reached the altar and Troilus is either being killed or has been killed already.³

The picture on the other side (Plates XLIII, *a*, XLIV, *b*, *d*) shows an earlier scene in the story, the pursuit. This is a favourite theme among archaic vase painters, but here again we have an unusual version. Normally we see Troilus mounted with a led horse galloping beside him, pursued by Achilles swift of foot. Polyxena's pitcher generally lies broken on the ground and Polyxena herself is sometimes seen fleeing—on foot like Achilles.⁴ Only very exceptionally⁵ Achilles, on foot, is seen pulling Troilus off his horse. That, however, is presumably the way the other vase painters imagine Achilles as having captured him. But on our vase Achilles, for all his fleetness of foot, finding himself outstripped by the mounted Troilus, has leapt on to the led horse and from there unhorsed his victim. Then, between the two scenes, he must have stripped him and flung him on his shoulder, there to be dealt with as variously pictured on the vases listed in note 3.

The other Troilus picture beloved of archaic vase painters is the first scene of all, where Achilles, fully armed, lies in ambush behind the fountain which Troilus approaches, mounted and leading a second horse and often accompanied by Polyxena, on foot with her pitcher.⁶

¹ *CAH* Plates I 330 b; Weege *Etrusk. Malerei* pl. 96.

² P. 295 (Addenda to chap. II p. 12).

³ So e.g. Thiersch pl. I ('Tyrrhenian' amphora); British Museum *CV* VI pl. 86. 2 (Attic B.F. hydria); Munich 63 (Attic B.F. hydria); Perugia, Hoppin *R.F. Handbook* I 403 (Beazley *ARV* 222 no. 56); Palermo *CV* pl. 10. 1 (Beazley *op. cit.* p. 315, very early Makron).

⁴ So e.g. Florence, Hoppin *B.F. Handbook* 153 (François vase); Louvre *CV* VIII pl. 75. 5 (Siana cup); Hoppin *B.F. Handbook* 430-1 (cup by Xenokles); Copenhagen *CV* III pl. 123. 4 (B.F. hydria); Brit. Mus. *CV* VI pl. 80. 1 (B.F. hydria); Bibl. Nat. *CV* II pl. 54. 6-7 (late B.F. rimless

kylix); Brit. Mus. *JHS* XXXII (1912) 171 and pl. II (R.F. hydria by the Troilus painter, *ARV* 191, no. 14); Louvre *CV* VI pl. 46. 5, 7 (early classical R.F. pelike *ARV* 382 no. 3) Berlin inv. 4497 (R.F. calyx krater *ARV* 401 no. 8 by the Villa Giulia painter).

⁵ So Louvre G154, Hoppin *Handbook* R.F. I 137 (cup by Brygos, *ARV* 246).

⁶ For example Louvre *CV* I pl. 7. 3 (Laconian deinok); Louvre *CV* II pl. 22. 1 (Attic B.F. deinok); Brit. Mus. *CV* VI pl. 84. 4 and 87. 2 (Attic B.F. hydria); Copenhagen *CV* III pl. 110. 10 a, b (Attic B.F. lekythos); Athens 12481 Haspels *ABL* pl. 41. 5 b, c (Attic B.F. lekythos).

This scene, though not depicted on our vase,⁷ often shows details which recall it. The fountain often looks like our altar with the water laid on. Achilles is often partly hidden by vegetation not unlike our vegetation. The led horse is a constant feature.

This brings us to the question of style and the place in the Pontic series to which our vase should be assigned. There can be no doubt that it belongs to the principal group which centres round the Munich amphora figuring the Judgment of Paris.⁸ In shape and size the Munich and Reading vases are the same. They are the same too in their scheme of decoration: main scenes in panels on the shoulder; below this a purely patterned zone; next a zone of animals and monsters; below this again rays. The necks differ in that Munich has purely decorative patterns whereas Reading has demi-Gorgons, but both are set in an upward continuation of the shoulder panels, and in a third amphora of this group, in the Vatican,⁹ again of the same size and shape and scheme of decoration, the neck shows on either side a double-bodied panther. In all three vases the main picture trespasses into the frame. In all three we find the same highly distinctive treatment of the panther's head (Plate XLIV, c).

The Munich and Vatican vases lack the rich vegetation of the Reading amphora, but a variant on our maiden-hair foliage is found on the Pontic amphora Louvre E 703¹⁰ which further resembles our vase in having Troilus scenes, both post-ambush, on the shoulder: on one side Troilus on horseback with a riderless horse beside him is pursued by Achilles on foot; on the other Achilles beside a maiden-hair tree draws his sword on Polyxena as she seeks refuge at an altar. Besides the altar and the tree the loose elbow-sleeve on Polyxena's raised right arm corresponds with the sleeves of the Gorgons. Dohrn lists this vase, as he does the Vatican amphora, among the works of the master who painted the Munich vase, whom he calls the Paris painter. Its exact relation to the best Pontics may be disputed, but it certainly stands near to them.¹¹

The palmette zone on the Reading vase cannot be paralleled on any other Pontic, but the unusual chevron palmette occurs singly on a Pontic vase in Munich by Dohrn's Tityos painter, whom he regards as closely related to his Paris painter.¹² This same Munich vase shows a lioness licking her paw¹³ in much the same attitude as the Reading lion and a wind-blown variant on our round flower, both motives which persist in Etruscan B.F. well after the Pontic period.¹⁴

It is generally agreed that the Pontic vases were produced in Etruria and that the fabric was possibly founded by a Greek immigrant.¹⁵ A similar immigrant has often, and with reason, been assumed as the original maker of the famous Caeretan hydriae, who probably started work a little later than the earliest Pontic masters but whose vases have points of resemblance to theirs. Both classes of vase are gaily coloured, both are highly individualistic and sometimes humorous, both are predominantly East Greek in character. Dohrn's study of Etruscan B.F. shows how the Pontic vases lead on to later series of Etruscan vases that run on well into the fifth century. Dohrn himself¹⁶ dates the Paris painter c. 540-530 and the closely related Tityos painter c. 530-520. Mingazzini¹⁷ puts them even later, the Paris painter's group 530-510, later examples 510-490. Ducati¹⁸ and Beazley¹⁹ are less precise, but both suggest

⁷ Its first appearance on an Etruscan vase seems to be that on the post-Pontic amphora in the Villa Giulia CV I pl. 2, 1-4 (Dohrn *Schwarzfig. Etrusk. Vasen* 154 no. 239, by his Siren painter). Its occurrence on the wall of the Tomba dei Tori has already been noticed.

⁸ Sieveking-Hackl no. 827 pl. 33, Pfuhl *MuZ* figs. 155-6, Ducati *Pontische Vasen* pl. 1 and 2, Dohrn no. 58, Mingazzini *Gnomon* XI 71 no. 1, Beazley *Etruscan Vase Painting* pl. 1, 3, 4.

⁹ Albizzati *Vasi del Vaticano* no. 231 pl. 21, Ducati pl. 8 a, Dohrn no. 65, Mingazzini no. 2, Beazley pl. 1, 1, 2.

¹⁰ Ducati pl. 9 b, Dohrn no. 74.

¹¹ Ducati, who places the Munich and Vatican vases in two different groups (I and III), places it in yet another group (IV). Mingazzini, still more rashly, excludes it (with many others of Ducati's list) altogether from the Pontic series.

¹² Sieveking-Hackl no. 984 pl. 41 and fig. 194, Dohrn no. 122. Cf. also the chevron palmettes on Ducati pl. 27 a,

Dohrn no. 100 'from the Paris painter's workshop'.

¹³ Sieveking-Hackl say 'rubbing her muzzle with her paw'. No tongue is visible in the Munich illustrations, but the lioness has her mouth open. In any case her attitude and action recall that of the Reading animal.

¹⁴ See e.g. Munich Sieveking-Hackl no. 850 pl. 35 (Dohrn no. 280, by his Perseus painter; Beazley *Racc. Guglielmi* p. 80 no. 1 'very near the Micali painter') lion. Sieveking-Hackl no. 863 pl. 35 (Dohrn no. 187 by his Siren painter; Beazley *op. cit.* p. 78 no. 27 by his Micali painter) round flower. Würzburg Langlotz pl. 234 no. 798 (Dohrn no. 196 by his Siren painter; Beazley *op. cit.* p. 78 no. 20 by his Micali painter) three large round flowers on branching stalks.

¹⁵ Beazley *Etruscan Vase Painting* 1.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* 79 f.

¹⁷ *Gnomon* XI 73 f.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* 21.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.* 1.

a rather earlier starting date, 'the middle of the sixth century'. Considering the vast destruction of circumstantial evidence that took place when the Etruscan tombs were discovered and their vase contents scattered with no record kept, this lack of unanimity is not surprising, but the earlier dating of Beazley and Ducati is the more probable, at least for the earlier of the Pontics such as the Munich and Vatican amphorae discussed above. The Reading vase must be dated a little later than these, as is shown by the intrusion of purely Etruscan motives. At Tarquinia in the Tomba dei Tori we have the earliest scene of the Troilus tale with Achilles in ambush behind a fountain which Troilus approaches on horseback. Some aspects of the treatment, the stocky Achilles with pointed beard and elaborate helmet, the masonry of the fountain, the vegetation with maiden-hair foliage (seen on the right of the Troilus picture and on the left of the gable painting in the inner chamber II²⁰) invite comparison with the Reading vase. For the maiden-hair foliage compare also the Tomba della Caccia and the Tomba dei Auguri.²¹ There can be little doubt that Pontic and Caeretan vase painters of this period were in close contact with the tomb painters of Tarquinia. It has in fact been suggested that vase and tomb painter were sometimes one and the same, and the suggestion is by no means improbable.²² The Tomba dei Tori is put by Weege²³ in the first half of the sixth century, by Ducati²⁴ 'before 550', by Pallottino²⁵ about 540. The other two are later.

Our vase thus does something to confirm and consolidate the archaeological evidence which points to the activity of East Greek artists in South²⁶ Etruria in the middle of the sixth century. This is the time when close by in Rome we are told by Livy and Dionysius that Servius Tullius built the temple of Diana on the Aventine in imitation of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus.²⁷ As the century advanced the pottery industry of Etruria went more and more native. We see the process beginning when we turn from the Munich or the Vatican amphora to that at Reading. Similarly in our literary sources we find that the last of the Tarquins at the end of his reign was employing an Etruscan *fictor*, Vulca of Veii, to make the statues for his new temple of Jupiter.²⁸ The group of terra-cotta figures unearthed on the site of Veii²⁹ can be taken to represent the work perhaps not of Vulca himself, but at any rate of a contemporary school of *fictores* at Veii. It is no longer Greek, but its Greek ancestry is obvious.

Another painting that recalls the Tomba dei Tori leads us in a quite different direction. It is that on the Corinthian bottle from Cleonae, in the Argolid near the Corinthian frontier, which likewise depicts Achilles ambushing Troilus.³⁰ There are notable differences in treatment: the fountain is less solid; the water gushes from the regulation lion's-head spout half-way up the structure and not from the mouth of a complete animal resting on top; the figures are of course pure Greek; in front of the fountain the impossible symmetrical tree of the tomb painting is replaced by a much more naturalistic tree with long narrow leaves. But trees very similar to that on the vase occur on a lower frieze of the tomb; behind Achilles on the vase is a strip of rhomboid check pattern³¹ that recalls the check pattern painted on the roofs of some of the Tarquinia tombs; both vase and tomb painting have painted inscriptions: those on the vase give, in Corinthian dialect and alphabet, the name of the painter, Timonidas, and of the persons and horses depicted, Achilles, Troilus, Priam, Asobas, and Xanthus. The tomb shows a few words of indecipherable Etruscan.

The Timonidas vase is dated by Payne³² about 580 B.C. It was produced towards the end of a long period in which Corinth had dominated the pottery industry, at any rate in the

²⁰ *Antike Denkmäler* II pl. 42 A fig. 5.

²¹ Weege *op. cit.* pl. 2, 95.

²² Dohrn *op. cit.* 82 f.; Webster *JHS* XLVIII (1928) 205.

²³ *Op. cit.* 108.

²⁴ *Pittura Etrusca* pp. vi-vii.

²⁵ *Mon. Ant.* XXXVI 341.

²⁶ Caeretan hydriae are by general consent attributed to Caere, where they have been exclusively found. For the Pontic vases Ducati *op. cit.* 22 f. argues that the choice is between Caere and Vulci.

²⁷ Livy I 45, Dion. Hal. IV 26. The cult statue in Servius' temple is said by Strabo, IV i 5, to have resembled

that of the Ephesian at Massalia, which again is stated by Strabo, IV i 4, to have resembled and been derived directly from that at Ephesus.

²⁸ For Vulca and other Etruscan *fictores* see E. Douglas Van Buren *Figurative Terra-cotta Revetments in Etruria* 32 f. and the sources there quoted.

²⁹ *JHS* XLI (1921) 213, fig. 6; 215, fig. 7.

³⁰ Payne *NC* no. 1072 pl. 34. 5; Hoppin *Handbook B.F.* 12-13.

³¹ Found also on other mid-Corinthian vases, e.g. *AJA* XXXIII 543 fig. 22, from Corinth.

³² *NC* 314.

Western world. From well back in the seventh century Etruria had been flooded with Corinthian vases, and local potters in Etruria had been turning out masses of imitation Corinthian that can be distinguished from the originals at a glance.³³ Once again the modern archaeological evidence and the ancient literary sources are in remarkable harmony, for these Corinthian products take us back to the time when Demaratus, father of Tarquinius Priscus, is related to have fled from Corinth to Tarquinia accompanied by the *factores* Eucheir and Eugrammus, and there to have founded the fortunes of the house of Tarquin. The way that the archaeological evidence corroborates the literary tradition was noted by me nearly thirty years ago in *The Origin of Tyranny*³⁴ and was argued further and traced further back by the late Alan Blakeway in his notable paper *Demaratus*.³⁵ Now, thanks to vastly increased knowledge of archaic Greek and Etruscan art, which we owe so largely to work of the Oxford school, we can, I think, go one step further and suggest why the ancient historians and the extant monuments tell the same tale. The extant archaeological material comes mainly from the dwellings of the illustrious dead. In the third and second centuries, when writers like Fabius and Varro and the Greek Polybius wrote the first histories of ancient Rome, all this material was buried underground. But where the illustrious dead were housed as we find them in the Tarquinia tombs there can be no doubt that the illustrious living were equally well housed. So too were the gods. It is safe too to assume that these buildings above ground were, like the tombs, adorned with paintings and inscriptions and with votive or commemorative statues. For the temples and the statues in them we have in fact references in extant authors, some of which have been quoted above. It is the inscriptions³⁶ that concern us most of all. What would they record? Extant monuments tell us the answer. They would record the name of the artist, the name of the person who commissioned or dedicated the work, and, less frequently, the occasion of the dedication or commission. A famous example where we find all three is the statue base on the Athenian acropolis which records that the statue was made by Antenor and was dedicated by Nearchus the potter as the first fruits of his works.³⁷ This inscription is particularly instructive from our special point of view. It is one of the numerous objects, damaged but fairly complete, which is still much as it was left by the Persians after their destruction of the city in 480 B.C. The magnificent museum on the acropolis contains a long series of statues and bases similarly 'destroyed' on the same occasion. The Gauls who destroyed Rome in 390 B.C. were no better equipped than the Persians, and their destruction of Rome can hardly have been more thorough than the earlier destruction of Athens. It is highly probable that many monuments in Rome survived the Gallic catastrophe. A further point to note is that the dedicator of the Athenian statue was a potter. We have several vases signed by him.³⁸ Presumably he was a particularly successful potter, for besides the evidence of the dedication on the Acropolis he is one of the two archaic Attic potters whose work is known to have been continued by his sons, both of whom always sign themselves as son of Nearchus.³⁹ The other of the two potters is Ergotimus, maker of the most notable of early B.F. vases, the famous François vase,⁴⁰ whose work was continued by his son Eucheirus⁴¹ who also, unlike most ancient potters, records on his vases his father's name as well as his own.

Neither Ergotimus nor Nearchus tells us his father's name. Both may well have been the founders of their firms as far at least as Athens was concerned. Both are already masters of their craft before the middle of the sixth century, Ergotimus unquestionably so a decade or more before then. It is tempting to suppose that they were among the craftsmen who had been attracted to Athens by the law of Solon that encouraged such immigration. One of the vases

³³ NC 189, 206-9.

³⁴ Pp. 239-45. Since then the evidence has been immensely strengthened by Payne's convincing arguments, NC 35-42, that Protocorinthian pottery was produced at Corinth and not at Sicyon or elsewhere.

³⁵ JRS XXV 129-49.

³⁶ Note that we already find inscriptions on the Tomba dei Tori and the Corinthian vase of Timonidas and that Corinthian artists were already using them on architectural revetments in the seventh century (Payne BSA XXVII

124-32; Pfuhl *MuZ* III fig. 481).

³⁷ Payne and Young *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* pl. 51; Dickens *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* I 229.

³⁸ Hoppin *Handbook B.F.* 172-6; Richter *AJA* XXXVI (1932) 272-5.

³⁹ Hoppin *op. cit.* 365-405 (Tleson), 80 (Ergoteles) and 380 (both).

⁴⁰ Hoppin *op. cit.* 81-3 and 148-55.

⁴¹ Hoppin *op. cit.* 85-7.

of Nearchus is a ball aryballos (the commonest of all Corinthian shapes) now in New York.⁴² Ergotimus, as we have seen, had a son named Eucheirus. Considering how very common was the practice of naming the son after the grandfather, may we go one step further and suggest that the potter Eucheir,⁴³ who is said to have worked for Demaratus at Tarquinia, was no other than the father of the Athenian Ergotimus? This is of course pure speculation. What is certain is that the appearance of a fictor of this name in the Demaratus story is not, as has been asserted,⁴⁴ an obviously fictitious element casting doubt on the whole narrative. On the contrary it suggests as the source of that narrative an inscription such as that on the Nearchus base set up in Athens by a member of the one firm which stands on an equality with that to which the Athenian Eucheirus belonged. Similar inscriptions are obviously a possible source for the few concrete statements made by ancient historians concerning the temple and statue of Diana set up by Servius on the Aventine, the work undertaken by Vulca of Veii for the last of the Roman kings and other public works of the Tarquins.

It does not follow that these inscriptions were always accurately copied or correctly interpreted by Fabius and his followers. What can be claimed is that the intensive study of archaic sculpture and ceramics, Greek and Etruscan, has provided us with a new approach to one chapter of early Roman history.⁴⁵

P. N. URE.

⁴² Richter *op. cit.*

⁴³ I have assumed that Pliny's Eucheir is a Latinised form of Εὐχεῖρος. The Athenian potter was singularly uncertain about the spelling of his name. He gives us Εὐχεῖρος, Εὐχεῖρς and (if the cup without any patronymic *Clara Rhodos* III 34 is by him) Εὐχερος.

⁴⁴ E.g. Seeley *Livy* I 46.

⁴⁵ It is typical of the pre-archaeological attitude that Mommsen (*Hist. Rome* I 133, cf. Seeley *Livy* I 175) in

discussing the temple of Diana on the Aventine, while admitting the possibility of Ionian influence, is preoccupied with the evidence of institutions and festivals that survived into later times, and that one of the few statements on early Roman history in Livy not challenged by nineteenth century historians (see e.g. Seeley *op. cit.* 53) is that which he makes (vi 1) about the destruction of records by the Gauls in 390 B.C.

NOTES ON THE HOMERIC HOUSE

THE critics and commentators who read these notes¹ will probably object that I have not paid sufficient attention to the earlier literature on the subject. I must admit that I have not read Gerlach's paper,² which is not accessible in Alexandria, but I have read at one time or another most of the recent papers on the Homeric house from Myres' paper in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*³ to that of Palmer lately published in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*.⁴ I think that practically all of what was written on the Homeric house before the excavations of Schliemann at Tiryns should now be disregarded. Further since most of that written since the excavation of Tiryns follows the erroneous or 'traditional' interpretation of the two megara at Tiryns as a men's and as a women's megaron, it also need not now be taken into account. Palmer's paper makes a great advance, but he did not have the opportunity of knowing the House of Columns at Mycenae.⁵ I have therefore as regards earlier literature confined myself to Homer himself and standard editions like those of Monro, Leaf, Merry, and Stanford, and have read the newer translations of the Odyssey, the Loeb version and those of T. E. Shaw and E. V. Rieu. If I have missed anything of importance I can only plead that Alexandria of to-day does not possess the same library facilities as Ptolemaic Alexandria.

Earlier commentators on Homer, especially those of the nineteenth century, assumed without any obvious reason that the kind of house, great or small, in which Homer pictured his characters as dwelling was of a bungalow type all on one floor. They also assumed that the men and the women had separate apartments and led more or less separate lives. The results of these assumptions can be seen in the plans with which various commentators enriched their works. They never seem to have considered seriously the possibility that the houses of Homer's characters might have basements and upper storeys, or were houses that might really have been built and inhabited. Even when as in the *Iliad* ⁶ Homer states clearly that Hecuba went downstairs from the megaron to her storeroom to get out her best peplos for dedication to Athena, commentators refuse to believe that, although Homer uses the word *κατεβήσето*, he means that Hecuba really went downstairs into a basement. 'Κατεβήσето cannot imply that Hekabe descends from an upper floor, for the hall or μέγαρον, the common sitting room of the palace, is always on the ground floor. It can only mean that she went into the inmost recesses of the house, "into the depths", as we might say, where the treasure-chamber is.' ⁷ This is almost equivalent to a deliberate mistranslation of the simple Greek *κατεβήσето*. In the *Odyssey* there are frequent references to going up and down stairs, and yet the traditional and 'orthodox' plans (Fig. 1) ⁸ of the house of Odysseus all assume that it was all on one level. They do insert a κλίμαξ, it is true, and speak of ὑπερώϊα, but never seem to suggest or imagine that they were intended to be used



FIG. 1.—'TRADITIONAL' PLAN
OF THE HOMERIC HOUSE,
JEBB, *Introduction to Homer*
(CAMBRIDGE 1887), p. 58
(BASED ON PROTODIKOS, *De*
Aedibus Homericis, LEIPZIG
1877).

¹ I am much indebted to my wife and daughter for their helpful and constructive criticism of these notes.

² *Philologus*, Vol. XXX, p. 503 ff.

² Vol. XX, 1900, pp. 128 ff.

⁴ 1948, pp. 92 ff. My best thanks are due to Professor Palmer for most kindly sending me a copy of his paper.

² Wace, *Mycenae*, pp. 91 ff., figs. 32-34, 108, a, b.

* VI 288.

² Leaf and Bayfield on *Iliad* VI 288. Compare their note on *Iliad* XXIV, 191 where Priam descends apparently to the same storeroom to select a ransom for Hector's body and they suggest that *καμπύροιο* can be compared with the phrase 'plunging into the depths of a wood'.

¹ E.g. Rumpf's plan in Merry, *Odyssey* Vol. I, p. x; Jebb, *Introduction to Homer*, p. 56; Autenrieth, *Homeric Dictionary*, pl. III (after Gerlach).

or inhabited. There seems to be a lack of realism or commonsense which affects even the best of pure scholars when they come to comment on material things like houses.

When Schliemann excavated the palace at Tiryns in 1884, the discovery that the palace had had staircases and an upper storey ought to have led commentators to change their views. Not only did they not do so, but their views of what a Homeric house ought to be like were allowed to affect the interpretation of the ruins of Tiryns.⁹ Thus arose the idea of a men's and a women's megaron at Tiryns. The clear indications of an upper storey were ignored, and two separate houses of different dates were assumed, according to the traditional assumptions of Homeric commentators, to be parts of the same house. The existence of basements, as visible only too clearly in the famous galleries, was also neglected and instead fantastic explanations of the galleries were put forward. Now that the results of the latest German researches and excavations at Tiryns¹⁰ have shown that these ideas are mistaken it is time that we should revise our view of the palace at Tiryns as illustrating the house of Odysseus. One difficulty is that editors of Homer are not always well informed about the latest archaeological discoveries on Mycenaean sites. Further, once an erroneous idea has attained the dignity of print and is in an edition of Homer, and has passed thence into students' handbooks and the like, it is extremely difficult to eradicate it. Recently in 1939 the planning and study of a house at Mycenae known as the House of Columns (Fig. 2)¹¹ has given us an opportunity to make a fresh start in our attempts to understand what Homeric houses could be like, especially as represented by the House of Odysseus.

This is not the place for a full discussion of the Homeric house, but I propose to put forward here a selection of notes based on the results of recent excavations and researches and above all on an unprejudiced effort to adhere to the words and text of Homer and to give them an accurate and reasonable meaning. By adhering to the text of Homer I mean that if Homer says κατεβήσето he means that his character really did go downstairs. Or if he says ἀνέβαινε κλίμακα ὑψηλήν, I believe that he meant us to imagine Penelope as really ascending a high staircase from the megaron to get to an upper storey.

It is obvious from Homer that he imagined the houses of his characters as adapted for a comfortable and, in some cases, even luxurious existence. This idea is borne out by the discoveries made in the palaces at Tiryns, Mycenae, and Thebes,¹² and will no doubt be reinforced by the further excavations of Nestor's palace.¹³ The ruins of big houses like the House of Columns at Mycenae show that others beside the princes lived in comfort and there were certainly well-built and well-equipped houses at smaller centres such as Korakou and Zygouries.¹⁴

There are one or two general principles that we can lay down as preliminaries. We must not assume that all Homeric houses were alike, built to the same plan and same size like Victorian mansions in South Kensington or the archaistic villas of modern ribbon development. There is clear indication that Homeric houses varied in size and in magnificence. Telemachus when he comes to Sparta and sees the great house of Helen and Menelaus is struck with wonder at its glories. He was accustomed to a comparatively small and simple country house in Ithaca where the court with geese¹⁵ waddling about was more like a farmyard, and thus the great house at Sparta seemed to him like the home of Zeus himself.¹⁶ Not all English country-houses are Chatsworths or Blenheim. Trollope depicts the simplicity and shabbiness of Belton Castle as well as the grandeur of Gatherum. It is unfortunate for us that Telemachus did not visit Mycenae or Tiryns. The palace of Nestor has now been found, but unluckily Homer gives only a brief mention of Nestor's home.

Another point is that Homer's house had an upstairs and a downstairs, even in fact 'upstairs and downstairs and in my lady's chamber'. In the *Odyssey* Telemachus goes down-

⁹ See Schliemann, *Tiryns*; Frazer, *Pausanias* Vol. III, pp. 221 ff.

¹⁰ Kurt Müller, *Tiryns* Vol. III.

¹¹ Wace, *op. cit.*

¹² *Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1909, pp. 57 ff., 1930, pp. 29 ff.; Παρκερ

1911, pp. 143 ff., 1912, pp. 85 ff.

¹³ *A.J.A.* 1939, pp. 557 ff.

¹⁴ See Blegen, *Korakou*, and *Zygouries*.

¹⁵ *Odyssey* XIX, 536, 552.

¹⁶ *Odyssey* IV, 71 ff.

stairs¹⁷ from the megaron to a storeroom of which Eurykleia kept the key. Penelope comes up and downstairs to and from her room and the megaron. Thus we can picture the house as having three floors, a basement, a main floor, and an upper storey. This is reasonable when we reflect that many Mycenaean sites are on hills, like Mycenae itself, and thus basements could easily be provided on the natural slope of the hill.¹⁸ We should not, however, assume that all Homeric houses or Mycenaean houses for that reason had exactly the same plan. We can note points of similarity in plans, shown by the ruins, but it is only natural that plans should vary according to the site and according to the fancy of the builder. Still every house great or small has a somewhat similar division of space. A passage in the *Iliad*¹⁹ gives what seems to be the three main divisions of the house: the αὐλή, the court; the δῶμα the main hall and reception rooms; the θάλαμος, the domestic section. This triple division of a house calls to mind the modern house-agent's division of a suburban villa into 'three reception, six bed rooms, and the usual offices'.

We must also remember that Mycenaean houses, so far excavated, being usually built within fortifications were naturally restricted in area and thus there would be a tendency for houses to grow upwards, as in Manhattan, rather than sideways. This is well illustrated by buildings within the walls of Mycenae, such as the House of Columns (Fig. 2) which had a basement, ground floor and at least one upper storey, and the Granary which had a basement and two floors above.²⁰

Words applied to the various parts of houses do not always have the same meaning. The hall for instance of a suburban villa is not the same thing as the hall of a Cambridge or Oxford college. We have other uses of the word as in Trinity Hall and Haddon Hall. The word room itself, quite apart from the generic meaning of space, can be used for a room of any kind. A don's rooms in college consist of one or two keeping rooms, a bed room, a gyp room, and, in these days, of a bath room. A college porter could even say, 'Mr. Annesley is not in college. He's in rooms,' meaning lodgings. In an ordinary country house we have dining room, drawing room, morning room, sitting room, gun room, bed room, dressing room, bath room, maid's room, butler's room, still room, and so on. Trollope might perhaps have written, 'Lily Dale quietly left her room and came downstairs. As she entered the room where Mr. Crosbie sat playing with his hat . . .' Of these one is a bedroom and the other a sitting-room. Step too is another word which can have different meanings. We might have, 'The Duke of Omnium went slowly up the steps to Madame Goesler's front door . . .' and 'Archdeacon Grantly brought the steps to get a volume of his father's sermons from the top shelf in the book-case.' We cannot expect a poet or even a novelist to keep always to the same use of a word like the compiler of a guide book or of a scientific treatise.

Above all we must not forget that Homer imagined that men and women lived in the houses he describes. What would his hearers have said if Homer's houses appeared to them incredible or fantastic? In epic such as that allowances can be made for the divine or the supernatural, as in Alcinoüs' palace, but there are limits. The Mycenaean houses which have been excavated were certainly lived in. The Homeric houses which commentators have conjured up in their studies with the aid of midnight oil could not be lived in, not even by the commentators themselves, except with great discomfort to themselves and their families.

Lastly in describing or mentioning anything Homer takes the ordinary things of daily life for granted just as a modern author would. If Homer says that Hector took his spear and departed, he does not necessarily mean that a spear was all that Hector had with him. So a modern author in saying that the Duke of Omnium took his hat and went round to his club does not mean that a hat was all that the duke was wearing. Anybody but a Homeric commentator would naturally imagine the duke as dressed in the most elegant fashion of an elderly mid-Victorian nobleman.

¹⁷ *Odyssey* II, 337 ff.

¹⁸ See below p. 207.

¹⁹ VI, 316.

²⁰ Wace, *Mycenae*, pp. 55 ff., fig. 3, pp. 91 ff., figs. 32-34, 108.

MYCENAE : HOUSE OF COLUMNS

RESTORED PLAN, GROUND FLOOR

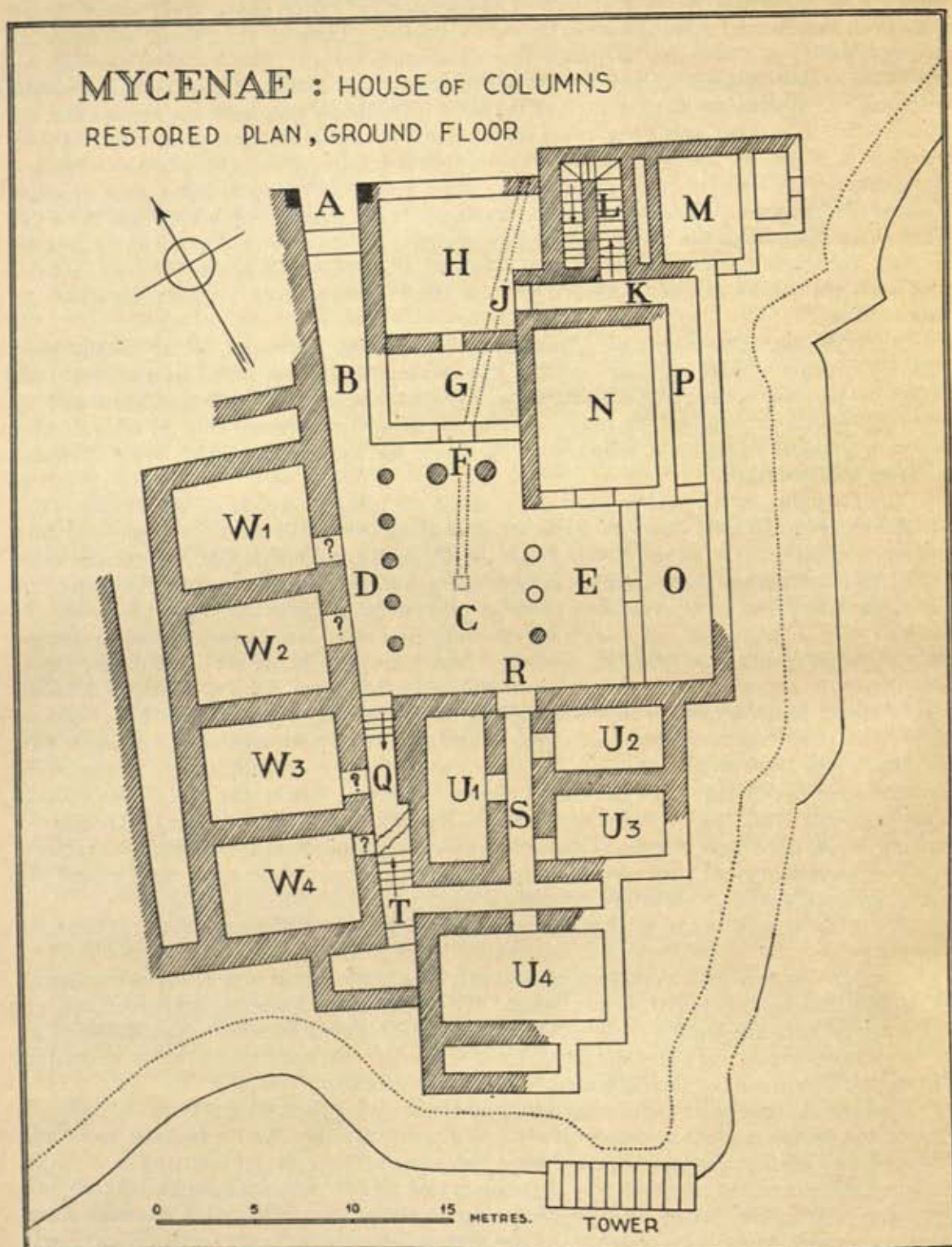


FIG. 2.—HOUSE OF COLUMNS, MYCENAE, GROUND FLOOR. RESTORED PLAN.
(After Wace, *Mycenae*, by courtesy of the Princeton University Press.)

After this introduction we can proceed to consider with the aid of recent excavations and research some special features of the Homeric house.

Θάλαμος, *Thalamos*.²¹ Although Homer, as might be expected from a poet, does not always use this word very exactly, it seems from a consideration of the various passages where the word occurs and of other passages where parts of the house are mentioned that *thalamos* has two meanings. First of all it seems to mean a room, a domestic or private room of some kind which can be kept locked and is not automatically open to visitors. Secondly *thalamos* seems to be used generically for the domestic quarter of a house as a whole. The standard passage giving the three main divisions of a house is that in the *Iliad*²² which has already been referred to above. In that *thalamos* obviously seems to mean the domestic quarter or private apartments of a house. This triple division of a house seems to be preserved in the *Odyssey* when the geography of the house of Odysseus is in question.

As regards the θάλαμοι of the house of Odysseus in particular we observe that these various rooms, bed rooms, storerooms, and so on, are not all together. Penelope's own quarters, which are usually called ὑπερῶιον but once at least θάλαμος²³ were on an upper floor above or close to the megaron, for sitting in her room she can hear what is going on in the megaron.²⁴ There were storerooms also above the megaron section of the house. Among these, which are all called *thalamoi*, was the storeroom where Penelope kept the bow²⁵ and other treasures, and the storerooms²⁶ from which Telemachus brought arms for his father and the faithful retainers, and Melanthius abstracted for the suitors arms which included Laertes' mildewed shield. Telemachus' room²⁷ seems to have been separate, perhaps in a kind of bachelors' wing, and apparently above the court. It may have been in an upper storey over one of the colonnades. There was yet another *thalamos*²⁸ of which Eurykleia kept the key. Telemachus went downstairs to it from the megaron to get supplies for his voyage to Pylos. It was thus presumably in a basement. It cannot be the same storeroom as that where the bow was, because Penelope went upstairs from the megaron to that storeroom and she had the key.²⁹ It is usual for Mycenaean houses to have basements. At Mycenae³⁰ itself the House of the Warrior Vase, the Ramp House, Tsountas' House, the House of Columns, and the Granary all have basements and other houses obviously had basements also. At Zygouries³¹ the storerooms which contained the stocks of unused vases were in a basement built against the side of the hill. In this basement of Odysseus were piles of gold and copper, chests of clothes, oil, and wine in rows of pithoi ranged along the walls. It would correspond to the room of pithoi (see plan of basement, Fig. 3) in the House of Columns at Mycenae³² or to one of the magazines at Knossos. This same storeroom apparently also held barley meal. It was thus presumably a storeroom for household supplies and the copper and gold in it may well have been in ingots like the copper ingot from the palace at Mycenae.³³ It was then natural that the key of it should have been in charge of the housekeeper, Eurykleia. The *thalamos* where the bow was kept was upstairs from the megaron and the things kept there were somewhat different. They were κειμήλια of gold and copper and iron. These were presumably objects of wrought and not rough unwrought metal. Among other things for instance was the box containing the iron axes³⁴ which were used in the test of stringing and shooting the bow. It was, so to speak, the plate room, for there were no food supplies in it and the mistress of the house naturally had the key. Of the other *thalamoi* in the house of Odysseus one was the room to which the arms were removed³⁵ and another, on an upper floor, that up to which Melanthius stole to procure arms for the suitors.³⁶ It is possible that there was only one storeroom for arms and that the room to which the arms were removed

²¹ Mr. Frank Stubbings has kindly helped me by discussing with me the use of this word.

²² *Iliad* VI, 316.

²³ *Odyssey* XIX, 53.

²⁴ *Odyssey* I, 329.

²⁵ *Odyssey* XXI, 8 ff.

²⁶ *Odyssey* XXII, 109, 143, 155, 161, 174, 179 f.

²⁷ *Odyssey* I, 425.

²⁸ *Odyssey* II, 337 ff.

²⁹ *Odyssey* XXI, 5 f.

³⁰ Wace, *Mycenae*, pp. 56, 64 f., 67, 94.

³¹ Blegen, *Zygouries*, pp. 28 ff., especially p. 37.

³² Wace, *Mycenae*, p. 95, fig. 108 a.

³³ Wace, *Mycenae*, p. 88; Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 7, fig. 1.

³⁴ *Odyssey* XIX, 574 ff., XXI, 3, 61.

³⁵ *Odyssey* XIX, 17.

³⁶ *Odyssey* XXII, 142 f.

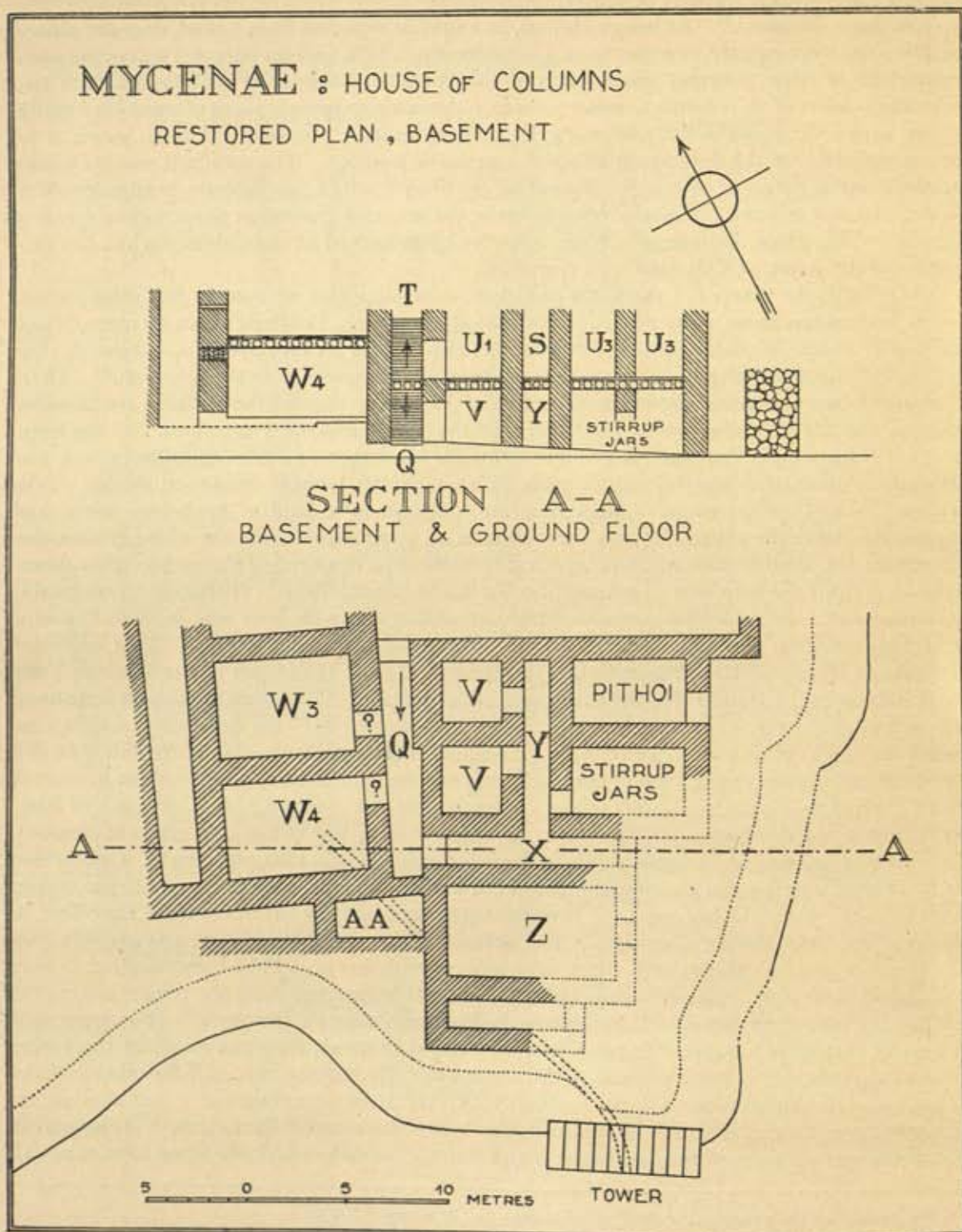


FIG. 3.—HOUSE OF COLUMNS, MYCENAE, BASEMENT. RESTORED PLAN AND SECTION.
(After Wace, *Mycenae*, by courtesy of the Princeton University Press.)

from the megaron was the same³⁷ as that from which Telemachus and Melanthius fetched arms and armour. This room was normally locked, but Telemachus³⁸ accidentally left it open when he went to get arms for Odysseus, himself, Eumaeus, and Philoetius. Since Melanthius went up ἐς θαλάμους Ὀδυσσεύος ἀνὰ ῥῶγας μεγάροιο³⁹ it seems possible that the use of the plural θαλάμους here indicates that there were several rooms above the megaron. It seems likely that there was an upper storey above the megaron of the palace at Mycenae,⁴⁰ and I see no objection to supposing that some of the *thalamoi* above a megaron may have been storerooms.⁴¹ Thus we realise that the house of Odysseus contained the following *thalamoi*: the storeroom in the basement to which Telemachus descended from the megaron; the storeroom where the bow was to which Penelope ascended from the megaron; the storeroom for arms and armour somewhere above the megaron section of the house; the bridal chamber of Odysseus and Penelope⁴²; Penelope's own room⁴³; Telemachus' room. In fact we see that every kind of room which can be kept closed or private is a *thamos*. Indeed the use of the word is as wide as the use of the word room in English. On the other hand Penelope's own apartments, though they are, as stated above, once at least called *thamos*, are usually called ὑπερώϊον, which the *Etymologicum Magnum* says is the women's quarters. The room or rooms where the maids were shut up⁴⁴ are always megara or megaron, perhaps a big room, a kind of servants' hall. It seems to have been quite apart and unconnected with Penelope's apartments, for there is no hint that she also was locked in while the slaughter of the suitors was in progress.

Κλίμαξ, *Klimax*. After what has already been said above it is obvious that this word in Homer should not be translated ladder⁴⁵ but staircase when it refers to part of a house. Staircases were a common feature of Mycenaean houses (Fig. 2).⁴⁶ Homer, who has so many reminiscences of what a Mycenaean house was like, cannot surely have imagined Penelope as climbing up and down a ladder with her maidens in attendance, but instead as coming down a well built staircase suitably accompanied by her maidens. The Loeb translator, E. V. Rieu, and T. E. Shaw rightly render the word as stairway, staircase, or stairs.

Λαύρη, *Laure*. To judge by the incident of Melanthius in the *Odyssey* this was, at least in the house of Odysseus,⁴⁷ a passage leading from the court to the private domestic quarters of the house and by a side door into the megaron. This is the only use of the word in Homer, but it does occur occasionally in later Greek. It was a narrow passage because it could be defended by one man. In the House of Columns at Mycenae (Fig. 2)⁴⁸ there seems to have been a side passage (O, P) from the court through the eastern colonnade (E) and so into the corridor (K) at the bottom of the staircase, which ascended to the upper floor over the rooms on the east side of the megaron and to any rooms there may have been above the megaron itself as well, and to the *orsothyre* (J) in the east wall of the megaron. The exit of this passage into the court could be observed by anyone standing in the porch of the megaron. It thus seems to fulfil the conditions of the text of the *Odyssey*.⁴⁹ We should not of course imagine that such a λαύρη was an essential feature of a house, but only that some houses might have a λαύρη of this kind. This is the reason probably why Homer specially explains it.

Μυχός, *Mychos*. This word seems to mean recess or corner. In the passages in the *Iliad* referring to the tent or hut of Achilles in the camp before Troy it seems to apply to the two inner or back corners of the main, and probably only, room. In these corners Achilles and Patroclus slept.⁵⁰ On the other hand when in the *Odyssey*⁵¹ we are told that Helen and Menelaus slept μυχῶ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο we should not interpret it to mean that the host and hostess slept in the back corners of the dining room in a house of such magnificence that it astonished Telemachus. We

³⁷ *Odyssey* XXII, 140 f.

³⁸ *Odyssey* XXII, 155.

³⁹ *Odyssey* XXII, 143.

⁴⁰ Wace, *Mycenae*, p. 81; see *B.S.A.* XXV, pp. 234, 236.

⁴¹ See Palmer, *op. cit.* p. 114, on the use of the same word for bed room and storeroom.

⁴² *Odyssey* XXIII, 192.

⁴³ *Odyssey* XIX, 53.

⁴⁴ *Odyssey* XIX, 16, 30; XXI, 235, 382.

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⁴⁵ E.g. Palmer, *op. cit.* pp. 112, 116.

⁴⁶ E.g. Wace, *Mycenae*, pp. 54, 56, 67, 71 ff., 79 f., 82, 92 ff., 96, 103.

⁴⁷ *Odyssey* XXII, 126-138.

⁴⁸ Wace, *Mycenae*, pp. 93, 96 f., figs. 32, 33.

⁴⁹ *Odyssey* XXII, 128, 136 ff.

⁵⁰ *Iliad* IX, 663 ff.

⁵¹ *Odyssey* IV, 304.

should note too that both Menelaus and Nestor⁵² sleep not in a *μυχός* of the *megaron*, but *μυχῷ δόμου*, 'in the inner part of the house'. Andromache⁵³ too is pictured as weaving *μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο*. So there is no inconsistency when in the *Odyssey* Menelaus and Helen sleep *μυχῷ δόμου*, but in the morning a few lines later Menelaus⁵⁴ gets out of bed, dresses, and goes *ἐκ θαλάμοιο*. The existence of the superlative *μυχοῖτατος*,⁵⁵ 'inmost', confirms the generic use of the word *μυχός*. As just noted, however, Achilles and Patroclus on active service sleep in the *μυχοί*, the back corners of their common tent or hut.⁵⁶ *Δόμος* is usually the house as a whole, but *megaron* is the great room, the hall of the house, though it can at times be applied to the whole house as well as to a part, just like the word 'hall' in English.

We should not of course press the meanings of words too closely. Still we know from *Odysseus'* own house that the master and mistress of the house had a private bed room,⁵⁷ a *thalamos*. So we can assume that in the far grander house of Menelaus and Helen the master and mistress would certainly have had a bed room of their own, which could be described as being *μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο*, 'in the inner part of the lofty house'. This view that *μυχός* can be used generically as meaning in the recesses, in a private or withdrawn part, of the house is strengthened by the use of the word in the Homeric hymn to *Hermes*⁵⁸ as pointed out by Palmer,⁵⁹ whose view should be adopted. So *μυχός* has two senses, the particular sense of recess or corner, and the general meaning of the inner rooms⁶⁰ of the house, such as might be the private apartments of the master and mistress of the house or special storerooms as in the hymn to *Hermes*.

Ὀρσοθύρη, Orsothyre. This from the passage in the *Odyssey*⁶¹ where it is mentioned was clearly a side door from the *megaron* leading to the domestic apartments of the house and also giving access to a narrow corridor to the court past the main door of the *megaron* and so to the outside world. This is made plain by Palmer⁶² who quotes a very pertinent passage in the *Etymologicum Magnum*,⁶³ 'the *orsothyre* is a little door through which one ascends to the upper floor or women's quarters'. In the House of Columns at Mycenae (Fig. 2)⁶⁴ there is in the east wall of the *megaron* proper a small door with a raised threshold (J) which leads into a narrow corridor (K) giving access by a staircase (L) to the storey above and also to the eastern colonnade of the court (E). Thence one could go past the main door of the *megaron* through the western colonnade of the court and so into the entrance passage and to the front door of the house. The plan of the House of Columns thus interpreted seems to satisfy the requirements of the text of the *Odyssey*. We have at last an archaeological illustration of an *orsothyre* and there is no need to look any further. The plan of the House of Columns agrees well with Palmer's postulates. Homer's use of *ἀνέβαινε* in describing Melanthius' exit from the *orsothyre* on his way to the storeroom where the arms were kept probably refers not to the raised threshold, but to the fact that he had to go upstairs to the storeroom.

ῥῶγες, Rhoges. This word is a *hapax legomenon* and no satisfactory explanation for it has yet been suggested. The old traditional view⁶⁵ was that these were narrow windows or loopholes looking into the *megaron* from a staircase which led to an upper storey. Another view⁶⁶ was that they were openings in the *megaron* wall between the ends of the roof beams above the architrave somewhat like open metopes and that by scrambling up to them one could pass through to the upper floor and so obtain access to the storerooms. Jebb and Palmer⁶⁷ have pointed out that these views are absurd. How could Melanthius come scrambling through narrow windows or metope openings with twelve sets of spears, shields, and helmets?⁶⁸ Even

⁵² *Odyssey* III, 402.

⁵³ *Iliad* XXII, 440.

⁵⁴ *Odyssey* IV, 307 ff.

⁵⁵ *Odyssey* XXI, 146.

⁵⁶ *Iliad* IX, 663 ff.

⁵⁷ *Odyssey* XXIII, 178, 192.

⁵⁸ Line 252.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, 109.

⁶⁰ Conington on *Aeneid* II, 484 comments that Virgil's *penetrabilia* corresponds well enough with *μυχός*. Was Virgil's description in this passage influenced by that of the *Ἰλιού*

Πύριος?

⁶¹ *Odyssey* XXII, 126, 132, 333.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁶³ 634. 1.

⁶⁴ Wace, *Mycenae*, p. 92, figs. 32, 33.

⁶⁵ Autenrieth, *Homeric Dictionary*, s.v. see fig. on p. 202.

⁶⁶ See Middleton's view in Jebb, *Introduction to Homer*, p.

185.

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁶⁸ *Odyssey* XXII, 144.

on his last trip, when he was caught, he was carrying in one hand a fine helmet and in the other a large shield. If the Homeric commentators themselves practised such gymnastics, even they would soon realize that their explanations were absurd.

Palmer⁶⁹ suggests that the *rhoges* were a row of slabs laid round the base of the megaron wall on the inside at a higher level than the rest of the floor. He refers to Myres' authority⁷⁰ that 'at Mycenae there is a broad border of flag-stones all round the floor of the megaron about a yard in width from the wall, though the centre of the floor is as usual of beaten earth or gravel'. Unfortunately for this view, though there is at Mycenae all round the base of the megaron wall on the inside a row of large slabs of gypsum, the rest of the floor was paved with cement and painted stucco. This was observed long ago by Tsountas and mentioned by Frazer and confirmed by recent research.⁷¹ It appears also that the gypsum slabs and the painted stucco floor were on the same level. Thus Palmer's suggestion that a man who wished to leave the megaron by the *orsothyre* had first to step up on to the border of raised slabs before reaching the raised threshold of the *orsothyre* itself is untenable. Some other explanation must be found. Let us hope that the exploration of Nestor's palace by Blegen will throw some light on this problem.

Homer's words

ἀνέβαινε
ἐς θαλάμους Ὀδυσῆος ἀνὰ ῥῶγας μεγάροιο,

seem to suggest that the *rhoges* were above the megaron and it is noticeable that in this passage he speaks of the rooms, θαλάμους, of Odysseus ἀνὰ ῥῶγας μεγάροιο, as though there were an upper storey above the megaron. The latest translator⁷² ingeniously seeks to avoid the difficulty by rendering the lines as:—

'So Melanthius the goatherd went up by devious ways through the palace to the storeroom of Odysseus where he helped himself to a dozen shields and spears and an equal number of bronze helmets topped with horsehair plumes.'

This is the load with which one of the gymnastic commentators would have scrambled through a narrow window or metope opening.

If *rhoges* means openings of some kind, could they refer to a loggia above the megaron from which *thalamoi* for different purposes could have opened? A loggia is apparently illustrated in a fresco fragment found by Schliemann under the Ramp House at Mycenae and I have ventured to assume one in a tentative reconstruction of the front of the palace megaron at Mycenae.⁷³ There might have been an internal loggia or minstrels' gallery above one end of the megaron with *thalamoi* behind as in the hall of a college or of an old manor house.

It is wiser, however, not to conjecture, but to study the existing remains and to hope for further evidence especially about the upper part of a Mycenaean palace or house.

ALAN J. B. WACE.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 106 ff.

⁷⁰ *J.H.S.* 1900, pp. 137 f.

⁷¹ Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 58; Frazer, *Pausanias* III, p. 120; *B.S.A.* XXV, p. 240; Wace,

Mycenae, p. 77.

⁷² E. V. Rieu.

⁷³ Wace, *Mycenae*, p. 81, figs. 98 a, b; see also *B.S.A.* XXV, pp. 234 f.

MILTIADES

THE red-figure plate in the Ashmolean Museum bearing the inscription Μιλτιάδης καλός (Fig. 1) has been ascribed, by the scholar to whom these pages are dedicated, to the Cerberus Painter; and dated to 520–510 B.C.¹

We ask ourselves inevitably: is this the great Miltiades? and he who tries to answer is unusually incurious if he does not ask the second question: is the beardless mounted archer, here depicted, Miltiades himself? He looks to be under twenty, Marathon was fought twenty to thirty years later. What age was Miltiades at Marathon in 490? what age was he between 520 and 510 B.C.?

The earlier dates in Miltiades' life are all controvertible.² I offer the following *fasti*:³

A. His father Kimon.

1. Circa 585: born.
2. 536 (or shortly before): exiled by Peisistratos.
3. 536: while in exile wins the chariot race at Olympia.
4. 532: wins a second time, has his victory announced in Peisistratos' name, is reconciled and recalled to Athens.
5. 528: wins a third time.
6. 528/7: within a few months Peisistratos dies, and during the crisis of Hippias' succession Kimon is murdered; possibly on Hippias' orders.

B. Miltiades himself.

1. Circa 550 (554?): born.
2. From 528 to circa 516: Hippias 'treats him well in Athens'.
3. 524: appointed archon for 524/3.
4. Between 528 and 516: first marriage.
5. Circa 516: death of his brother Stesagoras: Hippias sends Miltiades to take over the principality in Chersonese. Accession troubles. [Second marriage (Thracian wife)—or later? see note 43.]
6. 514: Danube episode.
7. Circa 514: Skyths invade Chersonese: Miltiades retires (to Thrace? to Athens?) for a few months, then returns. At the same time Hippias breaks with him and makes alliance with his enemies in Lampsakos.
8. Circa 507: Kimon (son of his Thracian wife) born.
9. From 499 to 493: Ionian Revolt.
10. 499 or 498: occupies Lemnos and Imbros.
11. 493: leaves Chersonese and comes to Athens: acquitted of 'tyranny' at his first trial.
12. 492–489: elected strategos in successive years.
13. 490: Marathon.
14. 489: Paros fiasco: found guilty of 'false public statement' at his second trial. Dies in prison.

The matters which most need justification are:

- (i) A 3–5: the dates of Kimon's victories.
- (ii) B 6: date of Danube episode.
- (iii) B 5, 7: interpretation of Herodotos VI. 40.
- (iv) B 10: Lemnos and Imbros.
- (v) *passim*, esp. A 6, B 2–5, 7: Miltiades' relation to Hippias.
- (vi) B 1: Miltiades' age.

(i) The story of Kimon the 'Simpleton'⁴ is told in Herodotos VI 39. 1 and 103. 1–3. He was exiled by Peisistratos: in exile he won the Olympic chariot race twice running. He

¹ ARV p. 55, Cerberus Painter 8. CV Oxford 1 (1927) pl. I, 5, text p. 2. Cf. Schoppa, *Die Darstellung der Perser* (diss. Heidelberg 1933) p. 23. The inscription is not visible in the photograph: it describes a semicircle round the top half of the field. I am greatly indebted to my wife for advice and help throughout this paper.

² Berve devoted *Hermes*, Einzelschrift 2 (1937), to Miltiades (henceforward cited by author's name only). Inevitably my references are mainly to disagreements.

³ The passages of ancient authors (chiefly Herodotos) can be found in Kirchner, *P(rosopographia) A(ttica)*, nos.

8426 and 10212. Add, for the Skythian invasion of Chersonese, Strabo XIII. 1. 22; and for the capture of Lemnos, Diodoros X. 19. 3, Hesychios 'Ερμώνιος Χάρις, Zenobios III 85, and Charax in Stephanos 'Ηρωστία (Fgr H 103 F 18: the parallel passages are quoted in the commentary).

⁴ Plutarch *Cim.* 4: δὲν δὲ εὐθύμην φασὶ Κοάλειμον προσπαγορεύειν. He three times achieved the height of earthly ambition, and never had the wit once to enjoy it in his own name and his own home.



FIG. 1.—RF. PLATE INSCRIBED WITH MILTIADES' NAME (see note 1).
(Ashmolean Museum photo.)



FIG. 2.—MOUNTED ARCHER IN MARBLE, FROM THE AKROPOLIS (see p. 220).
(After Payne-Young, *Acropolis* Pl. 134.)

caused the second victory to be announced in Peisistratos' name, and having made this gesture he was recalled. After this he won a third time with the same horses: 'having won this third victory, it befell him to die at the hands of Peisistratos' sons, Peisistratos himself being by then dead'. The same team of horses won all three times. No doubt, then, all three wins were consecutive: this means an interval of 8 years between the first win and the last (otherwise, the interval is of twelve years or more). Peisistratos is dead at the time of, or at least very soon after,⁵ the third win: since he died in the year 528/7, this third win was either in 528 or else in 524. The latter, it has been often assumed: ⁶ but the former is surely more likely.

If we accept the *later* dates, we must assume (what is likely enough) that Peisistratos' death in the Attic year 528/7 came after the Olympia of 528. The reconciliation has to be more or less a deathbed reconciliation, the old tyrant hears the news of the race, recalls his generous adversary, and dies. The murder will come (on this view) four years later, in 524/3, and will surely have had a quite funest effect on that union of hearts which the archon-list suggests was being aimed at.⁷

If we accept the *earlier* dates, it becomes indifferent whether Peisistratos dies before or after the race: his death comes anyway within a few months, and produces the crisis of the succession. During that crisis, Kimon's enhanced prestige would be formidable: it is not impossible that he *was* disposed to dispute Hippias' claim, and (whether or not) he must at least have seemed dangerous. I do not know whether Hippias was really privy to the murder: but the motive (real or alleged) is surely better during this succession crisis than four years later. The crisis once over, the dangerous man removed and Hippias safe on his throne, it was then time to establish goodwill. Herodotos reports this sequence of moods, rather sourly: 'as if they had not, forsooth, been privy to his father's death', Hippias and his brother now 'treat Miltiades well': they see to his advancement in Athens, and eventually send him to rule in Chersonese. In these circumstances, the archon Miltiades of 524/3 ⁸ is likely to be this young man: the archonship is part of his advancement. Hippias' use of the archonship is noticed by Thucydides, VI. 54. 6, and illustrated by the extant fragment of archon-list (see below, p. 217).

For these reasons I prefer the earlier dates. Let us look once more at the implications of the later dates. Kimon's third victory is now in 524, during the archonship of a Miltiades who may be his son and (if not that) is probably of his family. This third victory makes Kimon look dangerous enough to kill: and he is killed when leaving the archon's table.⁹ In the fifth year of Hippias' reign we have a suspected conspiracy in the family of the chief archon. This is dramatic, sensational, not perhaps impossible: but not, to my mind, probable. It makes the relations between the two houses persistently ambiguous: the favour shown *after this* to Kimon's son in Athens, the establishment some 8 or 9 years later of this son on the throne of Chersonese, become things melodramatic and (if I may so put it) *opaque*: I conceive Hippias' reign in more transparent terms.¹⁰ I can understand how Kimon's violent death during the crisis of succession could be followed, *more Polycrateo*, by the advancement of his son: the more tangled story is to my mind unlikely.

Why was he exiled in the first place? I think, if we may judge by the sequel, that Peisistratos fancied himself threatened by the prestige of Kimon's racehorses. The quarrel, if so, may be imagined as flaring up when Kimon started for Olympia in 536.¹¹

⁵ 'Der dritte Olympiasieg ereignete sich nach Peisistratos' Tod' (Berve p. 40 note 1). No: it is the murder which is after Peisistratos' death: the Olympic victory is not necessarily so. It cannot of course have been much earlier.

⁶ E.g. Kirchner *PA* no. 8426: Berve *loc. cit.* But Cadoux in *JHS* LXVIII (1948) p. 110 note 217, gives what I believe the correct dates.

⁷ The fragment of archon-list covering the early years of Hippias' reign was published in *Hesperia* VIII (1939) pp. 59-65: *SEG* X. 352. See below, p. 217.

⁸ Dionysios *Aut R* VII. 3. 1: the name is also in the inscribed list (note 7). See Cadoux *JHS* LXVIII (1948),

p. 110, note 216.

⁹ Herodotos VI. 103. 3: κατὰ τὸ πρυτανεῖον νεκρὸς. Olympic victors dined in the Prytaneion: Preuner, *Hermes* LXI (1926) pp. 472 ff.

¹⁰ 'Transparency' characterises the Attic skolia, the Hipparchos herms. For the kind of quarrel (as I suppose it) see the following note.

¹¹ This date is of course quite arbitrary: it does not affect the argument. The *type* of quarrel matters more. I am supposing something like the stage quarrels, between Oedipus and Kreon, Theseus and Hippolytos: sc. that Kimon, like Kreon or Hippolytos, stood close to the throne, was its natural prop. The sequel is less bizarre if this is so.

(ii) Herodotos records (IV. 83-142) that Dareios crossed the Bosphoros into Europe, and then crossed the Danube and invaded Skythia. Mandrokles of Samos bridged the Bosphoros for him, a Greek fleet accompanied him and bridged the Danube. Of the Greek princes who followed him many were Asiatics (*e.g.* from Lampsakos, Lesbos, Miletos) and a few Europeans (Ariston of Byzantion, and Miltiades). These were left to guard the Danube crossing: when Dareios by misadventure overstayed his time, the Skythians invited the Greeks to break the bridge, and Miltiades advised that they do so: but most of the Greek princes opposed him, so that Dareios found the bridge still guarded and intact. This is the *Danube episode*.

Most modern scholars think this episode, or at least Miltiades' proposal, fictitious:¹² the event which we will therefore try to date is Dareios' European campaign. There is a growing consensus to put it in about 513 B.C.: so Berve, p. 42, note 3, and Cameron in a careful note in *JNES* II (1943), p. 313, note 32. Dareios' eastern preoccupations forbid any date substantially earlier, Hippias' medising alliance with Lampsakos forbids any substantially later. Dareios' 'list of peoples', on the foundation block of the Persepolis terrace, which mentions the 'Lands oversea', was probably inscribed very soon after the European campaign, and it was inscribed in some year not very much before 511:¹³ it could well be of 514 or 513. The approximate date is thus hardly in question.¹⁴ Chance has preserved only one ancient statement of the date, in the *Chronikon Romanum* (*FgrH* 252 B 8). Here it is synchronised with the murder of Hipparchos and both are dated to 513/2. This absolute date is one year too low for Hipparchos' murder. I believe it is also one year too late for Dareios' campaign: that is to say, the synchronism is correct though the absolute date is wrong by one year.¹⁵

This synchronism is, I think, implied in Thucydides' statement (VI. 59) that Hippias' reaction to Hipparchos' murder was to make a marriage alliance with Lampsakos: for this alliance was in fact Hippias' reaction (and a prompt reaction) to both events alike. After the murder, Thucydides says, Hippias' rule became harsher: he killed many citizens and also took stock of the external situation. 'At any rate [*γούν: for this reason or another*] he now proceeded to marry his daughter Archedike to Aiantides, son of Hippoklos the ruler of Lampsakos: though he was Athenian and these were Lampsakenes, he saw how well they stood with King Dareios'. Hippoklos was one of the Asiatic Greeks who followed Dareios to the Danube, and when Miltiades suggested deserting Dareios, Hippoklos was one of those who opposed him and saved the King and his army. Thucydides (as I understand him) presupposes this: Hippoklos enjoyed Dareios' favour because he had proved loyal on the Danube.

Thucydides here confirms the substantial truth of Herodotos' story. The alliance was

¹² See Berve, pp. 41-2.

¹³ Kent, *JNES* II (1943) pp. 302 ff. *Old Persian Texts* IV: *The Lists of Provinces*; Cameron *ibid.* pp. 307 ff. *Darius, Egypt, and the 'Lands beyond the Sea'*. The Persepolis list (Darius Persepolis e) is no. II on p. 302. Line 14, hitherto misread and mistranslated as 'Lands in the east', is here given as *dahyāva: tyā: para: draya:* (terrae quae trans mare). This is the first time European subjects are mentioned: later they are specified, as *Skudra* (Thracians), *Yavā: tyaiy: paradraya:* (Graeci qui trans mare), etc.: see Kent's Table 2 on p. 305 [I venture to disagree with his separation of *Yavā* in cols. 3 and 5 from the relatives which follow]. This unspecific mention of 'Lands oversea', and the absence of *Putāyā* (sc. Libyans: see Cameron p. 309 note 12), indicate that Dareios' campaign is still recent and that Aruandes' simultaneous campaign in Libya (Herodotos IV. 145. 1) is not yet digested. Cameron observes that the Canal Stelai from Egypt (evidently of the same date) complete the picture: they list Libya but have no oversea people.—For the sense in which the stone which bears the Persepolis list is a 'foundation stone', see Cameron, p. 312, and for a further description of it, p. 307. The earliest extant 'Fortification Tablets' are of 511 and by then the terrace was in use.

¹⁴ An earlier date (517) is suggested in *CAH* IV, mainly in the belief that the Danube campaign was mentioned

and dated on the Behistun Rock, OP col. V. The best available text of this column (pending Cameron's publication of the whole) is Kent's in *JNES* IV (1945) pp. 40-1. The campaign was certainly in Turkestan and probably in Dareios' third year: it is mentioned in Polyainos VII. 11. 6 and VII. 12. Polyainos also (VII. 11. 7) mentions a visit of Dareios to Egypt, when the sacred Bull was being mourned. The sacred Bull no doubt died more than once or twice in the reign, but we know of one such mourning in autumn 518 (*JNES* II p. 311); this may be when Dareios came, since the Canal Stelai say that he visited Egypt early in his reign. That visit has of course no connexion with Aruandes' quarrel with Dareios much later (Herodotos IV. 166), and gives no date (unless perhaps *post quem*) for the Danube campaign.

Polyainos' knowledge of Dareios' early years is perhaps derived from Deinon, a fourth century writer.

¹⁵ The interval (528 years) is computed from A.D. 15/6. The compiler speaks of the *Kimmerian* Bosphoros, a venial error.—I do not think there is any reason *a priori* to respect his synchronism more than his absolute date: the synchronism happens to be right.—Note that B 6-9 have four Persian items in succession: Kyros captures Sardis (date lost), Kambyzes conquers Egypt (525/4), Dareios crosses into Skythia (513/2), Xerxes crosses the Hellespont (date incomplete).

paradoxical,¹⁶ since Lampsakos had a long-standing feud with the Athenians in Chersonese: this is Hippias' decisive break with Miltiades. In concrete terms, he now detaches Sigeion from Chersonese and attaches it to Lampsakos: his communications now run from Sigeion via Lampsakos to Sousa.¹⁷ This *volte face* is called for only if Miltiades has to some degree compromised himself, or (as I would prefer to say) if the policy of keeping Thrace for Athenians (rather than Asiatic Greeks) has proved futile. I do not now how far Miltiades had shown his hand on the Danube: but Dareios' advance into Europe had certainly been against Athenian interests. The Asiatic Greeks who supported Dareios (and had saved his life) were now getting their rewards at Athens' expense. Athens' three main interests in the north (Strymon, Troad, Chersonese) were all coveted by Dareios' benefactors. The two chief benefactors (Histiaios and Koës, in Miletos and Lesbos) coveted the Strymon and the Troad:¹⁸ Hippias struck his bargain with Lampsakos, which coveted the Chersonese. Miltiades whom (a very short while before) Hippias had established as ruler in Chersonese, must now be sacrificed to the changed circumstances.

This was most satisfactory for Dareios, who knew something of the quality of Greek civilisation and the value to him of a medising Athens: and correspondingly disquieting for Sparta. The Spartan attacks on Hippias are the consequence; and the first of these (Anchimolios) can hardly be later than 512.¹⁹ The marriage belongs then probably to 513: it followed fairly promptly on Hipparchos' murder. I would expect that it followed equally promptly on the Danube campaign, since Hippias could not afford to wait long before adjusting himself to his dangers in Thrace and the Troad. The marriage in 513 is Hippias' prompt reaction to both events, so that the *Chronikon's* synchronism is good. Both events were in 514.

(iii) Herodotos, in VI. 40, is closing a longish digression. His main theme is the collapse of the Ionian Revolt and the punitive cruise of the Phoenician fleet along the Aegean coast of Asia Minor: this is in 493. This fleet reaches Chersonese at VI. 33: at VI. 34 Herodotos digresses to explain how Miltiades came to be there. He tells of the arrival of Miltiades *senior*, the founder; of his death and the death of Stesagoras his successor (34-38); next, the accession of the younger Miltiades (39. 1), his accession trouble (39. 2), and the worse which followed (40). The closing sentence of 40 is, as it stands, nonsense: the necessary correction (as I see it) was made by Dobree, who deleted the words [τρίτῳ ἔτει] and [τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων] and left the simple statement: 'this then happened earlier: but now, in 493, etc.'

This correction leaves the narrative fairly clear.²⁰ In 39 we read how Miltiades' predecessor has been assassinated, leaving everything uneasy: how Miltiades takes the drastic steps which are required (mass arrests, foreign bodyguard, etc.). The story proceeds (40)

'So this Miltiades, Kimon's son, had just arrived. And after his arrival there befall him troubles even worse than these: ²¹ for after two years he must run before the Skyths.

¹⁶ Berve p. 35 speaks of this alliance as the culmination of constant hostility between Sigeion and Chersonese. He starts from his belief in the 'fortdauernde Feindschaft zwischen den beiden Familien', and finds any other relation between the two places 'denkbar unwahrscheinlich'. I do not know how he understands Thucydides' words 'Ἀθηναῖος ὡν Λαμψακηνῶν' (VI. 59. 3). I understand them to mark the singularity of the act. See note 36.

¹⁷ Thucydides VI. 59. 4: ἐς τὴν Σίγιον καὶ παρ' Ἀλαντίδην ἐς Λάμψακον ἐκείθεν δὲ ὡς βασιλεὺς Δαρείου. Unless Herodotos is wrong (V. 91-96) it took him some years to reach Sousa.

¹⁸ Koës suggested guarding the bridge (IV. 97), Histiaios preserved it (IV. 137). Their rewards: Koës is made ruler of Mytilene, Histiaios is given Myrkinos on the Strymon (V. 11). A ruler of Mytilene favoured by Persia was a danger to Sigeion: see, for a generation earlier, V 94-95; and the possessions of Mytilene in the Troad a generation later can be measured, roughly, from the 'Aktaian cities' ceded by Mytilene in 427: *ATL* I [or II], A9 III 124-141, A 10 IV 14-27, *ATL* II, D 22, lines 13-15.

¹⁹ Between Hipparchos' murder in August 514 and

Hippias' expulsion probably in spring 510, we should probably put the Alkmeonid attempt at Leipsydion in 513, the Spartan seaborne attack (Anchimolios) in 512, the preparation of a land approach (sc. Megaris) in 511.

²⁰ Dobree's correction is supported with very strong arguments by Enoch Powell, *CQ* XXIX (1935) p. 160. Note, also, how like the restored sentence is to V. 2. 1: τὰ μὲν δὴ - - πρότερον γέγονε ὡς ἐγένετο τότε δέ, etc. For further corrections introduced by Powell in his *Translation*, see the next note.

²¹ The two *comparanda* are evidently (a) the trouble he had encountered at his first arrival (described in ch. 39) and (b) the worse trouble which came two years later, namely the Skythian raid on Chersonese. For (a) neither of the two variants τῶν καταλαβόντων πρηγμάτων and τ. κατεχόντων πρ. sounds quite right: perhaps Herodotos' felicity deserted him. There is, to my ear, a rather uneasy play on the verb καταλαμβάνω: 38. 2, κατέλαβε: 39. 1, καταλαμψόμενον τὰ πρηγμάτα: 40. 1, κατέλαβαν - - ἄλλα τῶν καταλαβόντων πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα. He was sent to take charge of the situation, but it took charge of him?

These Skyths were nomads, who having been provoked by King Dareios, rallied and pursued as far as this Chersonese. Miltiades did not wait their attack but withdrew, until the Skyths went away and the Dolonkoi fetched him back.

All this had happened earlier: but now, in 493 . . .

The Skythian attack comes two years after Miltiades' arrival. It was a consequence of Dareios' campaign, evidently an immediate consequence:²² Dareios' campaign therefore was just under two years after Miltiades' arrival. If we put that campaign in 514, the Skythian attack will come in 514 or 513, and Miltiades' arrival in 516 or 515.

(iv) The date of Miltiades' action in Lemnos and Imbros makes little difference to the present enquiry. I am accepting D. Mustilli's recent statement, that the contents of the earliest Greek burials at Hephaistia in Lemnos can all be later than 500 B.C., though the deposits of the pre-Greek temple stop perceptibly earlier. The temple, Mustilli supposes, was destroyed by Otanes when he captured the two islands in 513 (Herodotos V. 26-27). Both islands had then still their pre-Greek (Pelasgian) inhabitants. Otanes put in Lykaretos (a Samian) as governor at Lemnos: Lykaretos died (was perhaps killed?) and Lemnos apparently regained its independence under Hermon, presumably a Pelasgian. Hermon handed Hephaistia (one of the island's two cities) over to Miltiades; who captured the other after a siege and then presented the whole of Lemnos to Athens. The Pelasgians were now evacuated and Athenian colonists took possession.²³ Imbros (which Miltiades kept for himself) was perhaps captured in the same operation.²⁴

The action was hostile to Persia. Miltiades might possibly venture on hostile action at various times, but Athens' complicity (she accepts possession of Lemnos) probably fixes this to the very beginning of the Ionian Revolt, 499 or 498.²⁵ We have from Hephaistia in Lemnos part of a list of names, arranged by Attic tribes, in the Attic script of this date.²⁶ It was no doubt a catalogue of some of the Athenian colonists.

(v) Thucydides says (VI 54. 6) that Peisistratos and Hippias left the constitution untouched except that they contrived to have 'always one of themselves' in the archonships.²⁷ The archon-list from the Agora²⁸ reveals how this worked in Hippias' reign: so soon as he is safely established, the three archons first appointed, in 526, 525, 524, are himself, Kleisthenes, Miltiades. The concept 'one of ourselves' is stretched to include the leading houses of Athens. For this I have (above p. 214) borrowed Dr. Tarn's phrase, a 'union of hearts'.

In his *Translation* Powell proposes to change τῶν καταλαβόντων τοὺς κατέλιπε οἰκοί: this rather violent change destroys the sense, since so far as Herodotos has told us Miltiades left no troubles at Athens (39. 1).

²² Unless we alter the text this Skythian raid is only two years after Miltiades' arrival, and is therefore less than two years after Dareios' campaign. It was surely a pursuit (though by translating ἡλᾶσαν 'pursued' I beg this question). Strabo XIII. 1. 22 confirms that the Skyths reached Chersonese, but gives no further precision about the date. The Skythian embassy to Sparta (Herodotos VI. 84), if it belongs to this occasion will imply that they stayed more than a few weeks.

It is clear that Dareios was in some trouble: the Bosphoros bridge was broken, Byzantion, Chalkedon and Perinthos all required punishment (V. 1. 1, V. 26): this is evidently why Dareios crossed, in this tumultuary fashion, at Abydos. Did Miltiades help at this point, and so escape his punishment? or was he, when Otanes came, still in flight from the Skyths? Perhaps Chersonese was for Hippoklos to deal with: whether he did so, how he did so, why he did so more, are questions we cannot answer.

²³ D. Mustilli, *L'occupazione ateniese di Lemnos e gli scavi di Hephaistia*, in *Studi - offerti a E. Ciaceri* (1940) pp. 149-158. Cf. also A. Passerini, *Miltiade e l'occupazione di Lemno* (1935). Herodotos says nothing of Hermon, for whom

see the authors named in note 3.

²⁴ He called at Imbros on his way home in 493, Herodotos VI. 41. 2, 104. 1. In the Attic tribute lists, Imbros was probably, down to 447, one of the items covered by *Cherronesitai*: see e.g. *ATL* III p. 46.

²⁵ The alternative date is 510-508: after Hippias' fall, and before the new alliance with Sardis made in 508/7 (Herodotos V. 73) and voided after the second embassy in c. 500 (96. 2, 97. 1). To judge by its position in Diodoros X. 19. 3, Ephoros told the story of Hermon [notes 23 and 3] as part of, or a pendant to, the Danube campaign. But so far as we can judge Ephoros' principles of arrangement, this is no reason for preferring the earlier date. It is to be hoped that eventually the material from Hephaistia will be decisive.

²⁶ *BCH* XXXVI (1912) pp. 329-338 (photographs): *ATL* III pp. 290-291.

²⁷ VI. 54. 6: αἰεὶ τινα σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς. I accept Schwartz' argument for changing the text in 54. 5: we must read οὐδὲ γὰρ τᾶλλ' ἢ ἀρχὴ [misread as τ ἀλλή ἀρχη?] ἐπαχθῆς ἦν. The subject of this sentence will thus be 'the tyranny', not 'Hipparchos'; τύραννοι οὗτοι in the next clause will mean 'Peisistratos and Hippias' (not 'Hippias and Hipparchos'), and these will be the subject of ἐπιμύλοντο in 54. 6.

²⁸ See note 7 above.

The reign was to be founded upon a cordiality between the three families, Peisistratids, Alkmeonids, Kimonids.²⁹

It seems that Herodotos did not know these facts. This is intelligible, if the text was not publicly displayed before about 425 B.C.³⁰ The memory of cordial relations with Hippias was not a thing which either Alkmeonids or Kimonids would treasure. Herodotos asserts that the former stayed in exile till Hippias fell,³¹ and this makes it certain he did not know of Kleisthenes' archonship. Of the latter he gives a more ambiguous account: this is no doubt because it reflects two things, a charge of undue complicity with the tyrants, and a defence against that charge.

In his last phase, when he was a plain citizen of Athens, Miltiades was twice put on trial; the first time (in 493) on the charge of 'tyranny'.³² He was acquitted. I believe that Themistokles was his judge, resolved (if necessary, for the public weal) to override the evidence.³³ It was certain in 493, whatever his past record had been, that Miltiades was now the enemy of Hippias and of Hippias' Persian friends: and for Themistokles that was enough. But the prosecutors no doubt made play with the fact³⁴ that Miltiades had been Hippias' viceroy in Chersonese. Herodotos has more than one echo of this case: the controversy attending Miltiades' return to Athens has caused us to know more about some episodes of his career than about most things in Hippias' reign. This information is 'forensic'. In the Danube episode the motives assigned to Miltiades' opponents (IV 137. 1-2) are assigned forensically: they give the story its value for a defence against the charge of 'tyranny'. It is equally clear, I think, that all of VI. 39 was meant (not by Herodotos, but by the parties whom he echoes) to be damaging: the treacherous arrests, the foreign wife, the bodyguards, not least the help from Hippias, all have the smell of tyranny.³⁵

In my judgment, the principality of Chersonese was associated closely with the tyranny at Athens. During most of the principality's duration the Peisistratids possessed Sigeion in the Troad. The relation between these two places (just astride the Hellespont mouth) cannot have been indifferent: they must have been either enemies or close friends. When we ask ourselves, *which?* the answer can hardly be in doubt: it was (until 514) a relation of close friendship.³⁶ It had been the same in Phrynon's time, c. 600 B.C.: Phrynon's twin foundations

²⁹ I use the term 'Kimonid' for Kimon Koalemos and his descendants. Modern scholars usually call them 'Philaid', but no ancient writer does and the term as applied to them is meaningless. Miltiades senior was descended in male line from Philaios (Herodotos VI. 35. 1, Pherekydes, *Fgr H* 3 F 2) and may be thought therefore to belong to the genos Philaidai (for which see Suidas, 'Επικουρος), but the only known tie of blood between Kimon Koalemos and Miltiades senior is the woman who married first Miltiades' father and then Kimon's. That tie of blood, though it did not make Kimon a Philaid, did nevertheless bind the half-brothers very closely: Miltiades senior being childless looked for heirs not among his father's relations but in his mother's second family. I expect this means that her family was important, perhaps more important than the Philaids. The Philaids were not (I think: see note 39) Eupatrids; but the pre-Solonian archon Miltiades (*PA* no. 10205: cf. Cadoux, *JHS* LXVIII, 1948, p. 90 note 86) shows that Miltiades was an Eupatrid name, which perhaps descended through this woman. E.g. thus:



This whole group (which includes all the Kimonids and

also Miltiades senior) may be termed 'the Miltiades house'. This is the house whose dealings with the Athenian tyrants we have to clarify.

³⁰ Jacoby, *Atthis* p. 171 and note 20 on p. 346.

³¹ VI. 123. 1. For the sense of τὸν πάντα χρόνον see note 38.

³² He was indicted under the current version of the law whose earlier and later formulations we have in *Αθ.π.* 16. 10 and Andokides I. 97. But the trial was surely argued by both parties, and decided, on political grounds.

³³ Plutarch, *Arist.* 2. 5: *BSA* XXXVII, pp. 268-70.

³⁴ Herodotos VI. 39. 1: καταλαμπόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονήσου ἀποστῆλλαι τριήρεις οἱ Πεισιστράτιδες. As I say in the text, this was no doubt a prosecutor's allegation; but no doubt also true.

³⁵ Cf. Herodotos I. 64. 1. No doubt VI. 40 is also prosecutor's matter, especially the closing words 'such is his past record: and now here he is again on the run' (see note 20 above). It is like Herodotos, to echo both parties with this impartial gusto.

³⁶ Berve's contention, in his Kapitel I, is that these Athenian colonies were something quite distinct from the Athenian state and must not be presumed to have common interests. I think this is totally false: the quarrel between Sigeion and Mytilene is, for Alkaios and Herodotos and no doubt for Periander also (Herodotos V. 95), a quarrel between Athens and Mytilene: that between Chersonese and Lampsakos is, for Thucydides (VI. 59. 3: see note 16 above), between Athens and Lampsakos. This is not of course true of all colonies (the word ἀποικία does not define any strict international status: see Herodotos IX. 106. 3, Thucydides I. 38. 3), but of these particular colonies it clearly is.

were Sigeion and (in Chersonese, immediately opposite) Elaious.³⁷ The Danube episode in 514 changed this: it made Hippias cut his losses, give up his projects in Thrace, and attach Sigeion to Lampsakos and Persia.

The principality was established (so I believe) in 546, soon after the battle of Pallene. Miltiades senior was (Herodotos says) a man of consequence who found Peisistratos' rule irksome.³⁸ Motives in Herodotos are not above question, but this motive may be true. He had already won the Olympia chariot race (perhaps in 548?): this no doubt was what irked both parties alike. Yet the trouble was hardly more than irksome. I believe that the two men, Peisistratos and Miltiades senior, both belonged to the wealthy non-Eupatrid families which Solon has recently admitted to public life:³⁹ both were from Brauron in east Attica and both no doubt belonged to the *Hyperakrioi* faction.⁴⁰ If neither the faction nor Attica was big enough for both men, this was put right when Miltiades went abroad. Trouble started again when Kimon looked likely to rival his half-brother's exploits. Kimon may have been a simpleton, but the Olympic victor sat in the Prytaneion with the high annual officers of state; he stayed there year after year while archons came and went. I do not suppose the Tyrant had this privilege—until Kimon ceded to Peisistratos his second victory in 532. (He had not the wit to cede his third, in 528, to Hippias.)

Jealousy of the family's four victories, in 548 (?), 536, 532, 528, accounts, I believe, for what discord there was. Basically, the two houses⁴¹ were allied. After Kimon's death the Peisistratids saw to Miltiades' civic advancement.⁴² So long as he was young and tractable, his place would be next to the reigning house. Of his first wife we know only that her son Metiochos was honourably received by Dareios in 493: this may suggest she had been related to Hippias.⁴³ If Miltiades stood as close as I suppose to the throne, it is possible that he was made archon exceptionally young, before he was thirty: but I do not think this very likely.⁴⁴

³⁷ Elaious, at the southern point of Chersonese, is the modern Cape Helles (which appears on early maps as *Eles Burun*). In *ATL* III p. 289, note 75, we quote ps. Skymnos 707-8:

ἐξῆς 'Ελαίουσ' Ἀττικὴν ἀποικίαν
ἔχουσα, Φρύγιον ἦν συνοικίαισι δοκῶν.

where the MS. gives Φορβών. The corruption was probably caused by a confusion (very common in Byzantine hands) between *upsilon* and *beta*. This produced Φρβών: or (as misread as β) Φρβών.

³⁸ Herodotos VI 34-36. When Miltiades left Athens, Peisistratos was supreme (35. 1); after arrival, Miltiades had time to enjoy Croesus' friendship before Sardis fell (37). Herodotos (I think) considers Peisistratos' first two attempts relatively unimportant: in VI 123. 1 τὸν πάντα χρόνον certainly does not include them, nor (almost certainly) the '36 years' rule' in V 65. 1: I do not think he refers to them here (in VI 35. 1). The 36 years began in 546 with the victory at Pallene, which Herodotos puts perceptibly earlier than the fall of Sardis: Croesus had heard about Pallene before he sought Sparta's alliance, *a fortiori* before he attacked Kyros (I. 56 84). See *CAH* IV.

According to Herodotos, then, Pallene was in 546 and Sardis fell perceptibly later. Either he is wrong, or else the conjecture is false in the *Babylonian Chronicle* which makes Kyros march against Lydia in 547 and kill its King: see Sidney Smith, *Isaiah* ch. XL-LV (Schweich Lectures for 1940), p. 36 and notes on p. 135. Although I cannot judge the conjecture, I prefer Herodotos. I think the battle between Argives and Spartans at Thyrea was in 544, separated from that at Sepeia (in 494) by a 50-year truce: and Herodotos synchronises Thyrea with the fall of Sardis (I. 82). If Pallene was in 546 and Sardis fell in 544, there is time enough between for Miltiades to be taken prisoner at Lampsakos, and for Croesus to demand his release (VI 37).

³⁹ Both Miltiades senior and Peisistratos claimed descent from Homeric heroes (Aias and Nestor): I do not suppose any Eupatrid house claimed to have entered Attica later than the Trojan War. Before Solon only Eupatrids

became archons (Plutarch, *Thes.* 25, no doubt from Aristotle): Solon admitted all families which had sufficient landed wealth. (I hope some time to improve what I wrote on this subject in *CQ* XXV, 1931, pp. 1 ff., 77 ff.)

⁴⁰ The name *Hyperakrioi* (Herodotos I. 59) no doubt indicates the *periphery* of Attica, outside the ring of Hymettos, Pentelikon, Parnes, Aigaleos: opposed to the *Plain* and *Coast* inside that ring and visible from Athens. Brauron on the east coast is *peripheral*. Peisistratos probably retired there between his two first (relatively futile) attempts at tyranny: it was only after the second failure that he 'left Attica altogether' (I. 61. 2). Early collaboration between the two Brauronian families may perhaps be seen in the fact that the great Panathenaia were begun in Hippokleides' archonship (Pherekydes, *Fgr H* 3 F 2). I suggest above (note 38) that Miltiades senior left Attica in 546; his race at Olympia could then be 548. The hypothesis is too uncertain to pursue much further, but I should like to know whether he shared Peisistratos' exile. He may have done; it would have given him Thracian interests, and exiles could train horses and win races (Herodotos VI 103. 2: cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* VII): but I rather suppose he has stayed in Attica. The whole Hyperakrian faction did not emigrate.

⁴¹ That is, the Peisistratids and the 'Miltiades house': see note 29.

⁴² Herodotos VI 39. 1: ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐπολεῖν εὔ. No doubt a prosecutor's allegation (cf. notes 34, 35), but the substantial fact was the archonship, notorious to all in 493. Herodotos on the other hand was very likely ignorant of this archonship, as he certainly was of Kleisthenes'.

⁴³ Kirchner, *PA* no. 10212, suggests that the second marriage came after the Danube episode: and though this is not what Herodotos says (VI 39. 2) it is surely possible: the second marriage will then mark his breach with Hippias.

⁴⁴ If the archon of 522/1 be Hippias' son Peisistratos (as I believe: Cadoux, *JHS* LXVIII, 1948, pp. 111-2), it is possible that he too was under thirty when archon. But I am very doubtful of this: Hippias may have married in the middle 'fifties' (Kleidemos, *Fgr H* 323 F 15).

(vi) I have argued above, especially under (i) and (v), that the archon of 524/3 was the great Miltiades. An archon is probably not under thirty, so he was born not *later* than 554. This makes him 64 at Marathon, so that he is hardly likely to have been born much *earlier* than 554. This will give the following ages:

532: returns with Kimon from exile: aged 22
 524: appointed archon: aged 30
 516: goes to Chersonese: aged 38

If he was made archon exceptionally young [see (v) above], and/or if his father's exile ended in 528 instead of 532 [see (i) above], we have further possibilities. He could return in 532 aged 22 (as above) or in 528 aged 26, or (if he was archon at 23)⁴⁵ he could return in 532 aged 15 or in 528 aged 19. I do not think these alternatives very probable.

The Ashmolean plate was painted (if the above dates are anywhere near right) at about the time when Miltiades went to Chersonese (c. 516): I suspect the painter celebrates that event. The young archer perhaps is saying that Miltiades is a fine chap: he may be an aide-de-camp⁴⁶ who will accompany the prince to his principality. The archer cannot be Miltiades himself unless the painter (for some reason) represents him as almost twenty years younger than he was. Yet may I with the utmost reserve suggest one possible reason why he might have done just that? I have in mind the Akropolis marble statue of a mounted archer, to whom the Ashmolean plate has been so often compared (Fig. 2). Akropolis inventory no. 606; Dickinson, *Acrop. Cat.* I pp. 138-41; Payne and Young, *Arch. Marb. Sculpt.* p. 52, pl. 134. 2-3, 135. 3; Schuchhardt, in Schrader *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* no. 313, Textband pp. 225-9 (Abb. 249-53), Tafelband 138-9.

Payne and Schuchhardt differ widely in their dating. There are three pieces which come into question. First, the 'courtyard horse' (or horseman): this has no number in the Akropolis inventory but stands in the museum courtyard [Schuchhardt adds several numbered fragments, esp. 568 and 4169, probably parts of the rider]: Payne p. 52 note 1, pl. 134. 1: Schuchhardt no. 316, pp. 233-7, Abb. 258-64. Next, the mounted archer (as above): Akropolis 606 [+ 569, 331, 556, 558, 357a]: Payne, as above: Schuchhardt no. 313, as above. Last, the 'Epiktetos horseman':⁴⁷ Akropolis 700 [+ 485]: Payne p. 52, pl. 137-8: Schuchhardt no. 314, pp. 229-31, Abb. 254, Taf. 140-1. I will call these three, respectively, Sch. 316, Sch. 313, Sch. 314.

Both scholars agree that Sch. 313 comes between the other two. But whereas Payne very tentatively, suggested 'perhaps about 550-540' for Sch. 316, and 'near 520' for Sch. 314, Schuchhardt puts the former 'rather after than before 520' and the latter between 510 and 500 'or rather, about 500' (eher noch am Ende des Jhs.). His date for 316 depends largely on the treatment of the chiton in the fragments of the rider (Abb. 261).⁴⁸ The question is whether the rider belongs to the horse (see Schuchhardt's careful statement on p. 236: there is no actual join): if he does belong, I imagine Payne's early date is quite impossible. Schuchhardt says 316 is 'only a little earlier than 313' (p. 228): 313 thus comes apparently between 520 and 510,⁴⁹ which is more or less contemporary with the Cerberus Painter's drawing. An

⁴⁵ This would put his birth in 548/7, within a few months, perhaps, of Miltiades senior's Olympic victory (see note 40). If so, we may see why he took his uncle's name (Herodotos VI. 103. 4) although not he but his elder brother was to be that uncle's heir (VI. 38. 1). But there are many ifs here, and some of them not easy: I think in fact that he was born much earlier; and that his name was a family name (note 29), requiring no such occasion.

⁴⁶ Beardless youths in archer's dress are frequent in late bf. painting, and frequently accompany hoplites (as ὀπαιῆται, aides-de-camp?): a catalogue of both bf. and rf. examples, Schoppa (as in note 1), pp. 9-24.

⁴⁷ I use this name because (as Payne points out, *AMS*, p. 52) Epiktetos has made a careful drawing of the horse. The drawing (*ARV*, p. 50, Epiktetos no. 18) completely

changes the action: the cavalryman is dismounted and leads his horse.

⁴⁸ The references on p. 235 to Abb. 261 and 262 seem to have been transposed in error.

⁴⁹ There are I think some small inconsistencies in his datings especially on p. 228. He there says (a) 316 is 'only a little' earlier than 313: (b) 316 cannot be before 520 B.C. (see p. 237): (c) 313 is 10 years later than 316: (d) 313 is about 520 B.C. Conceivably *ein Jahrzehnt* in (c) is a misprint? But even so: if 316 is after 520 B.C., and 313 is (even a little) later again, this should bring 313 somewhere near 515 B.C., yet he says (p. 228) that since Miltiades did not go to Chersonese till 516 or 515 there are *chronological* difficulties in connecting 313 with that event. Finally, (p. 231) 314 is 'at least 10 years' later than 313

objection to this, perhaps, is that Sch. 314 has now to be put some 10 years later again, close to 500 B.C.: and this will make Epiktetos' drawing of it (see note 47) almost impossible. Schuchhardt believes there is no such particular likeness (p. 231).—There is, further, some divergence between the two scholars on how good our mounted archer (Sch. 313) is. 'Kein Werk ersten Ranges' (Schuchhardt p. 227). Payne on the contrary says that it, 'as is generally recognised, must have been the finest of the whole series': and he includes in this comparison, if I understand him, both the Rampin rider and the Epiktetos horseman.

Payne did not, I think, wish to put the mounted archer as early as 530. The hypothesis which I shall venture to suggest requires (I believe) a date even earlier, namely 532; for that is when I believe Miltiades returned with his father to Athens. This hypothesis is, briefly, that the statue was dedicated by (or in honour of) Kimon when he returned from exile in 532: that it represented his son Miltiades:⁵⁰ that in c. 516 the Cerberus Painter made a rough likeness of it.⁵¹

I have not, I hope, disguised from the non-archaeologist that responsible opinion puts the statue much later. The rider fragments assigned to the courtyard horse (Sch. 316) cannot possibly (I believe) be so early as this: if they are rightly assigned, my hypothesis demands that the courtyard horse is later than the archer. The hypothesis must be defended in some such way as this: the Epiktetos horseman, whose horse Epiktetos drew, is not later than about 520: the archer is some ten years earlier, and (if it be work of the quality which Payne says) may be earlier than it looks. I doubt if this is a good defence: if it will not hold, then either my dates for Miltiades are wrong, or else the mounted archer does not (either in statue or drawing) portray him.

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and this brings 314 into the last decade, or rather to the end, of the century.

The treatment of the chiton in Akropolis 568 (which Schuchhardt ascribes to 316) cannot possibly, I believe, be much earlier than 520 and Schuchhardt thinks it later. If we hang his chronology on that, we get the following: 316, c. 520- B.C.: 313, c. 515 B.C.: 314, c. 500 B.C. The snag is that 500 B.C. is very late for 314 if Epiktetos drew his horse from it.

⁵⁰ The Megakles pinax, I think, represents the son of a returned exile (Pfuhl, pl. 175).

⁵¹ A rough likeness, but I think a real one, in spite of considerable differences, e.g. in what the rider wears: Payne

p. 52, Schuchhardt p. 228. The marble, relatively unfinished on the left side (e.g. horse's left ear, rider's left foot), was meant to be seen from the right; sc. he appeared to be moving to the spectator's right: the drawing quite systematically inverts this. (The Amphiaraos crater seems likewise to have inverted what stood on the kypselos chest. What, incidentally, was the time-interval here between original and copy?) Schoppa, p. 24, thinks that the marble is part of a group which included an adult horseman, presumably on the archer's left. Even so, since the archer's body is turned to the right, the right is no doubt the 'Hauptansicht,' at least for him (and indeed, so far as I can envisage Schoppa's group, for the whole composition).

MASKS ON GNATHIA VASES

[PLATE XLV]

THE following list contains all the masks on Gnathia vases which I have seen or know from illustrations or photographs. I have added (nos. 37-44) Gnathia pictures of actors wearing masks, but I have not included either the Würzburg fragment¹ with a tragic scene or the Lenin-grad kalyx krater with the prologue of the *Eumenides*² because in both, though the painter may be influenced by the masks worn, he is painting characters rather than actors. I have also excluded satyrs³ because here again the boundary between character and actor is not clear to me. The list is divided into hanging masks (1-36) and worn masks (37-44). All the actors except the tragic actors belong to the so-called 'Phlyakes'⁴ known from a large number of South Italian vases of different manufactures, which are decorated with scenes sometimes inspired by Attic Middle Comedy.⁵ There is a case for interpreting the hanging masks also as stage masks since the hanging tragic masks (3-5a) are certainly stage masks and the mask of the old man on the London krater (7) is very like a terracotta actor in Oxford;⁶ the mask on the Haileybury krater recurs on an Attic relief.⁷ If the vases can be dated approximately, we can say approximately at what time these masks were known in Tarentum, where the best of these vases were made, and from this we may be able to argue something about their introduction in Athens.

Gnathia Masks

1. *Pan.* Oxford, Beazley. From Taranto, Pl. XLV, a. Fragment of skyphos. Dotted spray group. Third quarter of fourth century. See also p. 232.
2. *Pan.* Sèvres. C.V. France, 576/22. Oenochoe. Dotted spray group. Third quarter.
3. *Tragic hero.* Würzburg 841. Bulle, *Festschrift für J. Loeb*, fig. 26. Ribbed oenochoe. Ribbed group. After 300 B.C.

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¹ Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, fig. 55-6; Bulle, *Skenographie*; Rumpf, *J.H.S.*, LXVII, 13.

² Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, fig. 11; Séchan, *Études*, fig. 30; Bulle, *Festschrift für James Loeb*, B, fig. 9-10.

³ E.g. on the vases mentioned in n. 2, 9, and N.S. 1917, 130, fig. 36 and 38.

⁴ Heydemann listed these in *Jb.* 1886, 260 f., distinguishing them by letters. Zahn added to the list in *F.R.*, III, 180, giving his additions small letters. I quote Heydemann M, n, Zahn q etc. A new list is given by Wüst in *RE*, XX, 292 ff.

⁵ Cf. C.Q. XLII, 19 f.

⁶ *Ashmolean Report*, 1939, pl. V 3; *Rylands Bulletin*, XXXII, 130, fig. 5. Cf. old slave on London F. 151; Bieber, *Denkmäler* (quoted as D.), pl. 82; *History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (quoted as H.T.), fig. 362. Heydemann X.

⁷ *Ath. Mitt.* 1941, 218, pl. 73. Document relief from Aixone. I owe the knowledge of this to Professor A. Rumpf and a photograph to Mr. J. M. Cook. Five comic masks decorate the architrave above a low relief of Dionysos and a satyr. The fourth mask from the left is very like the Haileybury mask. It is also like the clay mask from Olynthus (IV no. 421), which may therefore be claimed for Comedy. Luschey (*Ganymed* 76) associates with this last a marble mask from the Kerameikos (A.A. 1942, 246, fig. 26/7) but I do not feel certain that that is not tragic. The inscription on the new Aixone relief commemorates a comedy produced in the archonship of Theophrastus by Auteas son of Autokles and Philoxenides son of Philippos. The proposal was made by Glaukides son of Sosippos and the demarch was Hegesileos. Kyparissis and Peek date 313/12, comparing another choregic inscription (*I.G.* II² 1202), which Kirchner dates 313/2 on the ground that Glaukides, who also proposed that decree, has a brother mentioned in a catalogue of 323 and that one of the men honoured, Aristokrates, proposed a decree in honour of Demetrius of Phalerum in 317. Although these are strong arguments and, as Dr. M. N. Tod points out, the other two choregic inscriptions at Aixone are dated 326/5 and 317/6 respectively, I am inclined to prefer the earlier Theophrastus, 340/39 for the following reasons: (1) in *I.G.* 1202 one of the men honoured is Kallikrates son of Glaukon; Glaukon son of Kallikrates was choregos in 317/6 (*I.G.* 1200). Twenty-three years is a better interval than four between the choregia of father and son. (2) Auteas son of Autokles is granted a lease with his father in 346/5 (*I.G.* 2492); he is more likely to have been choregos when he was 20+ than when he was 50+. (3) The Dionysos of the new relief derives from the same statue as the Dionysos of the Pompe oenochoe in New York dated about 350 (25. 190: Schefold, *K.V.* pl. 10, U no. 327; Richter, *Attic red-figured vases*, fig. 123). The relief above *I.G.* 1202 is reproduced Br. Br. 785 B, is quite different in style, but cannot be more precisely dated. See however Buschor, *Misc. Acad. Ber.*, II, 2, 25 f.

4. *Tragic female mask*. Louvre K596. D-S, fig. 5587; Rayet, 329, fig. 123. Ribbed oenochoe. Ribbed group. After 300 B.C.
5. *Tragic female mask*. Louvre K597. Pl. XLV, b. Ribbed oenochoe. Ribbed group. After 300 B.C.
- 5a. *Tragic female mask*. Reading Museum. Pl. XLV, c. Ribbed oenochoe. Ribbed group. Late fourth century.
6. *Old Man*. Leiden B677. Bulle, *Festschrift für James Loeb*, E, fig. 12. Scheurleer, *Griekse Keramiek*, fig. 128. Here, Pl. XLV, d. Bowl. Near red and white group. Third quarter.
7. *Old Slave*. British Museum, F548. C.V. 38/3; Bulle, fig. 11a. Krater. Near red spray group. Third quarter.
8. *Woman*. Michigan University. C.V. 29/7. Ribbed oenochoe. Ribbed group. After 300 B.C.
9. *Youth*. Milan, Ambrosiana. Bell krater. Red spray group. Third quarter of fourth century.
- 9a. *Youth*. Haileybury College. Here, fig. 5. Bell krater. Red spray group. Near 25 and 25a. Third quarter.
10. *Woman with long, parted hair*. N.Sc. 1934, 191, fig. 9. Bowl. Near yellow spray group. Third quarter.
- 10a. Ditto. Munich, 3336. Stemless cup. Pl. XLV, e. Red spray group (?). Third quarter.
11. *Woman with hair tied above forehead*. British Museum, F586. C.V. 38/4. Here, Pl. XLV, f. Bowl. Yellow spray group. Third quarter.
12. *Woman in mitra with side hair and back hair*. Oxford, 1889. 828. Fig. 2. Oenochoe. Konnakis group. Before 350 B.C.
13. Ditto. Manchester M.W.I. 6937 (on loan to Manchester Museum). *Manchester Memoirs* 83, pl. 3a; *Greek Interpretations*, pl. VIII. Krater with horizontal handles. Red spray group. Third quarter.
14. *Woman in mitra with side hair only*. Würzburg, 842. Oenochoe. Dotted spray group. Third quarter.
15. Ditto. Brussels, A 733. C.V. Belgium 47/4. Oenochoe. Ribbed group. Late fourth century.
16. Ditto. Brussels, A 731. C.V. 47/3. Pelike. Ribbed group. Late fourth century.
17. Ditto. Taranto. C.V. 756/5. Oenochoe. Ribbed group. After 300 B.C.
18. Ditto. New York. G.R. 646. Oenochoe. Near red spray group. Third quarter of fourth century.
- 18a. Ditto. British Museum F571. C.V. 37/4. Oenochoe. Same hand as 18. Near red spray group. Third quarter.
19. Ditto. British Museum F572. C.V. 40/15. Oenochoe. Yellow spray group. Third quarter.
20. Ditto. Lund University. Fig. 1. Bell krater without overhanging rim. Yellow spray group. Third quarter.
- 20a. Ditto. Amsterdam. Allard Pierson Stichting 1615 (Inv. 3574). Bowl. Yellow spray group. Close to 11. Third quarter.
21. *Woman in mitra with back hair only*. Sèvres. C.V. 576/18. Skyphos. Red and white group. Third quarter.
22. Ditto. Oxford, V487. Oenochoe. Dotted spray group. Third quarter.
23. Ditto. Toronto, 534. Harcum, pl. 90. Skyphos. Dotted spray group. Very near no. 1. Third quarter.
24. Ditto. Toronto, 517. Harcum, pl. 88. Oenochoe. Red and white group. Third quarter.
25. Ditto. Taranto. C.V. 755/2. Bell krater. Red spray group. Third quarter.
- 25a. Ditto. Hamburg, Inv. 1875, 42. von Mercklin, *Führer*, no. 183. Bell krater. Red spray group. Third quarter.
26. Ditto. Louvre K607. Skyphos. Dotted spray group. Third quarter.
27. Ditto. Louvre K595. Oenochoe with round mouth and sharp shoulder. Red and white group. Third quarter. See also p. 232.
28. *Woman in mitra*. Naples, no. 706. Pickard, *BGH*, 1911, 226, no. 50. Kantharos. Near red and white group. Third quarter.
29. Ditto. Würzburg 833. Bell krater. Yellow spray group. Third quarter.
30. Ditto. Baltimore. C.V. Robinson 322/2. Bowl. Yellow spray group. Third quarter.
31. Ditto. British Museum F544. C.V. 38/6. Bell krater. Red spray group. Third quarter.
- 31a. Ditto. Paris market. Krater. Red spray group. Third quarter.
32. Ditto. Louvre K598. Oenochoe. Dotted spray group. Third quarter.
33. Ditto. Sammlung Schiller, no. 421, pl. 38. Oenochoe. Dotted spray group. Third quarter.
- 33a. Ditto. Toulouse, Musée St. Raymond. Oenochoe. Very near no. 22. Dotted spray group. Third quarter.
34. Ditto. Motya. Whittaker, fig. 95. Oenochoe. Yellow spray group. Third quarter.
- 34a. Ditto. Athens 1182 (2277). Buschor, *Gr. Vasen* (1940) fig. 279. Oenochoe. Yellow spray group. After 330 B.C.
- 34b. Probably ditto. Matera (Mus. Naz.). Bracco, *N.Sc.*, 1947, 161. Oenochoe. Ribbed group. Late fourth century. See also p. 232.
35. *Woman with melon hair*. Manchester, MWI, 6949. *Manchester Memoirs*, 83, pl. 3B; *Greek Interpretations*, pl. VIII. Oenochoe. Ribbed group. After 300 B.C.
36. Ditto. Francavilla Fontana. *N.Sc.*, 1941, 116, fig. 1. Oenochoe. Ribbed group. After 300 B.C.
- 36a. Ditto. Heidelberg. Luschey, *Ganymed*, 1949, 77n. 70; 80. Fragment of bowl. Yellow spray group (perhaps same hand as no. 20). Third quarter of fourth century.
37. *Actor holding tragic mask*. Würzburg, 832; Bulle, fig. 1, pl. 2; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 216. Kalyx krater. Konnakis group. About 350 B.C.
38. *Slave carrying cake*. London, F543. C.V. 38/2; Bulle, L, fig. 11, 17; Heydemann, *Jb.*, 1886, 271, c. Kalyx krater. Konnakis group. About 350 B.C.
39. *Reveller with torch*. Vienna, Sammlung Matsch. C.V., pl. XVIII; Bulle, M, fig. 18; Heydemann W. Kalyx krater. Konnakis group. Third quarter. See also p. 232.
40. (A) *Old man running*, (B) *Woman with lampadion hair*. Boston 00363. Bulle O, fig. 19; Zahn i; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 377. Kalyx krater. Konnakis group. Before 350 B.C.
41. *Reveller*. Taranto 8953. C.V. 743/3; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 395; *Iapigia VII*, 389, fig. 9; *RA*, 1936, 180, fig. 8. Oenochoe. Konnakis group. Before 350 B.C.

42. *Old man leaning on stick*. Vienna, 928. Bulle, fig. 24; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 394; Heydemann V. Bell krater. Red and white group. Third quarter.
 43. *Old man walking with stick*. Naples, 1782. Bulle P, fig. 20; Heydemann F. Kalyx krater. Konnakis group. Late fourth century.
 44. *Old man with bundle, talking*. Ruvo, 1394. *Iapigia* III (1932), 259, fig. 41. Kantharos. Red and white group (?). Third quarter. See also p. 232.

The vases can conveniently be grouped by decoration, although the groups do not coincide with artists or even necessarily with workshops. (1) Bulle's *Konnakis* group. To this our nos. 12, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41 belong. This group has polychrome figures against a black background with much use of incision and comparatively little subsidiary decoration. Its characteristic ornament is ivy with triangular leaves, incised stems, and fruit consisting of three dots. I have omitted nos. 7 and 42 because they have much less incision and much more ornament. I have added nos. 12 and 41. No. 43 is considerably later than the rest and does not belong to this group in the narrower sense. (2) The *red and white* group, called after the oblongs of alternate red and white (or yellow), which are enclosed in incised lines; egg and tongue pattern and vine branches with red stems are extremely common. To this belong nos. 21, 24, 27, and 42; no. 44 has some affinity in style to no. 42. Probably no. 28 should be included, but the picture is too bad to be certain; no. 6 is also a freak of this group. (3) The *red spray* group. The long red stems with small leaves seem to have developed from the stems set with small ivy leaves which are sometimes found in the red and white group, e.g. on the back of no. 21. The ivy now normally has painted stems, the base of the leaves is rounder and comes up further towards the point, and the fruits are dot-rosettes. To this group belong nos. 1a, 9, 9a, 13, 25, 25a, 31, 31a. Probably nos. 7, 18, and 18a should be included here: no. 7 has no incision; the jejune vine has a red stem like the red spray; the triangular leaved rosettes occur also on 9 and 31. No. 18 is a freak but the pendant double red lines with careful ivy leaves bear some relation to the red sprays; No. 18a is by the same hand. No. 10a has this early ivy and this wave pattern sometimes occurs in this group. (4) The *dotted spray* group. The leaves have shrunk into dots; very often broad red horizontal bands over two white lines surmounting a row of dots support the branches. To this group belong nos. 1, 2, 14, 22, 23, 26, 27a, 32, 33, 33a. (5) The *yellow spray* group has yellow stems with longer leaves coming close up to or actually joining the stem. Ivy as in the red spray group. Red is used only for the common hanging scarves. Two of the bowls (11, 30) are decorated with dotted sprays at the back. To this group belong nos. 11, 19, 20, 20a, 29, 30, 34, 34a, 34c, 36a (no. 10 should probably be included; shape of vase as well as style and proportions of mask connect it with 11 but the ivy has circles instead of dots for fruit). (6) The *ribbed* group. Nos. 3, 4, 5, 5a, 8, 15, 16, 17, 34b, 35, 36.

The main lines of Gnathia chronology have been established by Scheurleer;⁸ his starting point is the Apulian krater⁹ in Naples with a lid in Gnathia technique, which is reasonably dated to the middle of the fourth century B.C. With this he equates the Berlin squat lekythos and pelike with female acrobats and the London kalyx krater with the slave carrying the cake (38), which has the same kind of elaborate foot as the Naples krater. Bulle himself revised his original fifth-century dating for the beginning of the Konnakis group to late in the second quarter of the fourth century.¹⁰ Konnakis,¹¹ the Würzburg tragic scene, and the Würzburg actor (37) are too fragmentary to provide any argument from shape. Konnakis and the actor have the characteristic ivy with triangular leaves, three-dot fruit, and incised stem, and considerable use of incision in the drawing, e.g. for the door to the left of Konnakis. This ivy also decorates the neck of the Naples Orestes in Tauris,¹² which Buschor dates perhaps too early at 370 B.C., but the Berlin Marriage of Hebe¹³ and the British Museum Boreas¹⁴ (about

⁸ *Arch. Anz.* 1936, 285; Rocco, *Mem. Accad. Napoli*, VI, questions his upper date but does not give reasons.

⁹ Naples 3249; *F.R.* pl. 179; the lid, *Jb.* 1917, fig. 26; the main scene, Séchan fig. 31. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, 62.

¹⁰ See *Eine Skenographie*, 1934, 5, quoting Watzinger, *F.R.*, III, 368, n. 17.

¹¹ See Rumpf, *J.H.S.*, LXVII, fig. 2.

¹² Naples 3223; *F.R.*, pl. 148; Pickard-Cambridge, fig. 19; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 69; Séchan, fig. 111. The old ivy

occurs on the lekanis in mixed technique (*N.Sc.* 1917, 130, figs. 36 and 38) which Scheurleer dates 340/30; I should put it a decade earlier; the style seems to me to go with the Louvre krater (*B.S.R.* XI, pl. 15-16), which according to Trendall is considerably earlier than 340 B.C.

¹³ Berlin 3257; *F.R.* pl. 149; Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 117 d.

¹⁴ 1931, 5-11. 1; *J.H.S.*, LI, pl. 4.

360 B.C. according to Trendall), already have the new ivy. The considerable use of incision in the drawing links the Würzburg actor to the Leningrad Eumenides¹⁵ and the Boston old man (40). These two are kalyx kraters with no ornaments other than the pictures. The shape, particularly the handles, stem, and foot, puts them later than an Attic kalyx krater dated by Schefold about 370 B.C.¹⁶ and rather earlier than the latest kalyx krater found at Olynthus¹⁷ and the Assteas kalyx kraters which Trendall dates about 350 B.C.¹⁸ They may therefore be placed rather before 350 B.C.

The handles of the London kalyx krater (38) appear to be rather more turned in and the foot slightly higher, which confirms Scheurleer's dating to 350 B.C. The Vienna kalyx krater (39) shows these characteristics at a slightly more advanced stage and no incision in the picture. Its foot is extremely like the foot of the London krater with the old slave (7); the polychromy of the front and the decoration of the back also associates 7, 38, and 39, although the main decoration of no. 7 agrees rather with the red spray group. The white swans at the handles of no. 7 appear again on the kalyx krater in Leningrad¹⁹ with the young satyr riding a pig, which



FIG. 1.—BELL KRATER IN LUND UNIVERSITY.



FIG. 2.—OENOCHOE IN OXFORD.

has the same shaped bowl as no. 38 but handles and foot like a bell krater. Rumpf has compared the proportions of the satyr to the Lysikrates monument 335/4. I see analogies in the figure drawing—the hanging dotted streamer (which recurs on 39), the swans' necks—and the foot with the Boreas krater in the British Museum, and should prefer to date slightly earlier. The use of bell krater handles and foot on an alien shape finds an analogy in the Manchester krater (13; so also 31a) of the red spray group when compared with the London krater (7).

The foot of the Manchester krater is closely paralleled by the bell kraters in Milan (9) and Taranto (25). The direction in which these bell kraters develop is shown by the ribbed bell krater in London²⁰ which has a high narrow foot like those of the Darius painter's kraters. The bell krater in Würzburg (29) and the rimless one in Lund (20, fig. 1), which belong to the yellow spray group, are scarcely later than Milan (9), and there seems no reason to suppose that the majority of the yellow spray group was not produced in the third quarter of the century, since the cross links in decoration with the red spray group are very close. Four bell kraters have a lower and wider foot than the Milan krater (9); of these one in Oxford²¹ with a flying dove has considerable incision in the ornament under the rim. The London krater with the

¹⁵ See above, n. 2.

¹⁶ Munich 2387; Schefold, *U.*, no. 251; *K.V.*, pl. 4b.

¹⁷ *Olynthus*, V, 96, no. 112, pl. 68.

¹⁸ *Paestan Pottery*, 45. Note that the Berlin Assteas has a foot like Boston and Leningrad; the Rape of Ajax (*C.V.* Italy 141/3) a foot like our London kalyx krater (38).

¹⁹ Leningrad; Bulle, *G*, fig. 13; Rumpf, *Jb.*, XLIX, 18;

J.H.S., LXVII, 15.

²⁰ F 545; *C.V.* 37/7.

²¹ *Ashmolean Report*, 1939, pl. V. 5. Egg and tongue: battlements: white dots between incised lines: vine wreath with red stem and four pendant red sprays between which flying dove carrying necklace and diminishing lines below two circles.

mask (31) has in addition incision for the ivy stem on the front as well as for the old-fashioned ivy on the back. Both these belong to the red spray group. London ²² F 547 with a running hare between vine sprays exactly like those on the Oxford krater belongs to the red and white group. A bell krater in Manchester, ²³ which has the same shape of foot but a simple curve to the lip and slim curved handles, is decorated with Konnakis ivy sprays and outline rosettes. These four take us back to the middle of the century. The Vienna bell krater (42) has the more normal foot and handles, which are known from Apulian red-figure. ²⁴ The decoration is very like that of a bell krater in the Cabinet des Médailles (941), which has the same shape as Milan (9). Vienna belongs to the red and white group and has no incision on the figure but some between the patterns. Its rosettes, necklaces, vines, and red sprays recur on vases that we have dated between 350 and 325 and there seems no ground for coming much later than 330: the Leiden bowl (6) is very close to it and might be by the same hand. The Toronto oenochoe (24) and the Sèvres skyphos (21) have more incision and should therefore be earlier; the incised stem with small neat ivy leaves on the back of the skyphos is an anticipation of the red spray and recurs on several other early vases, ²⁵ sometimes as the sole decoration with incised egg and tongue and outline round-petalled rosettes like those of the Manchester bell krater.

To return, however, to the Konnakis group, Bulle and Scheurleer dated the Naples kalyx krater (43) to the end of the fourth century and this is confirmed by a comparison of the shape with late Kertch kalyx kraters. ²⁶ The two oenochoi in Oxford (12, fig. 2) and Taranto (41) with their polychrome drawing, use of incision, and very restricted decoration belong at the beginning of the series before the middle of the century. The shape derives from the Attic *chous* and appears to me no later than the Pompe oenochoe in New York. ²⁷ An oenochoe in Naples ²⁸ decorated only with Konnakis ivy has the same shape; three early red and white jugs in Toronto (24), Naples and London ²⁹ are already slimmer. The London oenochoe (19) of the yellow spray group is thinner in the neck and fatter in the belly and this agrees with the date (350-325 B.C.) given above to the group. The Oxford oenochoe (22) of the dotted spray group is at much the same stage of development. This group has various patterns in common with the yellow and the red spray vases (e.g. the ivy on no. 26) and the dotted spray itself occurs on the back of two yellow spray bowls (11, 30): the Toronto skyphos (23) is linked with the red and yellow spray groups by the ornament of two small circles over diminishing lines and with the red spray group by having the same decoration on the back as the Milan bell krater (9). The dotted spray recurs on the ribbed Brussels pelike (16), which with its high foot cannot be placed earlier than the kraters of the Darius painter and may well be later. The oenochoe from Crete in Athens (34a) is thinner in the neck than the London oenochoe (19) and the greatest diameter is lower; it is probably one of the latest of the yellow spray group and should be dated after 330 B.C. The earliest of the ribbed oenochoi with masks (15) from its long narrow neck must be considerably later.

It is important to know when the ribbed group starts and how long it goes on. We have a possible indication of the beginning in the squat lekythoi, which also provide some confirmatory evidence for our other dating. Scheurleer dates the Berlin squat lekythos ³⁰ with the female acrobat to 350 B.C.; it belongs to the early stage of the Konnakis group with much polychromy and incision. A lekythos in Bowdoin College (fig. 3) is very similar in shape: the mouth

²² C.V. 37/8.

²³ Manchester Museum, IV. 1D.

²⁴ E.g. Apulian, C.V. Denmark, 257/1. The kantharos is also a red-figure shape and is not common in Gnathia; our no. 44 is near in style to Vienna (42). A Gnathia pelike in Birmingham (1606/85) with Eros flying over floral ornament has the red-figure instead of the Gnathia shape; style in floral ornament and egg and tongue are also not unlike the Vienna bell krater. The subsidiary decoration of the Vienna bell krater connects it particularly closely with three bell kraters of the normal Gnathia shape: Cabinet des Médailles 941, and two in Naples, illustrated Rocco, *op. cit.*, fig. 4 = Bulle, *op. cit.*, fig. 25; fig. 5 = A.M. LIV, 164.

²⁵ E.g. London, C.V. 41/3, 41/19, 43/2; Picard B.C.H.,

1907, no. 79; Pagenstecher, *Arch. Anz.*, 1909, pl. 1, no. 20.

²⁶ E.g. Munich 2755; Pfuhl, fig. 605; Schefold, no. 258; Byvanck, B.V.A.B., 1945, 30. Buschor, *Gr.V.*, fig. 267.

²⁷ New York 25. 190. Schefold no. 327; K.V. pl. 10; Richter, *Attic red-figure vases*, fig. 123. About 355 B.C. Cf. also Apulian oenochoe, C.V. Denmark, 264/1, which Johansen calls 'proto-Apulian'.

²⁸ Picard, *op. cit.*, no. 47.

²⁹ Naples, Picard, *op. cit.*, no. 79; London, C.V., 41/3. There are no obvious parallels for the sharp shouldered oenochoe in the Louvre (27); the yellow spray depending from the ivy gives a cross-connection from the red and white to the yellow spray group.

³⁰ F3489. Bulle, H, fig. 14; Bieber, H.T., fig. 417.

perhaps flares rather more, the neck is slightly shorter and the greatest diameter of the body rather higher.³¹ A muse in full polychrome technique leans on Mount Helikon, holding two double flutes; on either side of her are elaborate floral ornaments. Shape and subsidiary decoration would date in the forties. The floral ornament, particularly the free spirals, seem to me earlier than the more formal and lifeless spirals of the Darius and Medea vases and find nearer analogies on the Berlin marriage of Hebe³² and a column krater in Copenhagen,³³ which is rather later than the British Museum Boreas but earlier than the Darius group. The Muse has her right hand on her hip, her left elbow resting on the mountain and the forearm foreshortened, her left leg bent and drawn back so that the toes touch the outside of her right foot. An early stage of this stance can be seen on an Attic vase of 390/80 B.C.³⁴ Pylades on the Naples³⁵ krater is nearer the Muse but his left toes touch the heel instead of the toes of his right foot. Olympias on a Panathenaic amphora³⁶ of 340/39 B.C. and figures on several Attic



FIG. 3.—SQUAT LEKYTHOS IN BOWDOIN COLLEGE.



FIG. 4.—SQUAT LEKYTHOS IN STOCKPORT.

reliefs datable in the late thirties or early twenties³⁷ show the same stance but the head three quarters or frontal, as on a Kertch vase of the late thirties.³⁸ This is a later development and we are led back to the forties for our Muse. A squat lekythos in Genoa³⁹ is slightly later to judge by the more formal floral ornament; the embossed Maenad has been rightly compared with the Siris bronzes in the British Museum (according to Miss Lamb, early fourth century⁴⁰) but wrongly dated to the end of the fourth century. Its original with the formal drapery acting as a foil to the body must belong to the second quarter of the century,⁴¹ though of course the mould may have continued in use. A squat lekythos in Stockport (fig. 4)⁴² takes us a stage

³¹ Bowdoin College, 15. 48. Cf. the reticulated lekythos, London, *C.V.*, 41/1, for shape.

³² See above n. 13.

³³ *C.V.*, Denmark, 258/1.

³⁴ Bologna 303. Pfuhl, fig. 590; *A.R.V.*, 804/4.

³⁵ See above n. 12. Compare also for legs and feet Aphrodite on the back of the B.M. Boreas (*J.H.S.*, LI, 89 fig. 2) but her head is turned the other way.

³⁶ Harvard 1925. 30; *C.V.* Hoppin, pl. 6; Süsserott, *Gr. Plastik des IV. Jahrh.*, pl. 4, 4; 6, 1-2; Beazley, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 458/2 Nikomachus group.

³⁷ Athens N.M. 2985; Süsserott pl. 5/4; Binneboessel,

Urkundenrelief, no. 63; about 332 B.C. Süsserott, pl. 22/3, 4, 5 dated by him 330/20.

³⁸ Leningrad St. 1792; Schefold, no. 368; Pfuhl, fig. 596.

³⁹ *C.V.* Italy 927/1.

⁴⁰ *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, 174, pl. 67b.

⁴¹ Cf. e.g. the maenad on the kalyx krater quoted in n. 16.

⁴² By the same hand, probably, a bottle in Hamburg; Pagenstecher, *Arch. Anz.* 1909, 1 f., no. 14. Near also London F582; *C.V.*, 40/5. For the head rising from a flower cf. Apulian red figure, *C.V.*, Fogg, pl. XXXV, 10a; *C.V.* Denmark, 258/1.

later; the formal spirals and the flower from which the head rises place it with the Darius group about the early twenties. The Stockport lekythos has the ornament with two small circles above diminishing lines which we have found in our spray groups (e.g. 11, 13, 22, 23, 30, 33); a link across to the yellow spray group can be found in two pelikai and a bottle with the same ornament and with heads, which may be by the same hand as the London bowl⁴³ (11).

The Stockport lekythos corresponds in shape to a ribbed lekythos in London;⁴⁴ the ribbing is very careful and is divided into sections at the shoulder and half-way down the body. The red-figure marriage of Hebe already has careful ribbing but it is doubtful whether any Gnathia ribbed vases can be dated much earlier than the London lekythos and certain that our oenochoi are all rather later. The elaborate ribbed amphora also in London⁴⁵ seems to be parallel with the elaborate Apulian barrel amphorae and its lid has close analogies with the small group just quoted (see n. 43). A pelike in London⁴⁶ with a low foot also has careful ribbing. Amphora and pelike are both decorated with a woman's head with 'melon hair'; the pelike has also a baby Eros with short wings. Scheurleer⁴⁷ notes the three pelikai on pl. 3 (= 39) of the British Museum Corpus as a chronological series of which the earliest (39/3) belongs to the middle of the century. The latest is clearly the rough-ribbed, high-footed slender example (39/4). The question for us is whether in spite of careful ribbing and shape the head with the melon hair and the baby Eros make a date in the twenties impossible for the intervening pelike (39/1). Heads with melon hair occur on several other Gnathia vases (including our no. 36a), which would be dated at the same time by shape and decoration.⁴⁸ Miss Lamb⁴⁹ dates a bronze mirror in New York, which has a profile head with melon hair, to the second half of the fourth century, and it seems difficult to bring the melon-haired woman from Herculanum, which has the same kind of drapery as the Mantinea base, below 320.⁵⁰ The type became popular and lasted until much later. The baby Erotes with short wings are a speciality of ribbed Gnathia and Sir John Beazley⁵¹ dates a very slim ribbed oenochoe to the first half of the third century. But Aetion painted child Erotes in his picture of the marriage of Alexander and Roxane and this may have originated the new tradition; the marriage took place in 327 B.C. and as Pliny dates Aetion 352/348 B.C.⁵² the picture is unlikely to have been painted much later. It seems therefore that we need not go below 320 B.C. for the date of the early ribbed pelike, and the yellow spray fragment in Heidelberg (36a) may still belong to the third quarter of the fourth century.

Sir John Beazley compares three of our oenochoi (3, 8, 17) with the Guglielmi oenochoe and notes an example from Crete,⁵³ which is very close to our no. 35, as even more elongated. Several pieces of the ribbed group have been found in Alexandria⁵⁴ but Alexandrian trade with the West goes back before the beginning of the third century; this is suggested by the curious vase⁵⁵ which has been regarded as an Alexandrian imitation of an Apulian 'Panathenaic' amphora of the third quarter of the fourth century, and by the late yellow spray oenochoe from Crete (34a), which may well have reached Crete via Alexandria: moreover, Agathocles of Syracuse apparently issued coins copied from the types of Ptolemy Soter between 310 and 307

⁴³ Pelikai: Hamburg, Pagenstecher, *op. cit.*, no. 12; Lecce, C.V., Italy 194/1, 2, 4. Bottle: Louvre K620.

⁴⁴ 73, 8-20, 319: C.V., 41/7.

⁴⁵ F560: C.V., 39/2.

⁴⁶ F558: C.V., 39/1.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.* 294.

⁴⁸ E.g. Furtwängler, *Coll. Sarmée*, no. 96, pl. xxxvii (bottle); Pagenstecher, *op. cit.*, no. 18 (unribbed pelike); Picard, *op. cit.*, no. 35 (ribbed pelike with low foot); C.V., Fogg, XXXVI, 3 (squat lekythos of same shape as Stockport).

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, 178, pl. 68c.

⁵⁰ Cf. Byvanck, *op. cit.*, 35; Süsserott, *op. cit.*, 192; Picard, *Sculpture*, iii, 809.

⁵¹ *Raccolta Guglielmi*, 70, no. 80. Contemporary with the Erotes of the conical amphora, Berlin Inv. 4956 (Neugebauer, pl. 85; Buschor, *Gr. Vasen*, fig. 280; Pfuhl, fig. 754). The

conical amphora lasted for some time: an early example in Birmingham (1607/85) with short neck and wide body has floral ornament not much later than the Stockport lekythos. The Berlin amphora itself is not much earlier than the elephant plate, about 280 B.C. (See Beazley, *EVP*, 211 f.)

⁵² Texts: Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 1937-8; Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 78; Lucian, *Herod.*, 4. The Erotes of an early fourth century Apulian lekythos (*R.A.* 1936, 146 f.) are clearly children but have long wings.

⁵³ Nicole, *Supplément*, no. 1192 = Sieglin, II, iii, fig. 32.

⁵⁴ See Sieglin, II, iii, 22 f.; Edgar, *Cairo Catalogue*, IV, pl. 13. Homer Thompson (*Hesp.* III, 315) argues that the Chatby find appears to date from the foundation of Alexandria and does not run into the third century B.C. Cf. Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XLI, 20.

⁵⁵ Sieglin, II, iii, fig. 30 = Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, fig. 151; Buschor, *Gr. Vasen*, fig. 271.

B.C.⁵⁶ On this evidence I am inclined to put the ribbed pelike with the high foot in Brussels (16) and the earliest of the ribbed oenochoi (5a and 15) still in the fourth century and the rest of our ribbed group in the early third century. Those which still have red scarves (3, 4, 17, 35, 36) may be rather earlier than the Michigan jug (8) which goes most closely with the Guglielmi oenochoe.

We can now consider the masks. Even if the unribbed vases should prove in some cases to have been dated too early and the ribbed vases too late, comic masks on the unribbed vases must belong to the Middle Comedy and on the ribbed vases to New Comedy, if we date the beginning of New Comedy by Menander's first production (321 B.C.) and allow a few years for the spread of the fashion to Tarentum. A few of the masks are at first sight doubtful: the Michigan mask (8) must be comic because at that time tragic masks show the triangular onkos clearly (3-5), but what of nos. 9-11? According to Bulle,⁵⁷ although the first datable triangular onkos is in the picture of an actor from Herculaneum deriving from an original of about 300 B.C.,⁵⁸ its introduction is to be connected with the removal of the action from the *orchestra* to the shallow *logeion* in the second half of the fourth century. But there seems to be no evidence for the removal of the action to the *logeion* until very much later⁵⁹ and we have in fact earlier evidence for the *onkos*. A statue of a tragic poet in the Vatican⁶⁰ holds a mask with the high *onkos*; the style of the drapery suggests a date between the Mausolus (after 351 B.C.) and the statue of Aeschines (322-315 B.C.).⁶¹ The suggestion therefore that it is a copy of the bronze Aeschylus set up by Lycurgus in the theatre is plausible, and if so, the high *onkos* may have been introduced at the same time as a reaction against the more naturalistic hair dressing of the middle of the fourth century as seen in the mask of the Würzburg tragic actor (37). Lycurgus was in charge of finance at Athens from 338 to 326 B.C. We cannot date his rebuilding of the theatre more closely unless we can assume that the decree of Stratocles gives his buildings in chronological order; then we could say that the theatre was before 330 B.C. since the Stadium was being constructed in 330 B.C.⁶²

The limits for the introduction of the high *onkos* seem therefore to be 350/30 B.C.; our doubtful masks were also painted between 350 and 330 B.C. They must therefore be examined on their merits. The London mask (11, pl. XLVf) is not easy to interpret but seems to have the hair tied above the forehead, a hair fashion which can be traced at any rate from 380 B.C. on Attic vases;⁶³ there is no evidence for a tragic mask with this hair-dressing either in Pollux' description or in the representations; it corresponds, however, to Pollux' description of the First *Pseudokore* of New Comedy,⁶⁴ and if my interpretation is right is an anticipation of the *Pseudokore* in the period of Middle Comedy. The mask with the long parted hair (10), which appears in profile on the Munich cup (10a, pl. XLVe), is somewhat like the mask of Hesione on the Pronomos vase⁶⁵ and the mask on a Paestan vase⁶⁶ of 340/30 B.C. As the Paestan mask hangs

⁵⁶ Seltman, *Greek Coins*, 246; cf. Rostovtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, 395.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, 19.

⁵⁸ Bulle, *op. cit.*, fig. 4; Bieber, *D.*, no. 44; *H.T.*, fig. 217; Pfuhl, fig. 653; Wiegand, *Antike Fresken*, 1943, pl. IX (in colour).

⁵⁹ Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*, 214.

⁶⁰ Vatican, Braccio Nuovo 53; Amelung, pl. 9; Helbig 19; Bieber, *D.*, no. 27; *H.T.*, fig. 35; Schefold, *Bildnisse*, 207. On the relief in Constantinople (Mendel, II, no. 574; Bieber, *D.*, no. 29; Poulsen, *From Ny Carlsberg*, I, 80; Schefold, *op. cit.*, 163, 1) Euripides holds a mask with a high *onkos*. Poulsen argues that it derives from a seated Euripides sculpted about 330 B.C. Euripides holds the mask in his right hand and a scroll in his left like the elderly comic poet on a relief of about 380 B.C. (Lyne Park: *J.H.S.* 1903, pl. 13; Robert, *Masques*, fig. 127; Winter, *KIB*, 316/3. The scroll which is broken off in the left hand is not mentioned in the publications nor the fact that the poet is bearded and has deep vertical furrows in the forehead and on either side of the nose); the likeness of this earlier grave relief and the analogy of the Aeschylus suggest that the original of the Euripides also held a mask. Earlier

tragic masks on the Pronomos vase (see below n. 65), the Peiraeus relief (Bieber, *D.*, no. 41; *H.T.* fig. 66-7; Winter, *KIB*, 316/2) and in the hand of the Muse of Mantinea (*Jb.* 1917, 79, fig. 45) show no heightened *onkos*, but even the last is derived from an original not later than 375 B.C.

⁶¹ Cf. the overseer on the Panathenaic amphora of 340/39 B.C. quoted above n. 36.

⁶² I.G. ii-iii 351, 457: texts in Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*, 137.

⁶³ E.g. Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, nos. 72, 228, 232, 336, 369, 370.

⁶⁴ Illustrated on the Menander relief (Lateran: Bieber, *D.*, no. 129; *H.T.*, fig. 223; Rostovtzeff, *Oriental and Greece*, pl. lxxxvii) and by a marble mask in Naples (Bieber, *D.*, no. 174; *H.T.*, fig. 280). For interpretation cf. *Rylands Bulletin*, XXXII, 104.

⁶⁵ Naples 3240; *A.R.V.*, 849/1; Pfuhl, fig. 575; *F.R.*, pl. 143-5; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, figs. 11/12; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 20.

⁶⁶ Bell krater by Python in the Vatican: Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, 62, no. 113, pl. XVIII; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 401.

between two comic masks, it is presumably a comic mask and it agrees with Pollux' description of the *Kore* of New Comedy. Hesione on the Pronomos vase is a character in a satyr play (or even, as Buschor thinks, in a tragedy).⁶⁷ Comedy therefore seems to have taken over the *Kore* mask from tragedy when Middle Comedy needed the distressed maiden. The Milan mask (9) is extremely difficult to interpret. Dr. A. P. Treweek, to whom I owe my knowledge of it, believes it to be a male mask, and none of the female masks of tragedy or comedy seem to have this kind of hair-dressing nor can we at this date point to a beardless mask of comedy which looks like this (cf. above n. 60). In Pollux' list of tragic masks several young men have pale complexions; the *hapalos*, 'golden-haired, white-skinned, smiling like a beautiful god', is ruled out because he has long tresses,⁶⁸ the two *pinaroi* because they have wavy hair (*epikomos*), the *parochros* because he has thick black hair (like the *panchrestos*); the *ochros*, who has a wreath of almost golden hair with a sickly complexion like a ghost or a wounded man, remains. But our mask does not look a ghost or a wounded man, and I am inclined to regard it as a short-haired *hapalos*, perhaps a Hermes instead of a Dionysus; if so, he may belong to Comedy rather than Tragedy, not, however, as a character (when he would be caricatured)⁶⁹ but as a prologue figure.⁷⁰ Sir John Beazley's youthful Pan (1, pl. XLVa) may also be the mask of a prologue figure; in New Comedy Pan spoke the prologue of Menander's *Dyskolos* (127K with 134K); the Sèvres Pan (2), however, looks more like a caricature and could be a character in mythological comedy. It seems likely therefore that all these masks are comic masks.

The other comic masks can be identified by the descriptions in Pollux.⁷¹ The old man on the Boston kalyx krater (40) has the hooked nose, bald forehead, energetic expression of the *Second Pappos*; the nearest parallel is on a kalyx krater in Bari⁷² but the relation to the Zeus of the Attic oenochoe in Leningrad⁷³ is also clear. The Leiden bowl (6, pl. XLVd) has the receding hair, raised eyebrows, sharp beard, and 'rather bad-tempered' expression of the *Sphenopogon*; the Naples kalyx krater (43) shows that this mask survived into the New Comedy period. The old man on the bell krater in Vienna (42) with a large beard, a nearly bald head, and a straight stick is possibly a *leno*; the first play with a *leno* which can be approximately dated is Eubulus' *Pornoboskos* (350-30 B.C.). The two bearded revellers with torches (39, 41) are nameless because their masks were shaven in New Comedy; both were standard masks as both have Attic ancestors, no. 41 a terracotta⁷⁴ and no. 39 perhaps the mask on the right on the Attic oenochoe in Leningrad.⁷⁵ The youth with the fair waving hair in Haileybury (9a) is the *second episeistos* of Pollux. The hanging mask on the London krater (7) is the old slave (*pappos*), for which parallels have already been quoted.⁷⁶ The slave with the cake (38) is the *Maison* because of his bald head and red hair, a mask used particularly for cooks but also according to Festus for 'sailors and such like'.

We have already mentioned the *kore* (10, 10a) and the *pseudokore* (11); the Gnathia *kore* is roughly contemporary with the hanging *kore* mask on Python's bell krater in the Vatican⁷⁷ but the *pseudokore* is the only Middle Comedy example except for an Attic terracotta in the British Museum (1907. 5. 20. 79); these masks would be needed for recognition plays with characters from everyday life (as distinct from parodies of tragic recognition scenes), which were introduced at least as early as the thirties.⁷⁸ The mask on the Michigan jug (8) must be a New Comedy mask; it is difficult to tell from the photograph whether it has been restored or not,

⁶⁷ F.R., III, 132 f.

⁶⁸ Illustrated on an Apulian bell krater of the early fourth century, Bari 1364; Trendall, *Frühitaliotische*, 26 n. 41, Eton painter; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 40; *Jb.* 1917, fig. 59. Dionysus holds his own mask. Cf. E. Bacch. 455 f.

⁶⁹ As on the Paestan bell krater in the Vatican, Bieber, *D.*, no. 101; *H.T.*, fig. 368; Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, no. 48; Heydemann I, and on the Campanian skyphos, Milan, Bieber, *D.*, no. 108; *H.T.*, fig. 360; Zahn e; Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LXIII, 107.

⁷⁰ For mythological prologue figures in Middle Comedy see *Studies in Menander*, 185.

⁷¹ For further examples and references to characters in

surviving plays see my article in *Rylands Bulletin*, XXXII, 111 f.

⁷² Bieber, *D.*, no. 118; *H.T.*, fig. 393; Zahn p.

⁷³ Bieber, *D.*, no. 97; *H.T.*, fig. 121; Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, fig. 23; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, fig. 32; Bethe, *Gr. Dichtung*, pl. VIII (wrongly called an aryballos, *C.Q.*, XLII, 20).

⁷⁴ Munich, Bieber, *D.*, no. 75; *H.T.*, fig. 116. British Museum, 1930-12-15-1.

⁷⁵ Cf. above n. 6.

⁷⁶ See above n. 66.

⁷⁷ For the evidence see my *Studies in Menander*, 171.

but the hair looks good. It is unparted and completely surrounds the head; the *pallake* is described as *perikomos*; so perhaps we may imagine Chrysis in Menander's *Samia*.

The other female masks are the masks of hetairae, who played a large part in Middle Comedy. They fall into six distinct types. First, the girl with streaming hair on the back of the Boston krater (40). She is not in stage costume but there must have been a corresponding stage type and we may recognise an early version of the *lampadion*, which is also worn by a flute-girl on a phlyax vase.⁷⁷ Secondly, the mask with mitra, side hair, and back hair (12, fig. 2; 13) recurs again for the Alcmena of a Paestan bell krater⁷⁸ and a later marble version was identified by Robert⁷⁹ as the 'golden hetaira'. Thirdly, the mask with mitra and side hair only (14-20a, fig. 1) has three versions, which may rather represent three different painters than three different masks (14-17; 18/18a; 19-20a). Three of the first version (15-17) certainly belong to the New Comedy period, and their straight noses and solemn eyes may be compared with a marble mask in Naples,⁸⁰ which has been identified with Pollux' wimpled hetaira. The fourth and fifth masks (21-27; 28-34b) have no side hair, the fifth has no back hair. It is possible that the absence of side hair marks the distinction between an independent hetaira and a hetaira who is still a slave. Some in these two groups (21, 24, 27, 28, 29, 32) have snub noses and may therefore be hetaira's maids rather than hetairae; this is particularly likely where a narrower band, which leaves the front hair free, is substituted for the wimple (21, 24, 27, 28), since they then look very like certain statuettes and masks which have been identified with Pollux' mask of the hetaira's maid.⁸¹ Two masks with melon hair (35, 36) belong to the New Comedy period, but there seems no reason for dating the third (36a) after 325 B.C. Dr. Simon⁸² has argued that this cannot be the smoothly parted hair ascribed by Pollux to the *kore* and suggests that the mask with melon hair may have been one variant of the 'blooming little hetaira'; if this is right, the Heidelberg fragment (36a) shows that this mask also goes back into the later stages of Middle Comedy.



FIG. 5.—BELL KRATER IN
HAILEYBURY COLLEGE.

Bulle identified the mask held by the Würzburg tragic actor (37) as the *xanthos* of Pollux' list. The old man on the Ruvo Kantharos (44) must belong to tragedy as he wears tragic *kothornoi* like the Würzburg tragic actor. Professor Trendall tells me that his beard and tunic are white, his cloak a reddish brown with a purple border and his boots much the same. He is telling a story. The bundle fixes him as a slave; a young hero may carry his own luggage but hardly an old hero. Only the *diphtherias* is possible since Pollux' other two male slaves are much younger, but he does not wear the cap (*perikranon*) of the *diphtherias*. The old messenger who has come from a distance is not common but we have a clear example in Sophocles' *Electra*. Colour does not help to identify the other tragic masks because they belong to the ribbed group where only yellow and white are used. Thus the bearded mask of the Würzburg jug (3) must be judged on hair alone: the *leukos*, the *xanthos*, and the *xanthoteros* are the only possibilities; the *leukos* is probably ruled out by his 'stiff beard'. Perhaps the sickly *xanthoteros* is slightly more likely than the 'healthy' *xanthos*. The first Louvre mask (4) has smooth brows and side hair. It is difficult to be certain whether it is male or female. It looks like the masks of Achilles and Medea in the Casa del Centenario,⁸³ which without colour and the clothing of the figures would

⁷⁷ Apulian bell krater, Leningrad; Bieber, *D.*, no. 123; *H.T.*, fig. 378; Zahn s.

⁷⁸ See above n. 69: cf. also Paestan bell krater, London F 150; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 387; Heydemann b; Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, no. 47, pl. IXd.

⁷⁹ Robert, *Masken der neueren Attischen Komödie*, pl. I; Bieber, *D.*, no. 177; *H.T.*, fig. 284.

⁸⁰ 6616; Bieber, *D.*, no. 176; *H.T.*, fig. 286; Simon,

Comicae Tabellae, 113, 124.

⁸¹ E.g. Athens 5032; Bieber, *D.*, no. 157; *H.T.*, fig. 281; Simon, *Comicae Tabellae*, 111, 116 for identification and further examples.

⁸² *Op. cit.*, 117, 123 (further examples of melon-hair: *op. cit.*, 110).

⁸³ Bieber, *D.*, no. 49; *H.T.*, figs. 520, 521.

be difficult to distinguish. The Achilles mask there is presumably the *panchrestos* and has smooth brows, high *onkos*, and long hair like ours; most of the other male masks in Pollux' list can be excluded by hair-dressing (*oulos*, *paroulos*, *pinaroi*, *ochros*) or by expression (*hapalos*), but the *parochros*, who is the *panchrestos* when he is ill or in love is also possible. Medea is *mesokouros*, which does not mean 'shaven in the middle' (L.S.⁹) but 'with hair half-length' between the *katakomos* and the *kourimos*. The *mesokouros ochra* and the *mesokouros prosphatos* are distinguished by colour alone. The second Louvre mask (5, pl. XLVb) has no side hair and the corners of the mouth are pulled down. This is a *kourimos*, and the *onkos* (instead of a parting) and the absence of the short fringe of hair prove that she is the Second *kourimos* who 'has been unhappy for a long time', Electra rather than Antigone. As this is certainly a female mask, it seems probable that the other is also female and so we may imagine to ourselves Medea as she appeared at Athens or Tarentum after the reforms of Lycurgus. The Reading mask (5a, pl. XLVc) has short parted hair and no *onkos*; she therefore seems to be Pollux' First *kourimos*, Antigone rather than Electra.

The cross-references from the comic and tragic Gnathia masks to Attic masks whether represented on vases and other monuments or described by Pollux, whose lists are based on Attic tragedy and comedy, show that the Greeks in S. Italy followed in externals also their Attic models. The Gnathia masks add something to our knowledge of Attic tragedy and comedy from the middle of the fourth to the early third century. The masks represented on the later Gnathia vases were being worn when Livius Andronicus was born, who took Greek tragedy and comedy to Rome in 240 B.C.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

I owe the following information to Professor A. D. Trendall, who has recently visited South Italy, and to Dr. M. Bernardini, who has sent me photographs of vases in Lecce. No. 10 is now in Lecce. No. 39 is now in New York, Metr.Mus.51.11.2. No. 44 is red-figure and not Gnathia, though the figure itself is mostly in added colour.

Add to my list :

- 1a. *Pan* (young). Lecce, 1034. Bell Krater. Red spray group. Third quarter of fourth century.
 27a. *Woman in mitra with back hair only*. Lecce, 1181. Oenochoe. Dotted spray group. Third quarter.
 34c. *Woman in mitra*. Lecce, 3802. Oenochoe. Yellow spray group. Third quarter.

[PLATES XLVI-XLVII]

It is a pleasure to record this year that the promise of more substantial results held out in the previous slender reports from Greece has not been disappointed, and that the discoveries made in the latter part of 1949 and the year 1950 challenge comparison with any pre-war years. The Archaeological Society has undertaken a number of new excavations in different parts of the country and has already achieved some remarkable successes. The foreign Schools have not lessened their endeavours; the Italian School has resumed its activity in the field, and the French have supplemented their achievements on land by commencing a systematic investigation of inshore waters. The Herakleion Museum is now open again. In Eleusis and Tegea the museums are being reconstituted, and that at Sparta has been reopened; the Hermes of Praxiteles has been brought above ground again at Olympia. A new wing comprising an exhibition gallery and workrooms has been added to the Corinth Museum. The museum in Thera is to be set in order, and the archaeological collection at Syra has been re-assembled in the Town Hall. In Athens, there are now six exhibition galleries open in the National Museum with a splendid selection which ranges from early Hellenic to the fourth century B.C.; a new gallery has been constructed in the Byzantine Museum to hold select exhibits, and a library and rooms for study are being fitted out in the cellars of the main building there. Under Prof. A. Orlandos' direction many Byzantine churches and monasteries which needed attention have been put in order in the last year.

ATHENS AND ATTICA

In the *National Museum* two more galleries have been opened during 1950 in the new wing, making a total of six apart from the small anteroom. The two new galleries contain outstanding works of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., with the same mixture of different classes of art prevailing.¹ Repairs in the old museum, where the final arrangement of antiquities is due to commence, are proceeding. A head carved in relief on a convex marble disk found in Melos is now displayed for the first time; it is an island work of towards the middle of the fifth century.² In the fourth-century room a female torso has been re-exhibited in its proper position, turned so as to show more of its left side to the beholder; it was published as coming from Epidauros³ but the place of discovery is in fact unknown. The bronzes for exhibition have all been cleaned, with a great improvement in their appearance. PLATE XLVI, 4 shows a mirror with an embossed design on the cover, where the cleaning has revealed the fineness of the workmanship and silver necklaces and bracelets on the figures.⁴

There are interesting new acquisitions at the Museum, notably an early Attic b.f. kylix—one of the earliest examples of this form, unfortunately lacking the foot—with a siren in the inner circle and pairs of sirens outside. But the main interest this year has been focused on the rich collection recently donated by Mr. Empedokles, which contains some outstanding vases. The large collection of sherds presented in addition by the donor's relatives contains many fine pieces not previously known, among them fragments of two b.f. kantharoi of fine fabric; the one is a single fragment, which Mrs. Karouzou attributes to the best of the painters of the Comast group, showing Hermes present at the death of Medousa, whose hands are seen stretched in suppliant fashion towards the god; the other kantharos, of slightly later date, consists of a number of fragments burnt grey on the surface, which depict Deianeira seated on the centaur's back and stretching her head and hands towards Herakles (whose surviving lower leg shows that he was draped in a long robe). Mrs. Karouzou believes that the frag-

¹ The following notice is drawn from a bulletin of the direction of the Museum kindly provided by Mrs. Karouzou.

² This piece is published by Kh. Karouzou in this number of *JHS*. See above pp. 96-110.

³ By Philadelphes in *Classical Studies presented to Ed. Capps*, 295 ff., figs. 1-2.

⁴ Compare the previous photograph Züchner *Griechische Klappspiegel*, 170, fig. 83.

ments of this vase came from the Acropolis excavations; and there is no question that this is the source of some of the vases in the Empedokles collection proper. A piece of a b.f. plaque from this collection joins up with Acropolis, Graef 2544 Pl. 108, to give an almost complete picture of two youths on horseback; and an owl's head with the inscription *ho pais kalos* fits the body Graef-Langlotz 415 (B 200) Pl. 31, displaying a perfection of line worthy of one of the leading painters of the developed r.f. style. Outstanding among the r.f. pieces in their fineness of line are fragments of a footless lebes gamikos, forerunner of those from Kerch; on one side are the bride, resting—like Alkestis on the Eretria epinetron—her elbow on the pillow, and two companions holding gifts of a loutrophoros and an amphora, while a few fragments survive from the nuptial equipage on the other side; the melodic design suggests Polion as the painter. A very fragmentary late fifth-century khous presents the antiquated theme of the death of the Chimaera, with flanking figures of Athena and Bellerophon leaning on spears.

A fragment of a second-century A.D. terracotta lamp with the figure of Hephaistos is of more than ordinary interest. The god stands clad in an exomis reaching to his knees, his left

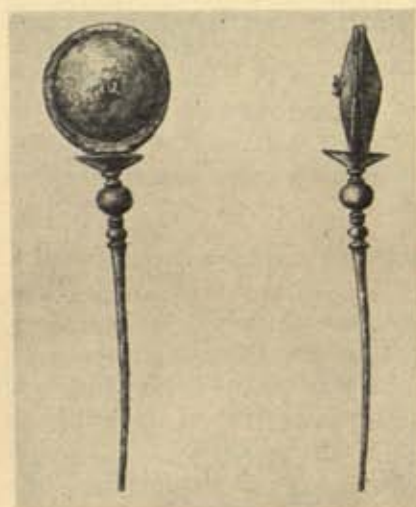


FIG. 1.—BRONZE PIN IN NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS.

leg relaxed and thrust forward in such a way as to call attention to his lameness, a sceptre in his raised left arm, his right down with his hammer; he wears a cap like that on the marble head in the Vatican which Furtwängler associated with the Hephaistos of Alkamenes,⁵ and beside his right leg is the anvil. Mrs. Karouzou recognises in the figure on the lamp a rendering—faithful within its limits—of the statue of the god in the Hephaisteion, and concludes that between the two cult figures in the temple stood an anvil, centrally placed like an altar or table and thus serving to emphasise the divinity of the blacksmith.⁶

The bronzes of the Empedokles collection are not yet unpacked, but there are interesting pieces in the supplementary donation of the family. One is a unique pin of early classical type carrying a convex disk resembling a rhombos, which may have been intended as a love charm (Fig. 1). A fine bronze, which probably came from the Acropolis excavations, is that Fig. 2, above, in the form of a panther's scalp (Inv. 16371), intended for application on

a bronze vessel; while the handle of another bronze vessel (Fig. 2, below) takes the form of two lions, plastically modelled, flanking a palmette. Lastly, a small mirror cover is reported with a fine flower-wreathed head in frontal view set in the centre; the treatment of the locks of hair which come down over the ears and the emptiness of expression support a date in the fourth century, while the resemblance of the head to that on the handle of the bronze hydria in Khalkis⁷ is so close as to suggest that they came from one workshop; the simple decoration of a small goddess' head is in striking contrast to the elaborate embossed designs on mirror covers made at this time in other centres like Athens and Corinth.

In the *Epigraphical Museum* M. Mitsos has joined up a considerable number of fragments of ephebe-lists (cf. *Πολέμων* iv. 17 ff.). The most notable addition to Mrs. Helene Stathatou's collection is an archaic bronze helmet with its gold funeral mask, which comes, together with gold and bronze ornament, from a tomb in Macedonia similar to those of Trebeniste.

Orlandos has repaired the Belvedere bastion on the Acropolis, re-erected a column of the SW wing of the Propylaea, and restored some of the seats in the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. The Kapnikarea has been re-roofed, and two columns have been replaced under the dome of the church of the Transfiguration in the Plaka. On the south edge of the ancient

⁵ *Meisterwerke*, 120 f.; Collignon, *Histoire de la sculpture grecque*, 123, fig. 59.

⁶ A fuller discussion of this is to appear in *Hesperia*.

⁷ Züchner, *Klappspiegel*, figs. 94-95.

city, where an unfluted column remains in situ in Misraliotis Street, I. Threpsiades is clearing part of a Roman building with an interior colonnade.^{*} Just below this he has exposed a short stretch of the *Themistoclean Wall* with a drain piercing it; it lies a stone's throw inside the known course of the later wall which appears on Judeich's plan, and its inner face is preserved to a height of four courses. In his excavation for the Archaeological Society I. Travlos has successfully recovered the plan of the Early Christian *Basilica at the Olympieion*. The building was 13.2 m. broad and 28 m. long including the narthex. The church was divided by rows of columns into a nave and two aisles; the apse, of a type not found in Greece outside Athens, is of the same width as the nave. Numerous inscribed bases and architectural members from the Olympieion have been found incorporated in the walls; among the latter are pieces of the ceiling of the temple which will help to explain the arrangement of the panelling. Travlos dates the construction of the basilica about the end of the fifth century A.D. and finds support in

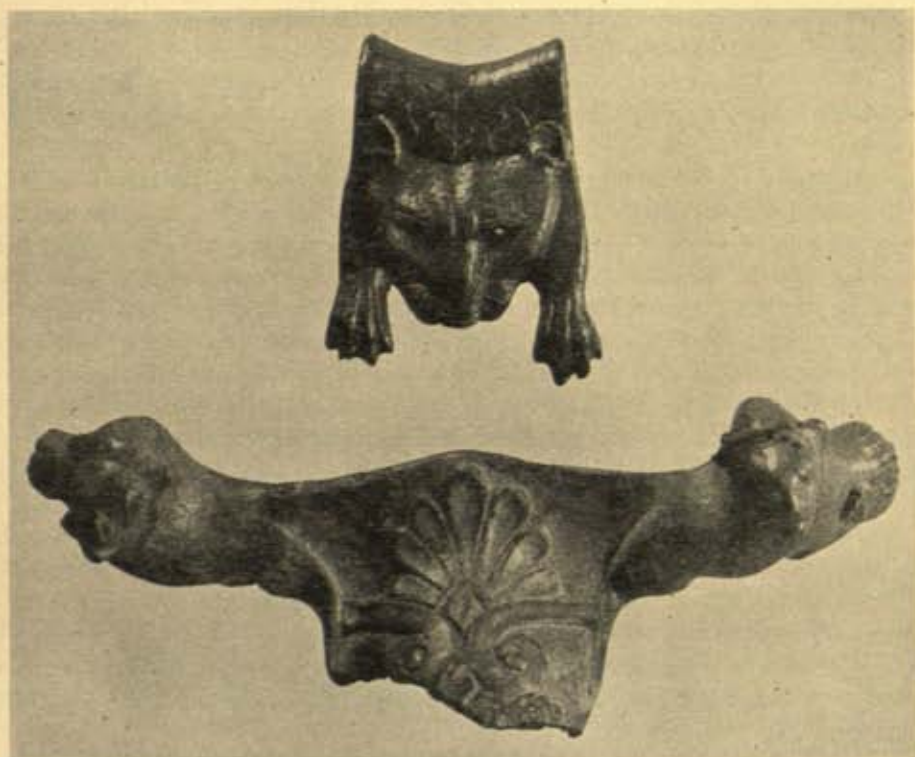


FIG. 2.—BRONZE ATTACHMENTS IN NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS.

literary sources for its identification with the church of St. Nicholas of the Columns. Though only four of the eight rooms could be cleared on account of the trees, Travlos has investigated and planned the Roman bath complex adjacent to the basilica; it was of excellent construction with fine mosaics and polychrome pavements, and is dated by Travlos to the time of Hadrian's visits to Athens between A.D. 124 and 131.

The complex seems to have continued in use after the building of the Christian basilica, when the semicircular nymphaeum was converted into a sacred fount and the octagonal room probably became a baptistery.

In the American excavations in the *Athenian Agora* no new ground has been broken, but some areas already opened up before the war have been more thoroughly explored and the buildings underlying the Stoa of Attalos have been examined in preparation for the reconstruction of the Stoa as a museum. The foundations and floors of the Tholos, the Civic Offices,

* Marked as a stoa on Judeich's plan.

and the Odeion also have been renovated to ensure their preservation and to make them more intelligible to visitors.

In the central part of the Agora north of the "Giants" the removal of a complex of private house foundations of the Byzantine and Turkish period has brought to light the continuation of the Panathenaic Way, which is here surfaced with gravel and bordered on its west side by a stone water channel. To the west of this appeared a massive poros foundation measuring 6.3×8.9 m., together with a large marble orthostate from its superstructure; it lies on the axis of the Temple of Ares and apparently had steps on its west side facing the temple, so that there can be little doubt that it is the foundation of the Altar of Ares. On the ruins of the altar lay a half life-size bearded male head of marble broken from a high relief of the third quarter of the fifth century; three or four other heads previously discovered hereabouts and a fine draped female torso from a relief of the order of the Nike Temple parapet (Fig. 3) seem to go with this head and may come from a screen for the altar. Among other finds in this area are marble inscriptions, including a prytany decree of the second century B.C. with a complete roster of the tribe Hippothontis, the mid part of a life-sized marble kouros of the mid sixth century B.C., and a fragment from a life-sized marble group of a male figure attacked by a lion which presumably comes from a hitherto unknown pedimental composition of the late sixth century.

The investigation of the earlier buildings under the Stoa of Attalos is now complete; there were three successive public buildings probably serving market purposes on this site, the second one consisting of a square peristyle with fourteen columns on each side enclosing an open court 39 m. square. Under the north end of the stoa terrace a round base of soft yellow poros, 1.35 m. in diameter and with a series of ten leaded sockets for posts around its circumference, has come to light; it seems to be the base of a rectangular altar of the late archaic period, but cannot at present be identified. Close study has brought out a number of new and interesting points about the Stoa of Attalos itself, such as that in the Roman period most of the very high-ceilinged shops of the ground floor were subdivided by the insertion of mezzanine floors to provide living room above for the shopkeepers. Contemporary with the original construction of the stoa was a capacious fountain house of which the foundations and walls remain at the south end of the stoa terrace. In the early Roman period another public convenience was added—a latrine set behind the south end of the stoa so as to be accessible both from the stoa and from the street leading east to the Roman Market. At the north corner of the stoa terrace, from which it is separated by a narrow passage, a Roman colonnade with a frontage of eleven columns has been disclosed; it faced southwards on to the Agora square, and seems to have backed on the old thoroughfare that ran along the north edge of the square. This building, which has been given the name 'Northeast Stoa', is in an Ionic order closely modelled on that of the Erekhtheion.

At the back of the Stoa of Attalos a series of wells ranging from Late Geometric to Roman times has been cleared. The pottery found includes the cup of the Siana class shown in PLATE XLVII, 3, which was found badly shattered at the bottom of a shaft that had proved a failure; the cup has a running warrior painted in the medallion and two single grazing horses on the outside. Some official clay tallies, of the same ware as the public measures, have been found in a mid fifth-century rubbish pit in the same area. Fig. 4 shows on the left and right respectively the front and back of two different tallies, with inscriptions in black glaze painted on before the unfired clay plaques were cut in two. On the front the upper pieces bore a demotic and the lower ones the abbreviation ΠΟΛ, while the backs of the plaques had the opening letters of a tribe name across the middle. The two tallies here illustrated are of the tribe Leontis, while a third piece, a lower tally, reads Ere(khtheis).⁹

At the monastery of *Kaisariani* M. Hatzidakis has exposed a vaulted underground chamber of poor construction with a staircase at the back, approached through an entrance court nearly four metres below the present pavement level; it seems to be an ossuary of late Byzantine times,

⁹ Prof. H. Thompson also draws attention to a tally from the Dipylon with the demotic Xypetaion (*IG I²*. 916).

but was subsequently used for the disposal of rubbish through a trap-door in the pavement above. At the east end of the church outside the apse, foundations belonging to an extensive earlier building-complex have been revealed; its plan is not yet clear, but it may well have been an Early Christian basilica. At *Zográfos* not far east of Athens I. Papademetriou reports the discovery of the funerary epigram of Myrine, first priestess of Athena Nike, who assumed the office *ca.* 448 B.C. and died about the close of the century.¹⁰

N. Kotzias in 1949 began soundings at *Prophétes Elías* on the back side of *Hymettos* above *Koropi* in order to locate the *Proopsios* sanctuary mentioned by Pausanias (I. 32.2). Inside a large enclosure the remains of a tetrastyle amphiprostyle Doric temple, measuring 16 × 7 m., came to light close to the existing church. A poros corner-triglyph and terracotta cornice fragments with painted decoration have been recovered. Kotzias believes that the temple was erected about the end of the fifth century B.C., and after undergoing repairs until Roman times was converted into a church. The excavation was continued this summer, when Kotzias discovered a second temple measuring 10.7 × 6.66 m. The opisthodomos is well preserved; it was entered from the west where the rock was cut away obliquely to allow access by a narrowing path from the SW corner of the temple. The style of masonry resembles that of the Peisistratian wall at Eleusis. The temple was destroyed by a fire, whose marks are visible on fragments from the tiled roof, pieces of which are decorated with painted palmettes. Kotzias has made other soundings in the vicinity. On the hillock of *Christ's Castle* no architectural remains prior to the mediaeval castle have come to light, but abundant blades and arrow-heads of obsidian have been discovered, together with stone implements and a boar's tusk. Near the foot of the mountain slope below *Prophétes Elías* the investigation of a 17-m.-deep cave or working in the rock has revealed fragments of striped vases with incised archaic graffiti, and apparently Mycenaean sherds; also black-glazed sherds and an inscribed fragment from the mouth of a Panathenaic amphora. On the foothills of *Mt. Mavrovouni* Kotzias has noted a roughstone building 26 m. square, with unworked square pillars set at intervals of 5 m., and in the middle a square stone construction which he takes for a hearth or altar.

This autumn Papademetriou has cleared a number of pyres in a family graveyard, which had already been looted by peasants, near *Markópoulo* in the *Mesogeia*. He has recovered two early sixth-century Attic lekanides with animal zones, a plate of the mid sixth century with a fine representation of Achilles and Penthesileia, two jugs apparently by Amasis (one plain, the other showing Helen and Menelaos), eight white lekythoi from one workshop dating *ca.* 420 B.C., and other fine vases.

Papademetriou has continued his excavation on the site of the sanctuary of Artemis at *Brauron* with remarkable results; the position is at *Livádi* by the chapel of St. George. There are traces of prehistoric occupation also on the acropolis hill above the chapel, where numerous Mycenaean sherds (including early ones) have been picked up this year, and at other points in the vicinity.¹¹ Unfortunately, little now remains of the above-ground structure of the temple, but traces of the rough substructures indicate that it was prostyle in the Doric order, measuring 20.3 × 10.8 m., and built about the end of the sixth century. The temple was upheld on the north side by a platform wall five steps high, still preserved for a distance of 27 m. and probably of an original length of 100 Attic feet, at whose foot the sockets for a row of stelai have been exposed. On the other side of the temple the rocky slope was worked off to form a floor at a higher level approached by a short flight of steps; it may have been this arrangement of successive terraces which prompted Euripides' phrase *σεμνὸς κλίμακος Βραυρωνίας* (*I.T.* 1462-3). The discovery of later Geometric sherds and small votives in a pit beside the temple attests the antiquity of the cult. A treasury or *ἱερὰ οἰκία* built against the rocky slope, with a hearth in the main room, was cleared in 1949; and a second such building excavated this year has yielded many sherds of the sixth and fifth centuries.

A series of probes have been carried out to the north where a hundred-foot portico was

¹⁰ Cf. *IG* I². 24-25; *Ar. Lys.*, with its lively presentation of this elderly priestess.

¹¹ Cf. *PAE* 1948, 81 ff., where a description of the area and of the first results of the excavation is printed.

detected last year in ground water. The building has a marble stylobate, Doric columns with poros shafts and marble capitals, and triglyphs and metopes of poros and marble respectively; complete antefixes with palmettes, dating about the end of the fifth century, have come to light. The columns, eleven in number, are still lying where they collapsed in a



FIG. 3.—MARBLE HIGH-RELIEF TORSO IN AGORA, ATHENS.

flood of the brook Erasinos, as Papademetriou supposes, in the fourth century B.C. This stoa, whose restoration is now possible, appears to be identical in plan with that of the Brauroneion on the Athenian Acropolis, and should thus shed new light on the architectural arrangement of the latter; similar duplication is apparent also in retrograde inscriptions found in the excavation, giving lists, which correspond to those discovered on the Acropolis, of offerings of clothing and personal ornament to the goddess.¹² The excavation of the sanctuary has yielded many pieces of sculpture—notably the fine relief fragment PAE 1948, 89 Fig. 7, a small female head of the Phcidian circle, and five of a series of fine classical heads of boys and girls; among the small finds are numerous r.f. fragments and an archaic open marble lamp with three lion's heads.

Travlos has exposed the handsome fifty-foot four-arch bridge on the *Sacred Way* a kilometre from Eleusis, and dates it on literary evidence to the time of Hadrian's initiation in the Mysteries. On *Salamis* the paintings of the monastery church of Phaneromeni have been cleaned and secured, and the chapel of Capodistria's government building on *Aegina* has been repaired. For the first time methodical submarine exploration on the Greek coast was undertaken this summer by a group of specialists brought out by the French School. A special diving suit was used which permits the inspection of the bottom to a depth of forty metres. Parts of the Attic

and North Peloponnesian coasts have been examined, and near *Marathon* the remains of a number of sunk ships which were loaded with amphorae have been found. A large number of anchors, mostly of stone with leaden stocks, but in one case of lead with a wooden core, two stone mask sockets, and many amphorae and sherds have been recovered.

THE PELOPONNESE

At *Corinth* members of the American School have continued their investigations with a view to the publication of building-complexes, and J. H. Kent has completed the examination of more than seven hundred inscriptions which have come to light since 1927. O. Broneer spent the spring and summer working on the South Stoa. Digging was restricted to the clearing of walls, floors, and drains for the purposes of study. In the course of these excavations there were found, below the stoa, a small but important deposit of Submycenaean pottery, Geometric and early sixth-century pottery from the filling of wells, and fragments of a remarkable terracotta stand apparently for a bronze lebes, in the form of a Doric column surmounted by a concave base with four legs ending in lion's paws. A small excavation by S. S. Weinberg to the east of the Julian Basilica revealed traces of an apse that was added in late antiquity and

¹² Cf. Eur. *I.T.* 1464 ff.

gave clear evidence of the street that ran past the building on that side; at one period this street, like the road to Lekhaion, was paved with limestone slabs. Weinberg's report on the Julian Basilica and the South Basilica will be ready for publication in the near future, as also Mrs. Weinberg's on the ancient tile-factory with its large well-preserved kiln which was found in 1940. At *Nemea* B. H. Hill has established the existence of a smaller Ionic order surmounting the Corinthian in the cella of the temple.

With Prof. A. J. B. Wace and the indefatigable ephor, I. Papademetriou, in the field, the Argolid has been the scene of some of the most exciting discoveries this summer. At *Mycenae* Wace has resumed the excavations which were interrupted by the outbreak of war in 1939, and has made some very interesting discoveries of which he is preparing a notice to be annexed to this report. Papademetriou, assisted by Ph. Petsas, has been engaged on works of restoration in the dromos of the Tomb of Clytaemnestra, where the east wall in particular was leaning dangerously, and at the Lion Gate. At the latter the two great conglomerate blocks fallen from the façade have been successfully replaced in their proper positions against the right side of the triangular lion relief, so that the sculpture is once again enclosed in its original frame. At the Tomb of Clytaemnestra, where the object was to relieve the pressure on the dromos walls, funds were not sufficient for the completion of the task, but the immediate danger has been averted and interesting discoveries have been made. With the temporary dismantling of part of the east wall of the dromos an inner retaining wall of small unworked stones was disclosed behind the upper courses about a metre and a half back; this was designed to contain the mass of earth beyond and so to relieve the pressure on the dromos wall. The space in between was filled with small stones and waterproof clay. In the loose earth behind, Geometric potsherds and scattered bits of gold leaf, including stamped rosettes, have been found; they probably come from disturbed Geometric graves, whose presence here is known from the excavations of Evangelides.¹³ The west wall of the dromos appears to have been damaged in Mycenaean times and undergone repairs in the course of which some of the slanting blocks that belong to the top course of the wall were incorporated lower down, while smaller stones were introduced to fill gaps left between the blocks in places. Fragments of the carved stone decoration of the tomb façade have also come to light; and the lowest row of seats of the Hellenistic theatre and stretches of the walls of the stage building have been revealed in the removal of earth alongside the dromos.

While engaged on these restorations at Mycenae Papademetriou and Petsas took the opportunity to test a spot on the north slope of the lower town about 200 m. south-west of the Lion Tomb where Petsas had noted abundant Mycenaean sherds, and carried out a small excavation with funds provided by the Archaeological Society. So far only one room, measuring 5 × 3.5 m., has been excavated; its walls were of small unworked stones set in clay, bound by vertical and horizontal timbers, and show clear signs of destruction by fire; the upper courses were of brick, and a rough footing, presumably for an external staircase, suggests that there was an upper storey. The room was packed with unused vases, which have been superficially damaged by the plough but were almost certainly arranged according to size and shape (three krateriskoi at one point being stacked upside down); there can therefore be no doubt that the room was a magazine of new vases. This room is a single unit, in the middle of a large, presumably terraced complex which still remains to be excavated; lower down the slope another complex of rooms full of vases has been revealed in probes and will require excavation. On the north of the excavated room other substantial walls, preserved to a height of two metres and more, have been uncovered in the sounding; here also much pottery came to light, but it was not arranged in order, and the discovery of a hearth in waterproof clay argues for living rooms here. LH I-II sherds have come to light in lower levels throughout the excavation. The vases found in the magazine belong to the so-called LH IIIB period; all, whether painted or not, are finely made

¹³ *AE* 1912, 127 ff.

and covered with a slip of refined clay. Those with painted decoration are mainly stirrup-vases with or without a foot, three-handled amphorae, conical bowls, fillers, long-stemmed kylikes, and common amphorae; those without decoration are principally long-stemmed kylikes, amphoriskoi, fillers, and small kraters. The painted decoration is in lustrous brown glaze and consists for the most part of bands and stripes in different combinations, but many of the vases have designs drawn from plant or marine life in the handle-zone. The number of vases from this one room which have been re-assembled more or less entire exceeds six hundred, and it is remarkable that in spite of the limited range of the decoration there are very few true duplicates in this great hoard of contemporary vases. Fragments of fresco painting and numerous terracotta figurines have also come to light in the excavation, while a piece of an inscribed clay tablet, with a range of signs partly matched in the Minoan Linear B script, was picked up a stone's throw away to the



FIG. 4.—CLAY TALLIES IN AGORA, ATHENS.

south-west. At Priftiani 2 km. to the south two chamber tombs have been dug by S. Khartouides; the larger one had been robbed, but the other contained some LH III vases.

At *Epidauros* Papademetriou has been engaged in a very productive excavation for the Archaeological Society a mile east of the Asklepion, where the remains of the hill-top sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas uncovered by Kavvadias have until now escaped serious study.¹⁴ In the clearing of the ground by the temple of Maleatas, which measured 15 × 8.4 m. and was built in the middle reaches of the fourth century B.C., various pieces of the entablature have been discovered, including blocks comprising triglyph and metope and even two triglyphs and a metope in one piece; a marble head and the lower part of a statue with wind-swept drapery in the style of the temple sculptures of the Asklepion have come to light. To the east of the temple a platform is formed on the steep slope by a great retaining wall of isodomic poros blocks punctuated by buttresses supporting engaged columns, which is 45 m. long and stands as high as 5 m.; the construction of this expensive wall, about the end of the fourth century B.C., is mentioned in a newly discovered inscription which dates to the priesthood of Aristokles.¹⁵ At the back of the retaining wall, where Papademetriou has been digging, the

¹⁴ A notice of the first results has now appeared in *PAE* 1948, 92 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. *IG* IV². i. 108, 159 sq.

earth fill is black and thick with votive offerings, and this stratum continues under the retaining wall and down the slope to the north; it seems to be the tip from an earlier altar whose existence is attested by Isyllos in his hymn to Asklepios.¹⁶ No trace of earlier buildings has been found, and Papademetriou supposes that there was nothing more than an altar in the enclosure before the fourth-century temple was built. It was here that, as an inscription found by Papademetriou confirms,¹⁷ the suppliants who came to the Asklepieion to be healed made their preliminary sacrifice (πρόθυσις) to Apollo; and the finds in the altar tip show that the cult of Maleatas at Epidauros is much more ancient than that of Asklepios (which has not been traced back beyond the middle of the sixth century).

The bulk of the finds is archaic, with some Geometric pottery and r.f. krater fragments of the mid fifth century; many hundreds of miniature kotylai and other small vases of Corinthian and Argive manufacture, a variety of Argive terracotta figurines, and a bronze lion from the rim of a vessel have been recovered. But this year's finds carry the origin of the cult far back into prehistoric times; for abundant Mycenaean pottery and sherds going back to Early Helladic have come to light here. The Mycenaean pottery dates from LH I to LH III and includes some fragmentary large figurines in animal and human form which seem to have formed groups. The most interesting of the small finds are a fragment of a steatite rhyton with traces of what appears to be a boat and of a row of figures above perhaps walking on a beach, and two sealstones (impressions PLATE XLVI, 1-2)—that on the right a carnelian, the other, of a hard green stone which is found locally, showing a lion and fleeing deer arranged in a scheme not unlike that of the Chimaera. The absence of any trace of buildings on the spot suggests that this cult was not domestic but an independent one.

The veteran K. Rhomaios has returned to the exploration of *Kynouria* (cf. *PAE* 1911, 253 ff.). In an excavation on the Análipis hill west of Bóurboura traces of extensive settlement and fragments of r.f. vases have come to light, but nothing older than the fifth century; no certain trace of the sanctuary of Artemis Karyatis has been discovered. At Phoneméni between Ay Pétros and Arákhova further investigation of the three stone cairns, in which perhaps are to be recognised the hermae which marked the Laconian boundary with Argos and Tegea, has yielded fragments of terracotta figurines and small Laconian vases and the inscription Νούπ[λιος?] | Εύ[τα]ς. At the Monè Loukoùs, where in addition to earlier discoveries a banquet relief has come to light, Rhomaios is inclined to locate the sanctuary of the healing hero Polemokrates whose cult was associated with the Thyreatic village of Eua. An inscription discovered in the making of the new road near the top of Mt. Závitsa 20 km. north of Ástros has been assembled and read by Rhomaios, who assumes that it was set up on an Argive cenotaph after an engagement with the Spartans and marks their frontier line.

The French School has resumed this year the excavation at the Asklepieion of *Gortys* in Western Arcadia. H. Metzger has now completely cleared the poros foundations, six courses high at the west end and at least eleven at the east, of the temple; but nothing has been recovered of the superstructure except for a number of poros blocks. A building of the Roman period with a large rectangular room on the east and two smaller ones to the west has been partly excavated SW of the temple, as also the foundations of an apsidal structure (perhaps an Early Christian basilica) west of the church of St. Andrew. Metzger has also uncovered a small Hellenistic building like a treasury 100 m. north of the temple, and further north a vast rectangular edifice comparable to the katagogion at the sanctuary of Epidauros. Lower down, a building consisting of a central court or vestibule surrounded by irregular rooms, with a tiled channel leading to a room with a mosaic floor, has been partly cleared; it recalls fairly closely building E at Epidauros. The finds from it include a long piece of iron which may be the butt of a colossal lance, a small bronze frog, and a bronze statuette of a woman draped in a peplos, with her left hand on her kalathos and an oinokhoe in her right, which dates to the second half of the fifth century B.C.

¹⁶ *IG* IV². i. 128, 27 sq.

¹⁷ Cf. *PAE* 1948, 97 ff.

Orlandos reports the repair of wartime damage at the Metropolis of *Mystrà*, repairs to the monastery of *Emyalà* near *Dimitsána* and the Byzantine and post-Byzantine churches of *Stemnítsa*, and the reconstruction of the south side and façade of the *Ayía Lávra*. At *Kangádi* near *Dyme* on the borders of *Achaea* and *Elis* prehistoric rock-cut tombs containing LH III vases have been brought to light. In soundings at the castle at *Patras N.* *Zapheiropoulos* has exposed part of an apsidal Roman building with marble-faced brick walls preserved to a height of 3 m.; some marble fragments of the architectural decoration have come to light. In a surface investigation of the ancient *Achaean* city site at *Mamousià* inland from *Diakoftò* J. K. Anderson of the British School has discovered a bronze of fine style, 20 cm. long, in the form of a goose's head and neck; tests are to be made at the spot in conjunction with the Greek Archaeological Service.

CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

At *Delphi* the ramp at the east end of the temple was removed by P. Amandry in 1949, and a Geometric and a Mycenaean level were excavated underneath it; in the Geometric level two buildings with well-preserved ovens were uncovered, and below this fragmentary clay figurines and masses of LH IIIb sherds (including a handsome vase decorated with an octopus) were found, associated with building traces close by. The ramp has now been restored. L. Lerat and J. Pouilloux in 1949 explored the north-east part of the sanctuary down to the Mycenaean level. Behind the niche of *Lilaia* a water channel, which leads from the direction of the *Kerna* spring at the cliff foot, has been uncovered; it appears that there was a complicated system of tanks in this part of the sanctuary, and Pouilloux considers that *Kassotis* must have been in the neighbourhood of the niche of *Lilaia*. Closer study has shown that the *Leskhe* of the *Knidians*, which was built at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., was repaired after serious damage in the fourth century (perhaps in the earthquake of 373 B.C.). The remains of early habitation broached in 1934-5 have been further investigated, and it is now clear that the area north of the Monument of the *Thessalians* and *Temenos* of *Neoptolemos* was not incorporated in the sanctuary until its enlargement at the time of the *Alcmaeonids*. Three houses with hearths or ovens have been cleared; two are dated by Protocorinthian Geometric pottery to the second half of the eighth century, while one with Corinthian Geometric pottery dates somewhat earlier. More archaic remains have come to light on the west of the sanctuary, where in the course of his investigation of the *Hermaion* and the enclosure east of it G. Roux has uncovered traces of a cult preceding the construction of the polygonal terrace walls here about 500 B.C., and no doubt going back to Geometric times; and a Geometric level has been touched in the previously unexcavated region near the East Baths and the Stoa of *Attalos*, where J. Bousquet has been making tests to locate the sanctuary of *Dionysos Sphaleotas*.

Minor investigations have been made at the theatre. At the level of the podium the removal of later accretions has disclosed a box of sorts which must have been provided with a canopy. It also appears that there was a system for collecting the water under the seats of the *cavea* and conducting it outside the west retaining wall. It seems that the rocks and worked blocks outside the west door of the *diazoma* belonged to a ramp or stairway providing access to the road that led to the stadium. In the course of the work in the theatre the excavators have found a number of inscriptions and pieces of sculpture, including a fragment of an archaic frieze in *Parian* marble. Close study of other monuments of the sanctuary has led to the recovery of the base of the *Dancing Girls* column and practical confirmation of Lerat's assumption that the statues of the *Philosopher* and *Themis* belonged to the so-called *Horseshoe Base*.

L. Lerat has made further advances in his topographical research in the western marches of *Lokris*, and Mme. L. Ghali has published some vases in the museum at *Galaxídi*.¹⁸ Orlandos reports the restoration of the north wall of the church of St. Basil at *Arta*: marble columns have been set up in the interior of the *Paregoritissa*, and the three-light window of the sanctuary

¹⁸ *BCH* 1950, 48 ff.

has been restored; the mosaics in the dome have been cleaned and the later painting removed (cf. PLATE XLVII, 1, which shows the head of Moses before and after the cleaning). Dilapidated parts of the castle at *Iodnina* have been restored, and the church of *Pórtia Panayía* near Trikkala has been protected from flooding. From Thessaly N. Verdeles reports the discovery of a Roman bath establishment, fed from a neighbouring sulphur spring, at *Rízoma* at the foot of the Antikhasia; a sounding has revealed a tile-floored hall, which was probably the frigidarium, and a brick hypocaust. Two and a half km. east of *Phársala* a fine bronze cinerary urn of the fourth century B.C. has come to light in a tomb; it contained an inscribed gold strip similar to the Orphic plates of South Italy; soundings have revealed the presence here of plundered tombs, which presumably belonged to the ancient cemetery of *Phársala*. Additions to the *Volo Museum* include a small Hellenistic marble altar with the inscription ΦΙΛΙΝΝΑ | ΑΥΤΟΝΟΕΙΑ and a Roman pedimental stele with a rider in relief from Larisa, a headless marble statuette of Artemis Dadoukhos of Roman date from *Phársala*, and marble architectural pieces from *Demetrias*.

In Western Macedonia, M. Andronikos reports the discovery of a Roman tomb built of marble slabs at the entrance to *Vérria* (Beroea); it contained two skeletons laid in opposite directions, with a small oinokhoë, a bronze strigil inscribed δῶρον and a bronze coin of Hadrian. Near this a section of the city wall has come to light; built into it was a large marble funerary altar of the so-called Macedonian type with reliefs of Hermes flanked by inscriptions, a woman's bust, and the Thracian Horseman. By the main street of the town a piece of a floor in white, yellow, and black mosaic has come to light, together with two fragments probably from a marble table. Andronikos publishes some late tombstones from *Vérria*, together with a manumission decree which is dated in the twenty-seventh year of King Demetrios and thus presumably throws fresh light on Demetrios II's regency.¹⁹ Byzantine and post-Byzantine churches in *Vérria* have been repaired, and the early fourteenth-century frescoes of the Anastasis church have been repaired and cleaned. At *Áno Kópànòs* a small sounding has disclosed traces of a large building, which ran in a curve at one point, on the spot where the bust of *Olganos* had come to light; Hellenistic pottery has been found in a grave shaft cut in the soft rock. At *Vergína* Andronikos has collected vases and sherds found in a small Early Iron Age tombs, and some bronze objects of the same period; two fourth-third century B.C. grave stelai from this village, one with a fine relief and an epigram above, and the other apparently with painted decoration, have been brought in to *Vérria*.

The excavation of the extensive ancient cemetery at *Kozáni* mentioned in the last issue²⁰ has been continued this summer by B. Kallipolites at the expense of the Archaeological Society. Just NW of last year's grave 4 a complex of graves cut in the soft rock has come to light, and eleven have been dug of which three are double burials. Some of the graves were regular shallow pits sunk vertically into the rock and apparently covered with planks of which carbonised remains have been detected; in other cases the sides of the shaft were continued upwards by a course of unworked stones, especially at the head end. The earliest grave (no. 16), which contained an Attic b.f. hydria depicting Herakles and the Lion dated ca. 480 B.C. (the grave-group, Fig. 5, right), lies deeper than the rest and on a different axis. The latest (no. 6) corresponds closely to graves 1-3 of 1949, and is dated about the turn from the fourth to the third century B.C.; the finds from the other graves are homogeneous and include a black-glazed skyphos of the beginning of the fourth century. The vases from local workshops are generally undecorated. Some are handmade, and the majority are thrown in forms which had survived from prehistoric times (cf. Fig. 5, left). Those in red clay are obviously of local manufacture, as the same clay is used in *Kozáni* at the present day; others are of light or dark grey clay, while a very few—apparently produced in a provincial workshop which may have been Thessalian—are of yellow clay with painted linear decoration. Two of the tombs contained beaten gold rosettes; bronze fibulae and ornaments, and iron spear-heads, daggers and a

¹⁹ Ἀρχαίαι Ἐπιγραφαὶ Βεποίας (Thessalonike 1950).

²⁰ Cf. the fuller report on the 1949 campaign, *AE* 1948-49, 85 ff.

strigil have been found. The presence of fragments of vases painted with spirals, circles, and other geometric patterns in the earth around the graves suggests that further excavation may reveal burials of an earlier period in the vicinity.

Discoveries of no mean interest in *Salonica* are communicated by Kh. Makaronas. Stretches of the east wall of the city have been exposed in two new building plots on the line between the Cassandrian Gate and White Tower; older material, consisting of broken statues, altars, architectural members, gravestones, etc., dated between the third century B.C. and the third century A.D., has been recovered there. This wall seems to have been built in the time of Galerius when the city was extended to the south-east to include the great new building complexes of the palace, hippodrome, etc. Five hundred metres south of St. George's Church further building operations have disclosed the walls of a large building which seems in its construction to belong to the time of tetrarchy. The building is eight-sided externally, while the interior consists of a single hall with conches to correspond and a maximum diameter of about 30 m. From the traces of costly marble revetments and mosaic floors, as well as the number of marbles in houses hereabouts, it is clear that this construction was an official building of no little splendour. In the light of Dyggve's work on the Palace of Galerius²¹ it appears that if the



FIG. 5.—FIFTH- AND FOURTH-CENTURY FINDS FROM GRAVE-FIELD AT KOZANI.

octagonal building formed part of it, the palace must have been more than 300 m. long and therefore considerably greater than that of Diocletian at Split; but Makaronas considers this not impossible, since the rotunda of St. George is on a larger scale than anything at Split, and likewise the octagonal building covers three times the area of the mausoleum at Split, which it most resembles in plan. Further light may be expected from the excavations which are to be carried out with the support of the Archaeological Society.

Prof. Soteriou has continued his study of the Basilica of St. Demetrios in *Salonica*, and further investigated the remains of the late Roman baths and stadium that preceded the church. Under the Holy Table he has discovered a single apsidal room of the fourth century A.D., constituting the martyrion of the saint. S. Pelekanides has completed the restoration of the Church of St. Catherine in its original form, and uncovered a series of frescoes comprising prophets and angels in the dome, the Apostolic Communion in the conch, and scenes from the cycle of Our Lord's earthly life on the north and south walls; a twelfth-century Byzantine relief of Herakles and the Lion has come to light in the demolition of the minaret. With the removal of the Turkish plaster facing from the west front, the Byzantine brickwork of St. Sophia has been revealed to a height of 5 m. from the modern ground level, and Pelekanides has already been able to reach new conclusions about the form of the church. The great west arch was originally an external one, as in contemporary and earlier buildings at Constantinople; the west gallery now appears as a later addition which necessitated the blocking of the windows, while traces of the springing of the vault indicate that there was a narrow arcade in front of the west face at least of the church.

²¹ *AA* 1940, 254 ff., fig. 66; cf. *JHS* 1944, 26.

The work begun in 1949 among the Byzantine churches of *Kastorià* has been continued this year. Pelekanides has secured, cleaned, and photographed wall paintings in eighteen churches ranging in date from the tenth to the seventeenth century, and a richly illustrated album is projected. The paintings in ten more churches, and the portable icons, wood-carvings, and works of the goldsmith's art are to be attended to in the coming year. Makaronas has investigated a plundered 'Macedonian' vaulted tomb of the end of the third century B.C. at *Lainà* 15 km. NE of Salónica.²² It consists of a chamber 3.1 m. long and 5.1 m. broad and a vestibule 1.5 m. broad, with a connecting door on whose lintel was painted an Ionic kymation. Instead of antae the outer door has two stuccoed Doric columns, partly engaged at the back and with the flutes hollowed at the front only. The façade has not been cleared on account of the depth of earth, but on the analogy of the similar tomb at Vergina²³ it seems likely to have been tetrastyle with a Doric cornice and pediment. Another plundered 'Macedonian' chamber tomb with red-plastered walls, dating probably to the second century B.C., has been excavated at *Meseméri* in the district of Epanomi in Chalcidice; it had a simple front and a chamber 3 × 3.5 m.

NORTH AND EAST AEGEAN

Potentially one of the most significant of the new undertakings of the Archaeological Society is that on the site of *Abdera*, 7 km. SE of the modern village of the same name, where D. Lazarides began preliminary soundings in September 1950. The site has not hitherto been seriously explored, though considerable traces of the city wall survive.²⁴ Tests were confined to the immediate vicinity of the little plain in the west of the city area north of the Byzantine fort of Polystylon. On the west side of the plain, at a point where a bronze figurine of Hermes Kerdoos was recently discovered, a large building of Roman date has come to light. On the north side a stretch of a wall of good masonry with a threshold 2.5 m. broad has been cleared; the only find was an imperial bronze coin of Thasos, but the enclosure seems much older than this. On the east side of this little plain the west wall of a large enclosure, some 50 m. long and resting on the rock, has been cleared; there is a complex of cross walls on the inside, while at either end a gateway led into a paved area traversed by a stone water channel. Among the architectural pieces are terracotta antefixes, sections of sima, and a miniature terracotta Doric capital. The finds are mainly Hellenistic, though with a sprinkling of Roman wares. The pottery includes black-glaze and West Slope wares, a wide range of Megarian bowl fragments, stamped amphora handles (mostly Thasian), and relief-lamps. Among the metal objects are two lead plaques with representations of a hippocamp and a female term. Numerous terracotta figurines and three moulds have come to light, as also fragments of two large terracotta statues; three of the figurines, in the form of a draped seated figure with a phiale in her hand and a lion at her feet or on her knees, seem to represent Kybele. The enclosure was probably a sanctuary founded in the third century B.C. Three rough-stone cist graves have been dug; they were already rifled, and seem to be of a late date.

At *Thasos* the French School has continued its work in the Agora during the summers of 1949 and 1950. In the north and north-east of the area a number of monuments have now been completely uncovered, including the tholos, which was an open construction built about the end of the third or beginning of the second century B.C., and the many-roomed Hellenistic poros structure further north, which must have been one of the principal public buildings of the city; the fourth-century fenced precinct SW of the tholos, containing the foundations of a temple and altar, has been tentatively identified as that of Zeus Agoraios. In the south-east of the Agora (Fig. 6) the Oblique Portico, an undistinguished building of about the second century B.C., has been further explored; behind it is a large building divided into twelve independent rooms identified as shops, which seems to have been built in the fourth century B.C. though it

²² Despite the discrepancies in plan it may be this tomb that is described by Gardner in *BSA* xxxiii 15.

²³ *AA* 1940, 275 ff., fig. 82.

²⁴ A brief description of the site, *Regel AM* xii 161 ff.; cf. *BCH* 1942-43, 176, n. 2.

continued in use much later. The excavation of the Early Christian basilica (Fig. 6, on left) is now completed. The building had three naves and a single apse at the east end; the north nave contained a well furnished with a bench, and the central nave a tomb in which was a skeleton of a man, while it was in front of the apse that a silver reliquary, now lost, was discovered many years ago by villagers digging a well. A hypogeum of three vaults has been cleared at the NW corner of the basilica; it was roofed with re-used blocks bearing painted Latin crosses. Inscriptions found here suggest that the cult of the martyr Akakios dates back to the fifth century A.D., while the basilica in its original form is somewhat older.

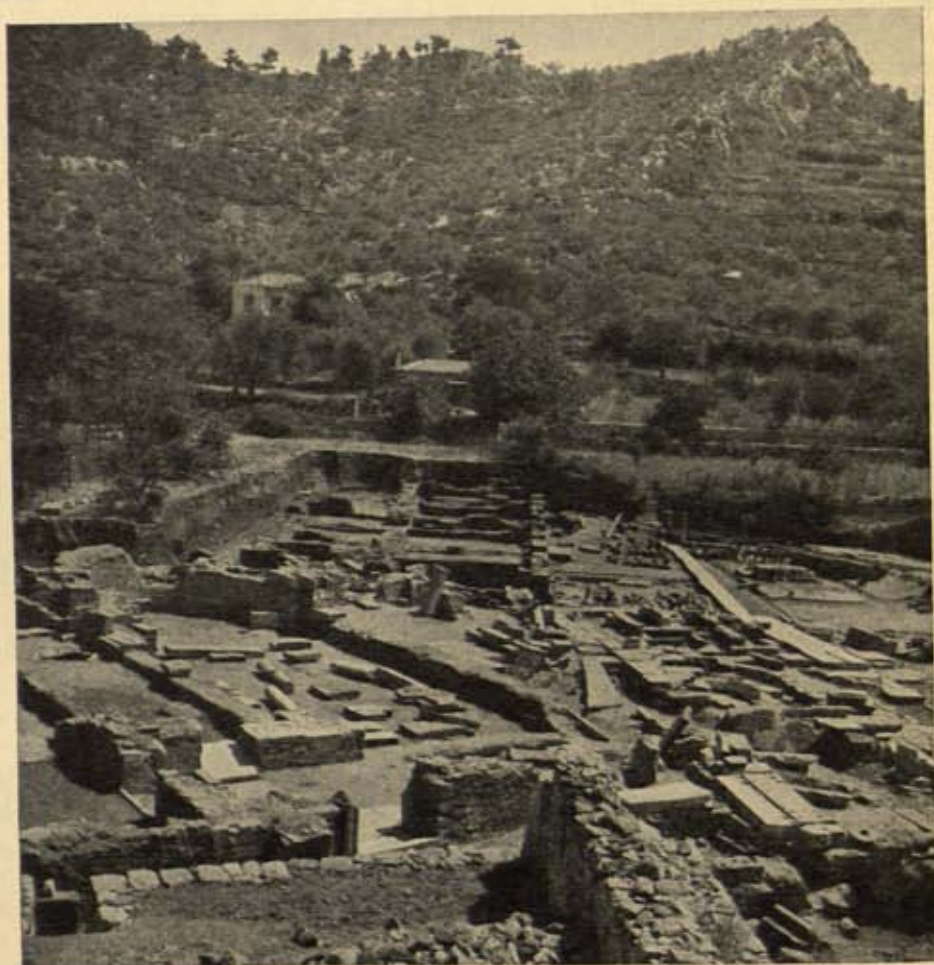


FIG. 6.—AGORA OF THASOS, LOOKING SOUTH-WEST.

Among numerous pieces of sculpture found are the lower part of an archaic kore in Parian marble and an archaic statuette of a seated goddess. The inscriptions from the basilica are especially interesting; they include an early fifth-century boustrophedon decree on the wine trade, a decree of the end of the fifth century B.C. dealing with subversive activities, fragments of an epistle of Sulla congratulating the Thasians on their behaviour during the Mithridatic war, and other fragments of proconsular and imperial letters.

The excavations of New York University in the sanctuary of the Great Gods at *Samothrace*, which were resumed by K. Lehmann in 1948, have been continued in 1949 and 1950.²⁵ In the north of the sanctuary the uncovering of the early remains beneath the Telesterion and Arsinoecion is now at an end.²⁶ The double precinct is now dated by Lehmann to the seventh

²⁵ I have to thank the superintendent, Mr. Kallipolites, for this notice, which has been supplemented from a report

of the American School.

²⁶ Cf. *Hesperia* 1950, 7 ff.

century B.C. An earlier cult here is indicated by the working of fallen boulders to form an altar with steps and a libation channel; this altar is associated with a Cyclopean retaining wall, in whose fill some coarse potsherds, probably prehistoric, have been found. In the south part of the sanctuary the 'New Temple' has been cleared. It is now seen that the second-century B.C. Doric prostyle belongs to the remodelling of an earlier building which probably dates to the third century; a headless Nike akroterion has been found here.

In 1950 these two sectors in the north and south of the sanctuary were joined up by an excavation of the central area of the great terrace. The construction here known as the 'Old Temple' seems in fact not to have been a roofed building but simply an open precinct 24×10 m. At its NE corner stood an Ionic hexastyle propylon with projecting wings, which together with the precinct is dated in the later fourth century B.C. To this building belonged the archaistic frieze of dancing girls, of which a section is in the Louvre; fresh pieces have been recovered in the present excavations. In addition to the two bothroi or hearths previously found by the Austrians, the foundations of two altars have come to light under the level of the marble floor of the fourth-century precinct; and the antiquity of the sacrificial area is proved by the discovery on the NW edge of the precinct of a primitive hearth attached to a sacred boulder and overlaid with an ash layer two feet deep containing numerous animal bones and potsherds. The pottery falls into two classes; the first consists of coarse handmade grey ware, while the second comprises kantharoi and cups of fine ware with subgeometric decoration (mainly panels of dots and dot-roses) painted on the lips and handles. Lehmann dates the sacrificial layer in the first half of the seventh century B.C., and regards the mixture of the two classes of vases as evidence of the common celebration by the first Greek settlers and the older inhabitants of the rites of native divinities re-interpreted in Greek terms.

Investigations on the spot where the celebrated Nike of Samothrace was found have now been concluded. It appears that the group was placed on a stepped platform of 6.3×10 m., whose front part contained a water tank framed by rocks. The ship's prow will thus have appeared as though coming obliquely into view from behind a rocky headland. New fragments of the prow have been found and may throw further light on ancient naval construction. The greater part of a right hand has also been found and is believed to belong to the statue; the hand was raised and seems to have held a metal wreath or fillet. Stratigraphical observations on the spot enable Lehmann to give a more precise dating of the dedication in the decade around 200 B.C.

In *Lesbos* the writer has found traces of prehistoric occupation on several sites, including an extensive stratified one of about the end of the Bronze Age a little north of Pérama on the west shore of the Gulf of Iera. Kallipolites publishes a funerary inscription which shows that in Roman times the archive of the koinon of the Lesbians was in the sanctuary of Artemis Thermia;²⁷ and D. Mantzouranes has written two pamphlets—one on the first settlers and survival of place-names in the island, and the other on its agricultural output in antiquity.²⁸ In *Khios* the writer has found traces of early Greek occupation on the Kofinà ridge on the north of the modern city, and of the early Greek site, with traces of a building which may have been a temple, at Volissòs on one of the promontories north of the modern landing stage. In the Néa Moné the mosaic of the Resurrection has been repaired and cleaned. On the Turkish coast, M. Şenyürek and Ahmet Dönmez have sounded a third-millennium mound at *Helvaciköy* near the Aeolic Kyme; L. Robert and R. Martin have resumed the old excavation at the Temple of Apollo at *Klaros*, and the Swedish excavations at *Labranda* were continued this summer; they are being reported on in the Annual Report of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. G. E. Bean and the writer have examined sites on the *Knidian Peninsula* and assembled evidence for the location of the classical city site; nearly forty inscriptions have come to light, and the position of an archaic graveyard has been established.

The joint excavation of the University of Ankara and the British School at Athens was

²⁷ 'Απὸ τῆς λατρείας τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος στὴ Λέσβος (Mytilène 1950).

²⁸ Οἱ πρῶτες ἐγκαταστάσεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων στὴ Λέσβος (Myti-

lène 1949) and Τὸ ἐτήσιο γεωργικὸ εἰσόδημα τῆς Λέσβου στὴν ἀρχαιότητα (Mytilène 1950).

continued at *Old Smyrna* in May-July 1950 under the direction of E. Akurgal and the writer, the work being concentrated almost entirely within the limits of the archaic levels on the site.²⁹ The housing complex of the sixth century, which had been discovered beneath later occupation levels in the large trench begun in 1949, was cleared; it consisted of groups of three-roomed houses and of one-room houses or shops flanking a blind alley. The spacious seventh-century settlement below this was also cleared and some house-plans have been recovered. Below this again a series of rough footings laid in sweeping curves has come to light. It is hoped that the Greek occupation levels prior to the eighth century will be cleared in 1951.

Behind this housing quarter on the north side of the hill soundings in 1949 had revealed the presence of a *temenos*. After further exploration at the beginning of the 1950 campaign the systematic excavation of the area was taken in hand. Some remains of a seventh-century



FIG. 7.—APPROACH TO TEMPLE PLATFORM, OLD SMYRNA.



FIG. 8.—FRAGMENT OF DINOS, OLD SMYRNA.

temple have been found in situ, but unfortunately the greater part of the foundations, including the whole east end, has been swept away, so that the dimensions of the building can no longer be recovered with certainty. The original cella seems to have measured about twenty by fifty feet. It stood on a raised platform which abutted on the city wall and which seems in the late seventh century to have been extended to receive a larger building which was never completed. This later platform is sixty feet in breadth and must have been about a hundred feet long; it was approached on the south side by a stepped ramp which led up from a sunk entrance passage on to the east end of the platform. A part of the approach has been excavated to the level of the floor (Fig. 7); the pavement has entirely disappeared, but some of the stone flags on which it rested are still in position. The jointing of the 'Lesbian' and ashlar masonry here is singularly impressive.

Inside the cella a rough oblong stone foundation was found at floor level; this may have supported the base on which the cult statue stood. The floor was marked by a clear stratum of lime plaster or decomposed whistone pavement slabs; numerous fragments of Orientalis-

²⁹ A fuller report on the campaigns of 1948 and 1949 has been published by E. Akurgal, *Bayraklı* (Ankara 1950).

ing vases and small dedications were found on and in this stratum, and also in a dense layer of whitestone chips which lay outside the platform on the south and west sides. Among the debris were many fragments of a life-size female terracotta statue resembling Cypriot figures, and a pair of figurines of a goddess with her hands on her breasts. Fayence figurines and plastic vases are numerous, and a very few fine ivory carvings have been recovered. Of the bronze objects the most important is a half-draped male statuette. This deposit yielded some fine Corinthian pottery of around the beginning of the Early Corinthian period, in sufficient bulk to leave no doubt of the early date of the destruction of the city. The age of this temple on the platform has not yet been ascertained, though it seems fairly certain that it goes back into the early seventh century at least. One of the most remarkable of the earlier finds is the fragment of a dinos shown in Fig. 8, with a portrait of the newly invented heptachord lyre. No monumental inscriptions have come to light; the most interesting written message found this year is that on a seventh-century cup foot, Δολίωνός ἐμὶ φυλίχνη (Fig. 9); the presence of the ω at so early a date is worth remarking.

The city wall has been further explored, especially on the east side where a section has been cut through it. The wall of the late seventh century was over fifty feet thick here, the intervening space between the outer and inner faces being filled with stone packing and mud brick. The extraordinary thickness of the wall is explained by the fact that it encompasses a previous wall which itself was founded on a still earlier one of the eighth century. Numerous pithoi and cooking pots containing infant burials were found in the ruins of the second wall, thus indicating that the fortification was in disrepair for a time before the building of the late seventh-century wall. Investigations were continued at the north-east corner of the perimeter where a sudden turn in the line of the wall offered some hope of the discovery of a gate; no positive evidence of a gate was found, but the angle of the wall of sawn ashlar whitestone blocks resting on an andesite foundation³⁰ has been explored at this point and identified as a part of the earliest of the three archaic enceintes. On the south edge of the site an archaic or early classical fountain house has been uncovered; it consists of a corbel-vaulted tunnel, with a flagged path flanked by an open drain leading up to the draw-basin.

During the early part of the season investigations were made among decrepit stone cairns in the old Meles delta at the east end of the graveyard. A number of the cairns were found to contain cist or cremation graves and sarcophagus burials. The graves had been thoroughly rifled, but several archaic clay sarcophagi have come to light comparatively little damaged and show substantial traces of painted designs which include animal groups, horsemen, and chariot-scenes.

THE CYCLADES

The revival of archaeological activity in these islands is especially welcome. The ephor, N. Kondoleon, has been engaged on excavations for the Archaeological Society in Naxos and Paros, and has kindly supplied the following notice.

'On *Paros* the object was to explore the place Élita, where in 1949 two inscriptions relating to Archilochus were found; these recall the foundation of an Arkhilokheion containing three altars. The spot is covered with ancient marbles and many other marbles and potsherds have come to light in the excavation, but unfortunately no building traces have been uncovered except for mediaeval walls and some small cistern-like constructions, in one of which in fact the inscribed orthostates from the Arkhilokheion found last year had been used as cover slabs; a third slab of the same dimensions has been recognised as belonging to the Arkhilokheion, but the inscriptions on it are of later date (third or fourth century A.D.), thus proving that the Arkhilokheion was already demolished in late antiquity. The inscription IG XII.v.239 with the dedication μητρὶ θεῶν is built into a ruined church near by, where also I have observed a dedication to Agdistis. Thus in all probability there was a sanctuary of the Mother in the

³⁰ *Archaeology in Greece 1948-49*, fig. 9.

same area; I think it most unlikely, however, that the orthostates with the notice about Archilochus come from this Metroon rather than from the Arkhilokheion.²¹

Kondoleon in 1949 started a most interesting excavation on *Naxos*, on the north shore of the modern town at Gróttá near the place where G. Welter had noted prehistoric traces in 1930.³¹ Three houses, with walls built of small stones laid in clay, and of rectangular plan but with somewhat rounded corners, have been uncovered. The pottery, which includes many complete vases, consists of black and red monochrome and incised wares; obsidian blades and cores have also been found. 'The excavation has been continued in 1950 at a point where Mycenaean remains had come to light at the end of the preceding campaign. A part of a complex of buildings of Mycenaean date, lying at the water's edge and continuing in the sea, has been excavated. The remains uncovered consist of a large rectangular court (Fig. 10) with thick walls which are preserved to a height of about half a metre. In the east side, not centrally placed but nearer to the NE corner, is a large marble threshold. The north wall of the hall runs on eastward but the excavation has not been extended in this direction. To the west of this central hall is a group of smaller rooms, while the south end of the hall is occupied by walls of post-Mycenaean date. Numerous Geometric sherds have come to light in this sector, following on the Mycenaean, whereas in the rest of the area Mycenaean sherds



FIG. 9.—INSCRIPTION ON CUP-FOOT,
OLD SMYRNA.



FIG. 10.—MYCENAEAN HOUSE ON NAXOS.

are dominant. Wares of the last Mycenaean period are the most frequent, but earlier fragments are also found; the majority come from long-stemmed kylikes. The small finds include a fragment of a stone vase decorated with a row of leaves in relief, and a small Mycenaean head of green Naxian schist, which formed the handle of an implement and is significant as a link with later times (PLATE XLVI, 3). Near the High School of Naxos town a small pit containing numerous fragments of fourth-century figurines and a few of earlier types has been discovered, and some tombs have accidentally come to light in the same area. At other points in the island I have noted inscriptions including a dedication to Δήμητρα, Κόρην, Δία Εὐβουλέα and Βαυβώ.²

After a season of excavation in 1949 the French School has this year confined itself on *Delos* to tasks of study and restoration; C. Dugas has completed his study of the r.f. vases of *Delos* and *Rheneia* for final publication, and J. Marcadé has made up a number of statues, including the archaic *Athena Enhoplos* and seated *Hera*, joined up the fourth-century *Hermes Propylaios* to the base with the amphictyonic inscription, and re-arranged the decorative

²¹ *AA* 1930, 134 f.

sculptures of the Monument of the Bulls. Among the results of the 1949 campaign were the plotting by F. Robert of the remains of a sanctuary-complex on a series of terraces by the shore 100 m. or so south of the Dioskoureion, and E. Will's discovery on the terrace of the Syrian Gods of a large structure which enclosed the little theatre there on all but the west side and was presumably intended to shield the performances in the theatre from observation by the public. The excavation of the big house in the Inopos valley has been completed, and the peristyle court has been reconstructed with its upper colonnade (Fig. 11). The house measured 37×19 m.; there were a number of rooms on the ground floor, and the back of the house was no less than five floors up on account of the steepness of the slope; the staircases are well preserved. Some good pieces of sculpture have come to light, notably a fine marble statue (perhaps of a nymph) in a niche of the back wall of the peristyle court. Kondoleon has contributed a valuable, well-illustrated account of the monuments of Delos in the Archaeological Society's series of full-length guides to sites and museums.³²

In *Amorgos*, Kondoleon and L. Polites have discovered two anthemia from fifth-century grave stelai in Katápola and Khóra, a male head in Katápola, and some inscriptions including a fifth- or fourth-century epigram at Aigiále and the missing beginning of the decree IG XII.vii.228. Miss A. Furness of the British School has recovered from peasants at Kastráki north of Vróutsi a Protogeometric conical-footed cup and jug and some Mycenaean bronze weapons. A female head in marble copied from a bronze prototype has been donated to the newly reconstituted archaeological collection in *Syra*. On *Keos* Mlle. C. Durant and G. Roux have examined the remains of the ancient sites and noted some unpublished inscriptions. On *Tenos* Kondoleon in 1949 resumed his pre-war investigations at *Xóbargo* below the village of Tripótamo.³³ The foundations of a large building were partly uncovered and traces of other buildings brought to light; work was continued for a few days in 1950, but the limits of the large building have not yet been reached. The earth is rich in potsherds ranging from prehistoric to r.f., and has yielded many fragments of relief pithoi of the Late Geometric and Orientalising periods with scenes that include the Wooden Horse, Lernaean Hydra, a procession probably of Gods, files of chariots, warriors, animals, birds, etc. G. Roux of the French School has made a careful examination of the buildings of the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite, and especially the temple, which appears to have consisted of a simple cella before the construction of the hexastyle pteron in the third century B.C.; two inscriptions have been discovered in neighbouring walls.

CRETE

In the east of the island the French School has begun the exploration of the ancient site of *Itanos* and its surroundings. The remains on the ancient acropolis have suffered very serious injury in more recent times; pottery ranging from Protogeometric to Hellenistic has come to light, but without clear stratification; the abundance of Geometric pottery testifies to the importance of the city in early times. In the lower town the remains of ancient habitation are covered by extensive constructions of the Christian era, in one of which oddly enough two fragments of Minoan stone vases came to light. A very interesting late metrical inscription mentions a *Temenos* of *Leukothea* hitherto unknown. In the cemetery sporadic Geometric sherds have been found, but the un plundered graves which have been excavated have yielded only undistinguished Hellenistic vases. A little way south of *Itanos* a Minoan house on a hill has been explored; the building is largely destroyed, but the finds included fine pottery, partly polychrome, mostly belonging to the LM Ia phase and decorated with leafy sprays, spirals etc., and a number of bronze implements including a pick in a perfect state of preservation.

Near *Knossos* M. S. F. Hood and P. de Jong have examined a Late Minoan shaft grave discovered by chance at *Ay Ioánnis* close to the *Herákleion* road; it contained a single burial

³² Ὁδηγὸς τῆς Δήλου (Athens 1950).

³³ Cf. my previous report in *JHS* 1946, 115.

with interesting bronze weapons but no vases. Hood also, in conjunction with the Herakleion Museum, excavated a Middle Minoan chamber tomb in a newly discovered cemetery area on the slopes east of the Kaíratos stream just south of the Mavrospélio. There were fourteen burials in position, five on the floor of the tomb, and nine in pithoi ranged around the sides; the skeletons were in every case tightly contracted. Remains of at least five earlier burials had been swept into a pit about 50 cm. deep at the back of the tomb. Apart from the pithoi grave goods were scanty, and nothing later than Middle Minoan was found.

At Vathýpetro 4 km. south of *Arkhánes* Sp. Marinatos and N. Platon have uncovered the greater part of a very large Minoan megaron measuring 45×35 m., with outer walls of great blocks in pseudo-isodomic construction. The building had an upper storey in crude brick; the plaster on the walls was in six colours, but there are no traces of frescoes. In front of the west façade was a paved court in which was a wine or oil press with a basin under the outlet. A rectangular niche containing a built seat was let into this wall face; Marinatos regards this as the storeman's post, since there was a large room nearby, supported by two pillars, which contained sixteen man-height pithoi; masses of vases were found in one of the pithoi and at other points in this store-room. On the east of the megaron lay courts overlaid by later walls

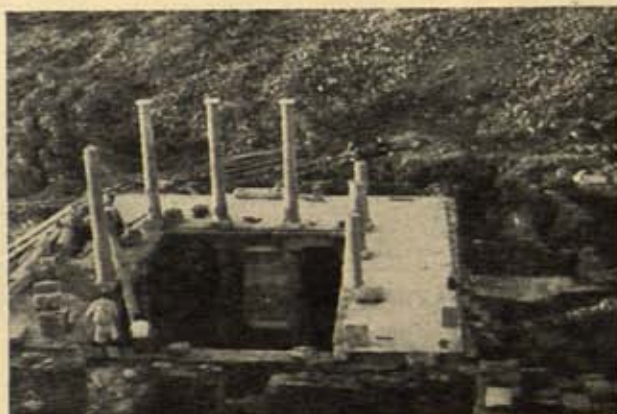


FIG. 11.—RECONSTRUCTION OF HOUSE ON DELOS.

which indicate resettlement on the Minoan ruins in early Hellenic times. In the south part of the megaron, which was built exclusively in poros masonry, the blocks were squared on the front only and wedges were inserted to fill the angles in the joints; this technique seems soon to have been abandoned as unsatisfactory. The small finds include a bronze dagger and stone lamps; the pottery is of the LM Ia period only, and the early and apparently peaceful abandonment of the building may have been due to its poor construction. Marinatos has also made investigations in the southern foothills of *Iouktas* by Karnári Metókhi, where Minoan, Geometric, and Roman remains cover a wide area, and identifies the site with the ancient Lykastos; a LM III sarcophagus has been found entire. Nearby, Marinatos has explored the cave of Stavromýti. This consists of an upper cave comprising a number of galleries, and a lower cave which consists of a single chamber connected with the upper one by a narrow passage; in front of the main entrance leading into the lower cave is a poros base on which perhaps stood an altar. The sole finds were of pottery which ranges from neolithic to Hellenistic or Roman times; it includes some dozens of Middle and Late Minoan pithoi and much Geometric and archaic pottery; the skeleton of an infant was found in a neolithic vase, together with obsidian blades and animal bones. Knuckle-bones and other finds suggest that the cult was one of a goddess who was protectress of children, more particularly Eileithyia.

At *Phaistos* the Italian School has resumed its activity this summer under the direction of D. Levi. The overgrowth of recent years has been cleared, and a beginning has been made with the consolidation and repair of gypsum paving slabs and staircases, especially in the

north quarter of the palace; this is being carried out not only in cement but also with new gypsum slabs prepared in the ancient quarries. During the disengagement and restoration of pilasters in the Grand Propylon a mass of earth, in which the impressions of the timber work were preserved, has been lifted entire, so that a close study can be made of the ancient carpentry. The oven in the east court has also been restored, and the pottery in the layer which separated it from the pavement of the court has been recovered. At the same time a number of tests have been carried out in search of the strata which preceded the second palace. These have produced particularly abundant material of the Middle Minoan period including polychrome wares of Kamares style, and have revealed the existence of two phases clearly distinguished by their pavement levels, not only in the second palace, but also for the first one (whose initial construction will consequently have to be dated further back than has hitherto been supposed). No regular stratum of the Early Minoan period has been encountered in these soundings, but remains of neolithic and subneolithic buildings have been discovered immediately below the foundations of the first palace. At one point, where the rock has been reached at a depth of 5 m. below the floor level of the second palace, two neolithic strata have been exposed, each being 90 cm. thick and separated by a sterile layer 1 m. deep. At another point a wall corner of the first palace has come to light standing to a height of 1.5 m. with its yellow stucco facing intact; fragments of handsome painted Middle Minoan pithoi were found on one side of it, while among dense fragments of Kamares ware on the other side lay the carbonised remains of a wooden chest with a red-washed stucco lining which contained a complete service consisting of some splendid vases with barbotine decoration (including a squat 'teapot') and a large number of simple cups.

The gateway and cells of the Monastery of *Arkádi* have been repaired, and the paintings in various churches at *Latsida* of *Mirabéllo* have been secured and repaired. The latest issues of the *Κρητικά Χρονικά* contain several articles on Cretan antiquities: Miss A. Xenaki, continuing the publication of the *Yiamalakis* collection, presents the Minoan seal-stones and the metal weapons and implements; S. Alexiou has detected white-painted octopus designs on vases from a chamber tomb excavated near *Ay Ioánnis* last year, and also on other Geometric vases, and discusses the survival of Minoan decorative elements into early Hellenic times; and N. Platon discusses the Byzantine walls of *Herákleion* in the light of a newly-discovered tower.

J. M. COOK.

The British School at Athens.

In the summer of 1950 it proved possible to continue the British excavations at Mycenae which had been suspended in 1939 owing to the war. The Greek Government courteously granted the necessary permission and Dr. Papademetriou, Ephor of Antiquities for Argolis, and Mr. Petsas cooperated most cordially throughout. The work was carried out under the aegis of the British School at Athens which made a generous grant towards the funds¹ and Mr. J. M. Cook, the Director, and Mr. Sinclair Hood, the Assistant-Director, who both took part in the excavations, afforded all possible assistance.

The excavations were especially concerned with the following points: the further exploration, within and without the Cyclopean walls, of the Prehistoric Cemetery² to which belonged the royal Shaft Graves found by Schliemann; an attempt to trace the line of the Middle Bronze Age wall of the earliest citadel³ which preceded the Cyclopean fortress; the re-examination of Tsountas' House,⁴ an important building within the walls first excavated in 1886; the clearing of the Epano Phournos tholos tomb⁵; the further exploration of the Cyclopean Terrace Building discovered in 1923⁶; and the investigation of a newly discovered building, now known as the House of Stirrup Jars, near the so-called Tomb of Clytemnestra. The architect of the expedition, Mr. Charles Hobbs, R.I.B.A., also assisted the Greek authorities at their request in the conservation and repairs in progress at the Tomb of Clytemnestra and the Lion Gate.

Outside the walls nine more graves of the Prehistoric Cemetery were found. Most had been plundered when later buildings were erected above the disused cemetery, but in one grave (no. XXIII), that of an adolescent, three characteristic Middle Helladic vases were found intact. In this area was found a model of a figure of eight shield in ivory. Within the walls underneath the later House of the Warrior Vase fifteen graves were discovered most of which had been plundered when the house was built. In one, however, the bones of a small child, less than a year old, were found in a Middle Helladic jar.

Tsountas' House when re-excavated proved exceptionally interesting. It had previously been thought to consist of two buildings, but now appears to be one. A stepped street ascends the sharply sloping rock of the citadel with a drain by its side. From it a lane runs northwards and has on its west the entrance of a large hall with a stuccoed floor. Along the east and south walls were benches for cult objects. At the southern end is a large altar-hearth of stucco which has at its southwest angle a sinking to accommodate the pointed end of a rhyton or libation vessel. From its side a shallow runlet in the stucco led into a two handled jar sunk in the floor. Connected with this is a bolster-like construction of stucco of unknown purpose. Near here also was found a shallow dish⁷ probably intended for offerings and in or near this room were three small vases not much larger than thimbles and probably votives. In a smaller room behind to the south Tsountas⁸ found a painted tablet of stucco showing two women worshipping a divinity bearing a figure of eight shield, together with a wing of ivory, a scarab of Queen Tyi, and some ornaments of gold, glass, and bone. One of the glass ornaments seems to represent a female divinity. In the same room behind the altar-hearth we found a fine piece of ivory inlay which may represent the mane of a horse or lion. Just below the house to the west Tsountas found a fragment of fresco showing a ritual dance of men masquerading with asses' heads. From all this evidence we may regard the building as a shrine,

¹ Grants were also received from the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, the American Philosophical Society, the British Academy, Pembroke College, Cambridge, the Leverhulme Trustees, and the Cambridge and Oxford Philological Societies.

² *B.S.A.* XLV, p. 203 ff.; Wace, *Mycenae*, pp. 51, 61 f.

³ Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 69, fig. 18.

⁴ Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 66 f.; Tsountas, *Praktika* 1886, p. 74 ff., pl. 4.

⁵ *B.S.A.* XXV, p. 292 ff.

⁶ *B.S.A.* XXV, p. 403 ff.

⁷ The shape is that of Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery*, p. 75, fig. 21 no. 322.

⁸ Tsountas' finds are discussed and illustrated by him in *Eph. Arch.* 1887, p. 160 ff., pls. 10, 13.

the first of its kind to be discovered at Mycenae. It was in use for some time because the floor and hearth show two or three layers of stucco. At a later date an upper floor of stucco was laid at a higher level in the shrine room and a large stone was set in the floor before the hearth, perhaps as a foundation for the base of a pillar.

From the shrine an internal flight of stairs leads down to a house on a lower terrace. The house is of the megaron type and had a main room opening to the south from a small court which had a verandah on its west side. Other rooms on the same floor were built over a basement consisting of a corridor and three rooms approached by a flight of thirteen stone steps. The house since it is so closely connected with the shrine and seems to have no exit except through it may be considered as that of the priest in charge. All this new information about Tsountas' House is of the first importance and is likely to provoke much discussion.

On the northwest shoulder of the citadel just below the entrance to the Palace a long stretch of wall was identified as being part of the earlier fortification of the Middle Helladic Age. Behind it was a deposit of pottery of the period and it is crossed at one point⁹ by a Late Helladic (Mycenaean) wall which probably formed part of the roadway leading to the Palace entrance. Efforts to trace the line of the Middle Helladic wall to the south, west, and east proved fruitless owing to the destruction caused by later building, especially of the Hellenistic period (third to first centuries B.C.).

The tholos tomb known as the Epáno Phournos which had never been excavated before owing to the dangerous state of its doorway was cleared as far as safety allowed. The Greek authorities generously supplied the necessary technical assistance and we were able to clear most of the floor of the tomb which was originally floored with pebbles. Among the debris were fragments of a number, at least eight, of large richly decorated vases of the so-called Palace Style of the early 15th century B.C. (early L.H. II). These confirm the date already assigned to the tomb and include good examples of well known patterns of the period.

Early in 1950 just to the west of the Lion Tomb interesting discoveries by the Greek archaeological service attracted attention. They invited us to continue examination of the Cyclopean Terrace Building which was begun in 1923 and forms the western end of the complex. Here we uncovered a room with massive Cyclopean walls three metres high and one and a half metres thick. Below this lies a rich deposit of pottery of the L.H. II-L.H. III A periods. Trials in the neighbourhood revealed similar walls with much pottery and some fragments of fresco. The whole area—a terraced slope—needs careful and thorough examination.

The building now known as the House of Stirrup Jars stands on a wide terrace supported by a strong Cyclopean wall a little distance to the southwest of the Tomb of Clytemnestra and close to the modern carriage road. A trial here revealed the existence of the basement of a large house which had been destroyed by fire apparently about the last quarter of the 13th century B.C. A gallery over twenty metres long which had its walls and floor coated with clay plaster runs parallel to the terrace wall and had at its north end a store of stirrup jars (Fig. 1). These had probably originally contained oil to judge by the traces left in the pottery. There were plentiful signs of the fury of the fire which had destroyed the house. Many of the stones were calcined, the crude bricks of the upper stories were baked and several of the stirrup jars themselves were distorted, fused, and even partly vitrified by the intense heat, to which the oil they contained had no doubt contributed. The vases had been closed by stoppers of clay more or less in the shape of champagne corks which were fitted with strings either for fastening them in the spouts or else for ease of extraction. Over the stopper and spout was fitted a cap of clay which was pinched in with the fingers against the false spout and then repeatedly sealed with a seal stone.¹⁰ Three different seal impressions are quite clear (Fig. 2). One shows three dancing women, another an ox scratching its neck with its hind leg, and a third a demon standing between two lions. Only three previous examples of such stoppers have been found and so this discovery throws new light on the Mycenaean method of packing merchandise for sale.

⁹ B.S.A. XXV, pl. II (1).

¹⁰ Nilsson's remarks (*Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*,² p. 19 (7))

on the use of sealstones on the Mainland must now be modified.

From the main gallery side galleries ran eastwards. In one of these there is a row of large jars (pithoi) which probably served for oil storage. They were ranged along the wall¹¹ and supported by short low walls of crude brick and apparently under one of them was an arrangement for setting a fire below it and heating the contents. In the floor of hard clay there is a



FIG. 1.—STIRRUP JARS FROM HOUSE OF STIRRUP JARS, MYCENAE.

shallow sunken basin for catching overflows. Several vessels in fragments were found lying shattered on the floor by the big jars and one which has been reconstructed shows a shape of classic refinement and dignity. The building, as already remarked, had clearly been destroyed by a violent fire and it would seem that it had been well looted first. Many of the sealed stirrup jars had been deliberately unstopped and overturned. Others seem to have been



FIG. 2.—SEALED STOPPERS OF STIRRUP JARS, MYCENAE.

wantonly smashed or to have had their spouts knocked off. The object of this deliberate damage was probably twofold, the destruction of the stock of oil and the wish to add fuel to the fire.

We made tests below the floor of the main gallery to see whether there were any concealed cists with ingots of copper or other metal. No cists were found, but a surprise awaited us. In the earth beneath the floor some good fragments of gaily painted fresco came to light. Some pieces seem to show parts of garments and the largest piece represents part of a scene depicting a bearer carrying something heavy by means of a pole over the shoulder, perhaps some great

¹¹ Compare Homer, *Odyssey* II, 340 ff.

man in a sedan chair. These frescoes and other indications suggest that the House of Stirrup Jars was built on the site of a yet earlier building. This house, which seems to be one of a row, is obviously of the first importance and it is to be hoped that the means to excavate it completely will be forthcoming. It may well be that then the records on clay tablets of the Mycenaean oil merchant who occupied it may come to light.

As a supplement to the main work of the expedition further exploration was made at Plesia¹² to see if Mycenaean potteries or kilns were to be found. Modern kilns exist there and clay is still dug from these extensive beds for modern potteries at Argos and elsewhere, but there are no signs of Mycenaean potteries. Enquiries, however, brought to light the fact that northeast of the citadel above the Perseia spring and as far as the area called Longaki by Steffen there are other rich beds of good clay of the same character as that at Plesia. There are signs that these were worked in ancient times. In the rock near the spring is a curved cutting lined with clay plaster which may have been a kiln. Near by there is a site where Mycenaean potsherds are to be found together with burnt fragments of crude brick and also tiles of the archaic and Hellenistic periods. Since this area is much nearer to the citadel than Plesia it is more likely to be the source of the clay so freely used by Mycenaean builders as mortar. It would have been an ideal site for a Mycenaean Kerameikos since it has a plentiful supply of water and an almost unlimited stock of good clay. Indeed the modern name for the clay, κανατόχωμα, indicates that its properties are still recognised.

Near the Mycenaean causeway on the east of the road to the Argive Heraeum Mr. J. M. Cook found in connection with the revetment wall¹³ along the bank of the stream the ruins of a small rustic sanctuary. Here was unearthed a rich deposit of all periods from late Geometric in the eighth century to the fifth century when Mycenae was destroyed by the Argives. It also yielded a number of interesting archaic terracotta figurines of women freely adorned with jewellery, and of warriors carrying shields. Hellenistic tiles indicate that the sanctuary was revived when Mycenae was reoccupied in that age.

An outstanding feature of this year's work is the new light thrown on the town of Mycenae as distinct from the citadel. The discoveries made by the Greek Archaeological Service and the British expedition on the terraced slope between the Lion Tomb and the Cyclopean Terrace Building, the House of Stirrup Jars, and the buildings found above the Prehistoric Cemetery outside the walls suggest that by the side of the road or roads leading up to the Lion Gate many large and important buildings stood outside the citadel. These all appear to belong to the late fourteenth and the thirteenth centuries B.C. and to have been destroyed by fire towards the end of the thirteenth century. The citadel, however, itself was then unaffected. Perhaps Mycenae at that time was the scene of acute internal dissension, such as a civil war between Thyestes and Atreus who though brothers were bitter enemies and contested the throne of Mycenae. Perhaps one brother besieged the other within the citadel and to facilitate his operations burnt all the buildings outside and near it. Then perhaps foreign mercenaries were allowed to plunder the tholos tombs just as Pyrrhus centuries later let his Gallic mercenaries loot the royal tombs of Macedonia. This is speculation, but it would fit the present archaeological evidence and agree with the dates usually assigned to Atreus and Agamemnon.

A. J. B. WACE.

¹² Wace, *Mycenae*, pp. 123, 135.

¹³ Wace, *Mycenae*, p. 27.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN CYPRUS, 1949-1950

THE identification of more Neolithic sites, two on the North coast, six and seven miles east of *Kyrenia*, throws light on the distribution, and is suggestive of the origin, of the first known settlers on the island.

The publication of the results of the excavations in the *Vounous* cemetery sponsored by the British School at Athens (E. and J. Stewart, *Vounous*, 1937-1938. Lund, 1950) offers a wealth of material from the first stage of the Early Bronze Age, which is a valuable complement to that excavated by P. Dikaios and Dr. C. F. A. Schaeffer in the later section of the cemetery.

Several LCII tombs, accidentally discovered at *Kalavassos* (site Mavrovouni) were excavated by the Antiquities Department. Two of them produced white slip vases of fine quality, which with the other contents are in the Larnaca Museum.

Further campaigns by both Schaeffer and Dikaios carried forward the joint-excavation of the late Bronze Age town site at *Enkomi*. The grid plan of the street system is beginning to take shape and a new section of the town wall has been laid bare. But both excavators in their 1950 campaigns were mainly occupied with the further investigation of the two impressive buildings, mainly of ashlar construction, previously discovered. Schaeffer recovered evidence of re-use, after a fire, evidently in the twelfth century; and of this period found two seated bronze statuettes, one of them on a throne. In the building excavated by Dikaios (*JHS* LXX, pl. IIIc) the pottery was mainly of the same period extending into the early eleventh century (including Mycenaean III c and decorated LC III). However, the structural remains on the site go back to the LC I period, and under the street outside the building was found an intact tomb with good Mycenaean pottery of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, including the interesting amphora illustrated on Fig. 1.

At the site *Pigadhes* near Myrtou, tested by Miss J. du P. Taylor in 1949, excavations were carried out by her and Miss V. Seton-Williams on behalf of the Ashmolean Museum and the University of Sydney. Much of the site was covered by a large deposit of Iron Age pottery, including a few imports from the Aegean and some terracottas. Below this was found a complex building constructed round a courtyard in which stood an altar, a monumental structure of large ashlar blocks, one of which has a coffered panel cut on one face. The building, evidently a sanctuary, appears to have been in use about 1300 B.C. and after destruction by earthquake the cult seems to have continued in its ruins until about 800. Deep soundings indicated the presence of earlier constructions of two levels, the lower possibly of the Middle Bronze Age. Finds included an imported cylinder seal, a fine specimen of the Mitannian style, which was allotted to the Cyprus Museum in the division. The Museum has also acquired two other cylinder seals, from the local market (PLATE XLVII, 2): one of them (the lower one) with an inscription in the Cypro-Minoan script, and the other a fine specimen of Syro-Hittite work.

T. B. Mitford and J. H. Iliffe led a team which carried out trials on the site of *Palaepaphos* at *Kouklia*, where nothing had been done since the work of the Cyprus Exploration Fund in the sanctuary of Aphrodite (*JHS* IX, 193 f.). West of the area cleared in 1887 were found superimposed remains, totalling nearly 4 m. in depth and including late medieval, Roman, and archaic-Hellenistic structures overlying the lowest layer, which contained Mycenaean pottery. The discovery of quantities of copper slag in this layer throws new light on the wealth of the ancient city. On the Marcello hill overlooking the village, the same expedition investigated a mound where stone-gathering had previously yielded fragments of archaic stone statues and syllabic dedications (*JHS* LXX, 14). This proved to be a well-packed pile of rubble, encircled by a retaining wall and containing throughout a proportion of sculptural and architectural debris from an archaic sanctuary. Among other interesting finds were fragments of an archaic marble sphinx, including considerable parts of the wings with well-preserved red and black colour. The mound, the purpose of which is still obscure, was found to overlie

part of a massive wall of mud-brick faced with stone, possibly the outer wall of the Late Bronze and Iron Age Paphos. It is hoped to resume work on these sites in 1951.

For the Hellenistic period, further work on the slopes below the derelict cave-sanctuary on *Kaphizi* hill produced numerous new fragments of the vases with syllabic and alphabetic Greek dedications, which were a feature of the cult of the unnamed nymph (*AJA* XXX, 249 f., *DARC* 1937-39, 124 f.). Miss Anne Wilson of St. Andrew's University was engaged on a study of Ptolemaic coins in Cyprus and prepared a catalogue of the Cyprus Museum series of this period. This and other series in the Museum collection have greatly benefited by the gift, received from the American Numismatic Society, of a substantial part of the coin collection made in Cyprus by the late Godfrey C. Gunther. The Museum has also acquired, by purchase from the local market, a group of gold bracelets and finger-rings of the Graeco-Roman period,



FIG. 1.—MYCENAEAN AMPHORA FROM ENKOMI.



FIG. 2.—FEMALE HEAD FROM KOURION.

believed to come from *Mora*. Among the rings are two with a *nodus Herculeus* in place of the bezel and one in the form of a coiled serpent.

At *Curium*, De C. Fales completed his investigations, for the Pennsylvania University Museum Expedition, of the theatre and the adjoining baths. The former, first constructed in the third century B.C., was turned into an arena in the middle Roman period but reverted to its original use before destruction by earthquake in the fourteenth century. The construction of the bath building, with its fine mosaic pavements, is shown by new coin finds to be rather later than was previously supposed and to fall probably in the early fifth century A.D. A preliminary report on both buildings with plans has appeared in the *University Museum Bulletin* XIV, 4, pp. 27 f. At the Apollo sanctuary G. McFadden cleared the site of the main temple. Originally a single *cella* entered through a shallow porch at the narrow south end, it was doubled, probably at the end of the first century A.D., when the cult of Apollo Caesar was added to that of Apollo Hylates. Each *cella* had a central nave with two side-aisles, raised above the naves behind Doric colonnades. The partition wall and the aisles backing on it were inter-

rupted at the north end where there was through communication between the two naves. Below this double temple were found the foundation walls of an earlier building with a different orientation, possibly the classical temple. McFadden also cleared part of a large building with paved porticoes round a central court. It antedates the South Building (completed in A.D. 102), which it adjoins on the east. In one of the rooms on the west side of the court a podium had been constructed against the back wall, possibly to receive a group of statuary, for in the debris above it were found two female heads of marble. One is illustrated in Fig. 2, the other is perhaps from an Aphrodite. A preliminary report on the Roman bath adjoining the sanctuary, excavated in 1949, has been published by McFadden in the *University Museum Bulletin* XIV, 4, pp. 14 f.

Acquisitions for the medieval collections of the Cyprus Museum included 20 Byzantine gold coins, mostly Heracleian solidi, from a hoard of 50 found at *Mandres* (Famagusta District). After the whole hoard had been recorded, the remainder were purchased by the Fitzwilliam Museum and a private collector. A hoard of 525 billon deniers of the Lusignan coinage (Henry II and Hugh IV) was purchased in *Paphos*, and some additions were made to the collection of Cypriot glazed pottery.

At the Monastery of the Panayia Kanakaria work carried out for the Archbishopric by the Department included the cleaning and protection of the mosaic in the apse of the church.¹ During this work a series of mosaic medallions containing busts of the Apostles, forming a border across the front of the apse, was freed from later masonry which had almost completely masked it.

Excavations on medieval sites included further work for the Antiquities Department by Th. Mogabgab in the citadel of *Famagusta*, where investigations in the courtyard have been started. In the Ravelin, the outwork defending the Land Gate, he completed the clearance of the great underground gallery which was ruined by the Turks in the siege of 1571 and subsequently filled in. In the Castle of *Kyrenia* investigations designed to disentangle the work of different building periods have been put in hand following its transfer to the Department.

A. H. S. MEGAW.

¹ Soteriou, *Βυζ. Μνημεία τῆς Κύπρου*, A (1935), pl. 61b; Dalton, *Byz. Art and Archaeology*, 386-7.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

History of Ancient Geography. By J. O. THOMSON. Pp. 427; pl. 2 + 66 text figs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948. 42s.

This is a crowded book: full of facts, opinions, suggestions, asides. Yet eminently readable, for Professor Thomson is not only learned (overwhelmingly learned), but he has so lively a mind that facts, theories, and observations seem to crowd in upon it. The result is a quite excellent book, and one which, rather surprisingly at first thought, is to be read through rather than used for reference.

His general arrangement is a wise one: he takes periods, to Herodotus, to Aristotle, to Eratosthenes, the Roman Republic, 'the Great Days of the Roman Empire', and the Decline, and divides his treatment of each into two parts—first, actual knowledge of the earth's surface and of astronomy (so far as that is relevant), and exploration, and, second, theory. This entails a certain amount of repetition; and when it is repetition about such scribblers as Pomponius Mela or Dionysius Periegetes, we begin perhaps to feel impatient; but even there Thomson shows afterwards that we were wrong, for these writers played a part in the subsequent dark ages. This last, the influence of classical theories on later times down to the renaissance (particularly on Columbus) is a fascinating story, and is very well told. But the whole is good, and in no other book that I know is ancient geography so well handled. In only one matter I think we might have asked for more: he flatters the layman by assuming a greater knowledge of elementary astronomy and of modern map-making than he often possesses—the obliquity of the ecliptic, the precession of the equinoxes, foreknowledge of eclipses, etc.—or, at least, we do not, without help, grasp the importance of such knowledge in antiquity, what amount or kind of scientific observation and thought it implied and how it affected geographical theory. Hence his text-figures (62 and 63) illustrating Ptolemy's first and second projection, need more explanation for the layman, while fig. 61, Marinus' projection, seems to be inconsistent with Thomson's description of it, though that may be my ignorance; and, too, more about the MS. tradition of Ptolemy's text and of his maps would have been welcome.

In two particulars Prof. Thomson deserves our special thanks: he does not write at length in footnotes (which are almost exclusively reserved for references), but says what he wants to say in the text; and he has these footnotes at the bottom of the page, not at the end of the chapter or of the book, so that the reader is spared the maddening business of turning to another part to discover whether a particular reference has meaning for him. Yet he compromises: it is common for a page in this book, inevitably, to need six or eight or more references; Thomson combines such groups into one (and quite unsystematically); i.e., formally there are only one or two footnotes to the page, but these are aggregates. The disadvantage of this is obvious—it is more difficult to find your reference; its advantages are dubious—I doubt whether it even saves space, for Thomson has, within the footnote, to indicate in some way to which sentence his reference refers. He does this, with the utmost care, as shortly as possible, by single words or phrases, as 'Merv' or 'some writers', which are quotations from the main text, and abbreviations, as 'Bab.' and 'Hamm.' (for Babylonian and our old friend Hammurabi), and 'Cop.' for Copernicus. But confusion is very easy, and not all Thomson's care has enabled him to avoid it: e.g., p. 133, n. 1, 'tomb of King "Red" (Erythras) on island, Str. 766', etc.; but neither tomb nor king, nor island, has been mentioned in the text. P. 152, 'some credit him (Heraclides of Pontus) with the further suggestion that the earth may move round the sun, but the text is corrupt and perhaps really refers to Aristarchus', with n. 2, 'refers to A., Heath, *Aristarchus*

of Samos, 1913, p. 282', etc.; but with no reference to the Greek text, except 'heard Pyth., Diog. Laert. v 36', which refers to an earlier statement about Heraclides having heard some Pythagoreans. P. 163, 1, after two differing theories have been mentioned, gives two ancient authorities, 'who are explicit', and seven modern; but it is not clear who supports which theory. P. 45, n. 2 contains twenty-seven references on a variety of subjects mentioned in a page and a half of text; here are a few: 'population, W. S. Ferguson, . . . : Tod, . . . : Gomme, *Pop. of Athens*, 1933 (citizens under 50,000, slaves 120,000)'; but this leaves it obscure whether I meant 50,000 to be the number of adult males or the citizen population. 'Meg. blind, Hdt. iv 144, Str. 320', refers to Megara and Byzantium; and a little space could have been saved by omitting 'Str. 320' (unless it should be there because Strabo in fact says something different from Herodotus and from Thomson). 'A's brother, Str. 617': A. is Alcaeus this time, and the reference is to his brother's campaigning in Babylonia and should be A.'s own poem, not Strabo. (Similarly, p. 151, n. 2, the reference to Theopompus should be to *F. Gr. H.* rather than to Strabo.) 'Thin-soiled, Thuc. i 2, ii 36, Str. 333'; but in the text Thomson has 'Greece is a poor land, thin-soiled and with few considerable plains', which is not at all what Thucydides says in i 2 and Strabo repeats; Thuc. ii 36 is also an unnecessary reference. P. 197: 'it is odd that some could still [in Caesar's day] repeat the old blunder of a Danube branch to the Adriatic'; and in the note: 'branch, even Hipp. ap. Str. 57: Nepos', etc.; we might have been told who Hipp. is, especially as he is Hipparchus of Samos, who was a good deal earlier than Caesar, and the index does not recognise him here. Incidentally this form of reference to Strabo, by the page only, saves some space, but costs the reader a good deal of time and trouble; and another small grievance is the number of references to *op. cit.*: Thomson has read almost everything (he admits to ignorance of two obscure theses), but his systematic bibliography is short, and all the rest is in the footnotes, and some of the *opera citata* are hard to find. The anonymous author of the *Periplus maris erythraei* is called on p. 228 'a Graeco-Egyptian skipper'; thereafter he is many times just 'the Skipper', as on pp. 301-4, about India and Ceylon; the reader may have forgotten who he is, and the index does not know him under this title. In other ways too the index is inadequate: for a book covering such a wide and varied field as practical and theoretical geography, names such as Aristotle, Hipparchus, Ptolemy followed only by very many page-numbers, hardly help when what we want to look up is Aristotle's view of the shape of the earth and so forth. It seems indeed that Professor Thomson, from his great store of knowledge, and the generosity of his heart, has tried to give us too much. We accept everything gratefully, but something of what he offers we lose, not only because we cannot pocket it all, but because we are a little confused.

On some points I am inclined to doubt his judgement, as on Plato's 'positive contempt for observation, upon which natural science rests'; not only does this lead him to undervalue such passages as that on the geography of Attica (*Critias*, 115), but he fails to see that when he says, in the next paragraph, 'Geography shared in the prejudice against "physics"'. Speculation about unknown parts was disliked, this may not be actually inconsistent with a contempt for observation, but at least the two things do not obviously go together. But in general he is very sane, and refreshingly free from any contempt for ancient errors, frequently comparing our own. His is a book much to be welcomed, worth reading more than once, even though difficult to refer to.

I do not believe that anyone has written a long book in

which the points of the compass are important without once at least writing 'west' for east or *vice-versa*. Even Thomson does this, on p. 260.

A. W. GOMME.

Die Stoa: Geschichte einer geistigen Bewegung.

By M. POHLENZ. Pp. 490 + 231; 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1949.

The sub-title of this book, *Geschichte einer geistigen Bewegung*, suggests Prof. Pohlenz's aim, which is not only to present the doctrines and external history of Stoicism, but also to show its effect upon the contemporary and later world. Valuable as is the account of the Stoics themselves, there is more in other parts of the book that will be unfamiliar to most readers. Nowhere else has the reviewer read as clear a guide to the main development of Hellenistic philosophy down to and including Antiochus, while the last 100 pages of the first volume give an admirably lucid picture of the way in which both Christian and neo-Platonist thought was formed by contact with Stoicism, now assimilating what was nourishing, now being sharpened in opposition; in particular it is well shown how the Christian doctrine of immaterial *πνεῦμα* was provoked by Stoic materialism. P. neither exaggerates nor minimises the debt owed by Christianity to Stoicism, and rightly finds that primitive Christianity, whatever its coincidental likenesses to Stoicism, was informed by a different spirit. The Stoic relies on human reason and thinks that the prizes are for the strong and the enduring; the Christian depends on God, and offers his mercy to the weak and forgiveness to the transgressor. Two quotations will show where P. finds the superior vigour of Christianity: 'In the Stoics of the imperial period we clearly feel how the need grows to enter into a personal relation to God; but God remained the World-Reason, identical in nature with the human spirit, and quite different from the Father in Heaven'; 'Agape, springing directly from the heart, and hastening to the relief of any distress, could awaken in human beings quite other moral powers than those aroused by Oikeiosis and Philia, that were said to originate in the consciousness of the affinity of rational beings'. The influence of Stoicism on the modern world receives no more than a summary treatment, and even so P. ends his story with Kant. He hopes that a historian of later philosophy will tell it in full; but he insists that the task needs a scholar who, besides being a historian of philosophy, can follow Stoicism as a spiritual force in the lives of men and women in many countries and many occupations.

Pohlenz's first public lectures were on the Stoics, and in his long life he has written some two dozen books and elaborate articles on particular aspects of the subject. In these two volumes, which were written by 1943 but delayed in publication, he has gathered up and unified his results. Although he succeeds in including a great amount of information, the style is pleasant and the proportions just; he never forgets that his main business is to give meaning to the facts and to consider the value of the doctrines. He states his views dogmatically, and can afford to do so, since he has argued for them in detail in his preliminary works. The second volume gives (with extraordinary concision) references to his own works, to ancient sources, and to modern writers; it also includes facts that would have spoiled the breadth of the picture in the first volume. Little of value appears to be omitted. A number of longer notes provide an original handling of certain topics, of which the following may be mentioned: Stoic grammar (23), Dio's Borysthenite myth mainly Stoic (45), the use of the atomic swerve to account for free-will an afterthought on Epicurus's part, in opposition to Stoic determinism (59), the sources and composition of Cic. *Tusc.* I (115), Posidonius and *περί ὕψους* (121), the Peripatetic theory of *πᾶν* (174), Bardesanes (197). It is also to be observed that the indexes, which are in the first volume, include a list of the 200-odd known Stoics. One or two more names might have been included, perhaps with a question-mark: Alcinous (Philostratus, *V.S.* I. 24. 2), Seneca's friend Crispus Passienus, possibly Cassius Asclepiodotus, who accompanied Soranus into exile, several of Chrysippus's pupils whose names are not quite certain, e.g., A(mara)nteus and Arce(ph)on, Theoxenus (*I.G.*

III. 2. 1359); Claudius 'Agaturinus' was probably in fact Agathinus.

Within the limits of this review it is not possible to give a full account of the contents of such a comprehensive work, nor to argue the points on which the reviewer does not feel complete satisfaction. Comment on a few topics will illustrate the range of the book.

Influences. Much has been idly written about the Semitic influence on Stoicism. P. says with admirable caution that we 'know nothing of the soul of a fourth-century Phoenician', but nevertheless feels that much of Zeno's thought would be surprising in a Greek. It is hard to go all the way with him here. If Zeno had reflected comparatively on the Greek and Phoenician languages, he would surely have made better progress in Greek grammar than he did, nor would the Stoics have taken the elements of speech to be the 24 sounds represented by the letters of the Greek alphabet. Would not his etymological interests (p. 116) have been quite natural in one who spoke Greek from birth? Did it need 'Rassengefühl' (p. 86) to lead him to say that *σπερματικοὶ λόγοι* came from ancestors as well as parents? Is it true that Greek ethics are based on 'Thou canst' and Stoicism on a Semitic 'Thou shalt' (p. 134)? Surely not, unless popular morality and religion are left out of account. It was an inconsistency of Stoic thought to hold simultaneously that everything was determined by Fate and that the human will was free, but the inconsistency has an adequate philosophical explanation without any appeal to 'Semitic fatalism' (p. 107). On the other hand P. may be right in finding the Stoic anthropocentrism un-Greek, and its best parallel in the Old Testament.

The question of Aristotelian and Peripatetic influence is somewhat weakly handled. Zeno 'became familiar with the fundamental views of the Peripatos' (p. 23). How? We do not hear of his studying in the Lyceum. What were the fundamental views of the Peripatetics of his time? P. constantly speaks of Zeno's agreeing, or more often disagreeing, with Aristotle on this or that point. Did he know, could he know, what Aristotle's views were, apart from those that were expressed in his published works? What looks to us like agreement with Aristotle may sometimes have been agreement with the Academy; and P. does not reject the story that Zeno studied under Polemo, although he thinks it was given currency by Antiochus to support his view of Zeno as a dissident Platonist. I think that P. underestimates the Academic influence, drawing unwarranted conclusions from the facts that Polemo's own writings were uninspiring and confined to ethics; G. Wiersma's excellent article in *Mnemosyne* 1943 probably appeared too late to be taken into account. On the other hand, too much is made of Aristotle; it is noteworthy that even Stoic logic, which is unthinkable without the Aristotelian syllogistic, does not use his words for premise and conclusion.

P. considers that Heraclitus influenced Zeno, rejecting the view that he was found, perhaps by Cleanthes, to have anticipated Stoic doctrine. In this he may be right, but few will agree that the *ἐκπύρωσις* was really to be found in Heraclitus.

Ethics. P. puts very lucidly the views that he has previously advanced in *Zenon und Chrysippus und Grundfragen der Stoischen Philosophie*. He gives a central position to the doctrine of *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο* and attaches more importance than some scholars to the various formulations of the *τῆς*. I find him less clear on *προνομήναι* and *κατὰ φύσιν*.

Zeno's Republic. This is described as a society that might have existed in an earlier age, not a practical proposal for reform, but an ideal and a guiding star. If this is true, Philodemus was guilty of misconstruction when he wrote *κατ' ἀρχὴν τοῦ γράμματος ἐκπύρωσις τὸ πρόσφορον αὐτὴν ἐκτελεῖν καὶ τοῖς τόποις ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις καθ' οὓς ἐστίν*.

Aristo. The works that circulated under his name are summarily ascribed to his Peripatetic namesake, although many of the titles make this most unsuitable. If Panaetius, who admitted the genuineness of the letters only, must be believed (and is correctly reported), it would be better to suppose forgery. It is surprising that Pohlenz appears to find no difficulty in reconciling his belief that Aristo left no written treatises with an acceptance of Jensen's view

that Philodemus attacks an elaborate theory of poetry due to him. If Jensen's restoration δ τοῖνυν ἀντιθέμενος τῶν Στωϊκῶν 'Απλοτῶν is right, the words are not a natural way of describing Zeno's heretical pupil, who did not 'cling to' the Stoics, but detached himself from them; it seems possible that the phrase describes someone who was primarily a γραμματικός rather than a philosopher.

Posidonius. This chapter can be highly recommended to anyone who wants a sympathetic but unflinching and factual account of Posidonius. Pohlenz has a deep admiration for his breadth of interest, fecundity, enthusiasm, and imagination, and palliates his mistakes and credulity. He is not disposed to find his influence everywhere, and notably denies him the chapter of Actius headed $\pi\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu$ $\theta\epsilon\lambda\omega\nu$ $\epsilon\nu\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$ $\epsilon\lambda\chi\omega\nu$; he enters a warning, too, against supposing that Posidonius must be the source of Platonic thoughts common to him and later authors. He explains the comparative paucity of references to Posidonius by saying that Stoics disliked him for his heresies and non-Stoics for his floridity of style.

Roman Stoicism. P. argues (II 140) that it was the Romans, unless Posidonius led the way, who developed the idea that virtue might confer immortality and divinity after death. It might be added that the *Di Manes* may have helped in this; there is something to be said for emending Cicero de legibus 2. 22 to read *Deorum Manium iura sancta sunt*. <bo>nos leto datos diuus habento. Tacitus, however, writes *defuncto Theophani* (cent. i B.C.) *caelestes honores Graeca adulatio tribuerat* (Ann. 6. 18). At several places P. develops a suggestion that the Romans invented the conception of 'will'; he points out how *woluntas* sometimes stands for $\delta\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$, as *idem uelle* for $\delta\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\epsilon\iota\nu$. No doubt the Romans were less intellectualist than the Greeks. The subject would repay further investigation. P.'s account of Seneca is a fair one, and without concealing his vices, very properly insists on his virtues. He ascribes to him an original development of the doctrine of $\delta\mu\omicron\eta$.

Occasionally P. lets his pen run away with him and writes a phrase that might mislead, e.g., the description of Diogenes's book on rhetoric as a 'rhetorisches Lehrbuch' (p. 52), the statement that virtue is identical with the virtuous act (p. 65), the claim that 'Stoic-Roman virtue serves the community in selfless devotion' (p. 473). A few translations may also be noted with a warning. P. 139, *ἐν ταῦτῳ οἰκοῦντων καὶ ὑπὸ νόμου διοικουμένων*, 'eine Menschenmasse die auf demselben Territorium wohnt und von einem Gesetz durchwaltet wird' (my italics: P.'s object is to suggest that the Stoic conception of πόλις would include the new monarchies; he is unsympathetic towards Hellenistic cities, thinking they have importance only to a 'frog's-eye view'). P. 189, *ἀξίαν πρὸς*, 'Wert durch' (better 'Wert in Hinsicht auf'). P. 130, *κατὰ τινος ἥκειν*, 'uns zukommende' (better 'einigen zukommende'); the emphasis is at least as much on τινος as on ἥκειν. P. 170, Antigonos's famous reference to his monarchy as *ἐνδοξος δόξα* is translated 'ehrenvoller Dienst' instead of an oxymoron (historians, please note) 'ruhmvolle Sklaverei'; *ἐνδοξος* is used by the Stoics of popular repute, opposed to true glory.

I add a few miscellaneous remarks. The Stoa Poikile has not been excavated, but I doubt whether it contained rooms that the city could allow Zeno to use (p. 24); in any case anecdotes about him suggest no such privacy. It is commonly believed that Cic. *Ac. Pr.* 11-60 are derived from Antiochus's *Sosus* (II p. 130), but without any good reason. 'Viribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque' (p. 275) is probably a slip of the pen. Did Roman aristocrats of the Republic really have little time for personal life? (p. 278). When P. speaks (p. 435) of 'the Stoic division into λόγος ἐνδίδετος and προφορικός', does he retract the view expressed in *Begründung der abendländischen Sprachlehre* pp. 191 f., that the division was not specifically Stoic?

Minor criticisms must not be held to detract from the merits of an outstandingly good work, which will long be indispensable to students of philosophy after Aristotle, rich as it is not only in material but also in stimulating suggestions. It has also the advantage, not always possessed by valuable works of scholarship, of being printed (so far as the first volume is concerned) with a legibility that matches its clarity of style.

F. H. SANDBACH.

Karatepe Kazıları (Birinci Ön-Rapor). Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Karatepe (Erster Vorbericht). Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından V Seri, No. 9. By H. TH. BOSSERT, V. B. ALKİM, H. ÇAMBEL, N. ONGUNSU and I. SÜZEN. Pp. 84; pl. 36. Ankara: Turkish Historical Foundation, 1950.

There is an element of drama about Karatepe. It was first discovered by a village schoolmaster. Early in 1946, it was rediscovered by Professor Bossert, Dr. Halet Çambel and their party, who, suspecting that notable antiquities might lie hidden in the mountainous region of north-eastern Cilicia, journeyed thither under difficult conditions. Their enterprise was richly rewarded, for they found not only arresting sculptures in a vivid, local style, but also what many scholars had long desired: bilingual inscriptions in the hitherto mainly untranslatable Hittite hieroglyphic script, and in a readable tongue which has now been identified as Old Phoenician. Most of these facts are now well known, thanks to the generosity and promptness with which news of each development has been released.

How much has been already published, how widely Karatepe has been discussed, is shown by the excellent bibliography, about seven pages long, which Professor Bossert has compiled and appended to the book under review. We must not, therefore, be surprised if that book, though it is the first preliminary report issued as a separate volume by the Türk Tarih Kurumu, presupposes some acquaintance with other literature on the subject. It deals with three campaigns, one in 1947, two in 1948; but readers who can consult a pair of reports (*Karatepe I* and *II*) sponsored by Istanbul University in 1946 and 1947 may find both useful, especially the former, which tells of the expedition's initial adventures.

The volume before us is, of course, more comprehensive, and contains much that is new. The essential aspects of Karatepe and its neighbour, Domuztepe—architecture, sculpture, inscriptions—are described by the experts who took part in the work, all of whom deserve our gratitude for clear, scholarly presentations.

Fortifications and gateways are dealt with by Dr. Nihal Ongunsu and Dr. İbrahim Süzen. There is a wall round the citadel; there are projecting towers; there are watch-towers beyond the walls, but linked to them by masonry. In plan, they give a curious impression, one like a tail, the other like a beak. Two main gateways approached by ramps yielded the inscriptions and sculptured reliefs.

Dr. Bahadır Alkım, to whose articles on the site the learned world owes so much, is responsible for the chapter on the buildings inside the citadel. The central one may be palace, temple, or military quarters, while its plan recalls structures of the *bit-hilani* type. He also gives an account of the ruins on Domuztepe, which was occupied in Roman times, and also, apparently, during the eighth century B.C. The sculpture which came to light there, though fragmentary, is appropriate to that date, and includes pieces which are noteworthy by reason of their style or their subject.

The richest collection of sculpture comes from Karatepe itself, where friezes in relief, with lions or sphinxes at their ends, flanked the south-western and north-eastern entrances. Dr. Halet Çambel devotes a chapter to them, which begins with some fascinating, condensed, and highly convincing information about technical questions. The stone used was, she tells us, basalt, probably brought from Domuztepe: it was worked on the spot, within a comparatively short time, pieces spoilt by the craftsmen being discarded and replaced and some blocks never completed. Only the lions and sphinxes were finished off before being erected, with the result that one lion's tail had to be accommodated by cutting a groove for it in a neighbouring block. Dr. Çambel also discusses the subjects depicted, which are sometimes conventional, more often homely, with jolly scenes from daily life or royal festivities. A study of style reveals the handiwork of a superior, and of another, much cruder, artist.

The date must correspond to that of the inscriptions, which are interspersed among the carved slabs and disposed so that the Old Phoenician version of the text was on the left, the Hittite hieroglyphic version on the right of persons approaching the gateways. Those are the inscriptions

which, as Professor Bossert reminds us, should provide a key to the decipherment of a new Indo-European language, the language written in hieroglyphs, a problem to which he himself has devoted so much research. His chapter provides an authoritative survey of a complex subject, and his summary of the history and mythology which the inscriptions record will be of special concern to readers of this journal, because of references to the Danuna and King Asituwandas' alleged descent from Mopos.

The book is amply illustrated by the photographs, plans, and drawings which make up the plates, but a map of the district would have been a useful addition. Particularly welcome are the many photographs of the reliefs, which can thus easily be studied and enjoyed. The proportion of pictures devoted to the expedition's living quarters is, perhaps, a little large; nevertheless the authors have done rightly in not excluding from their report the personal element. For it may provide something unexpectedly delightful, as we learn from Professor Bossert's introduction. Turkey is a land where folk-songs are still invented, and Karatepe inspired at least two: one by a workman, which was sung by his companions, the other by a workman's child ten years old. Both songs are reproduced, in Turkish and in a German translation, since everything in this publication is, like the inscriptions themselves, bilingual.

W. LAMB.

Corinth: Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; Volume XV, Part I; The Potter's Quarter. By A. N. STILLWELL. Pp. xi + 131; pl. 52 + 11 text figs. Princeton, New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1948.

The excavation by the American School of the Potter's Quarter at Corinth was begun in 1928 and continued during the following three years. From this comparatively small area the finds were extraordinarily rich. 850 baskets of sherds were recovered, and no fewer than 2,300 terracotta figurines were inventoried. In addition, 110 moulds for the manufacture of such figurines were found. The brief publications in *AJA* XXXV (1931), pp. 1 ff. and XXXVII (1933), pp. 605 ff. gave tempting glimpses of the treasures. A comprehensive publication has been long and eagerly awaited by all who are interested in Corinthian art, especially in that of the archaic period.

Unfortunately, they must wait still. The volume before us has a very limited scope: it includes only a report on the Excavations and Buildings, the Architectural and Sculptural Fragments, the Terracotta Moulds and some pieces of metal and glass. The reader will gather from the title and from notes on pp. 10 and 91 that publication of the pottery and figurines is preparing. But meantime Mrs. Stillwell has kept rigidly within her limits, and her book will become fully comprehensible only in the light of what is to follow. No doubt there is good reason for publishing the pottery as a whole in a separate section, though it is a pity that it could not have been bound up with the present volume; but surely it is illogical to discuss groups of graves (e.g. pp. 6-11) without any pictures of what was found in them, and to deny us pictures of individual objects such as those mentioned on pp. 12-13, 26 and 52 which are of capital importance for the chronological conclusions of the author? It also seems illogical to publish the terracotta moulds in a separate section and volume from the series of figurines as a whole, by which their context could have been illuminated.

Pp. 3-81 contain a careful and clear description of the scope and lay-out of the excavation itself and of architectural and other stone fragments. It was no easy task to distinguish the complex of walls disclosed, and to assign each to its period; and this task has been very competently performed, so far as one may judge without knowledge of most of the *artefacts* used for establishing the chronology. Of special interest are the shrines, with their curious stelai, which, as the author conjectures with great probability, served as offering-tables (pp. 22-23, 49-53, 63-66, 72-76). The Terracotta Factory, a building with a storage gallery which contained many fifth and fourth century moulds, is clearly described and illustrated, and

the date discussed on pp. 48-49. Among architectural fragments the triglyph altar (pp. 67-68, 77, 79) and a handsome late archaic Doric cap (pp. 69-70, 80) are interesting. The whole section is illustrated with excellent photographs and plans.

By far the most interesting of the finds published are the terracotta moulds (pp. 82-113 and plates 28-45). These date from the seventh to fourth centuries, and the offspring of several of the archaic moulds were discovered at Perachora. After some useful notes on technique, the author describes 106 of the moulds individually, and the plates show photographs of each and of a cast from each. The finest are, as might have been expected, the earliest; but the descriptions given in the text are often incomplete or incorrect as regards the style and date of the objects. A few notes on the first half a dozen may illustrate this. No. 1 is certainly oriental and certainly early; but there is no concrete evidence for dating it earlier than its context (third quarter of the seventh century). It may be a mould pirated from an East Greek alabastron, and it should in any case be compared with *Perachora* no. 275. No. 2 is rightly dated to the third quarter of the seventh century. But the author seems inclined to use it as evidence to suggest that the Delphi bronze kouros is Corinthian. The decisive similarity of the latter to the Cretan head-vase from Arkhanes (*Dedolica*, pl. VI, 1, 2) she is 'unable to see'; but even if that similarity were not decisive, this would not add an argument for calling the kouros Corinthian, but only subtract an argument for calling him Cretan. The elements in him which Mrs. Stillwell compares with her no. 2 are elements common to all Dedalic figures of that standard and date, wherever they may have been made. No. 3 is not contemporary with, but about a quarter of a century later than, no. 2; cf. *Perachora* no. 29 (? from this mould). No. 4 is compared with late geometric (!) and late Dedalic heads, and dated to the third quarter of the seventh century. This is at least half a century out, since the head does not belong to the seventh century at all, but to the first quarter of the sixth; cf. *Necrocorinthia* pl. 48 no. 5, and *BSA* XXXIV (1936), plate 33e, with Lane's comment, *ibid.* p. 135, lines 4-6. I must add that I do not find the author's reasons for calling the head 'male' convincing. No. 5 belongs, not to the third quarter, but to the last years of the seventh century; cf. *BSA* XXXIII (1935), plate 11, no. 3, to which it bears a very close resemblance. No. 6 cannot be as early as the seventh century; from the photograph it appears to date from the second half of the sixth. It will be seen from these examples that the author tends to date the moulds too early; and I should be surprised if her nos. 26 and 61 were as early as she puts them.

The metal fragments, apart from the beautiful Aphrodite inscription on plate 47 (cf. *AJA* XXXV, p. 2), are not very interesting.

The reviewer of this book is at a disadvantage because there is so much undisclosed information about the finds which is known to the author but not known to him. It is, in particular, unfair to the reader to cite by inventory number objects which have never been published and can be known only to the excavators themselves. We must hope that the rest of the evidence from the Potter's Quarter will soon be before us, and then Mrs. Stillwell's notable contribution will be better appreciated.

R. J. H. JENKINS.

Tacitus over de Joden. By A. M. A. HOSPERS-JANSEN. Pp. viii + 224. Groningen: J. B. Wolters' Uitgeverij-maatschappij N.V., 1949.

This doctoral thesis is a 'philologist's' attempt to determine the sources used by Tacitus in his account of the Jews: it is not therefore concerned with the archaeological and historical evidence for the Jews.

After a brief Introduction giving a history of the problem and the plan of the thesis, Dr. H.-J. prints a text of Tac. *Hist.* V. 2-13 based on Goelzer's 1939 edition with the following variant readings: 4. 7 *compleant*; 5. 9 *sinunt*; 7. 2 *solidam* (cf. *Dial.* 9. 4: *ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem*); 12. 5 *quem et Bargiorum vocabant* admitted to the text after *Ioannes* and taken to be an error due to Tacitus (p. 158).

Accompanying the text is a Dutch translation on facing pages, which is generally accurate. The following points may however be noted: 5. 11 *abnormaal* is a weak translation of *absurdus*; 6. 3 *zijn* in *overvloed* translates *exuberant* which does not find a place in H.-J.'s text; 6. 10 *water* fails to make it clear that *liquor* refers to the bitumen; 11. 5 the subject of *videbantur* is taken to be *Hierosolyma* which forms a less natural subject than *Roma et opes voluptatesque*.

Ch. I enquires what knowledge an educated Roman of the 1st Cent. A.D. might have concerning the Jews. Western peoples came to know the Jews as a result of the Diaspora; the earliest Greek accounts are friendly, since Greek philosophers would be sympathetic to Jewish aniconic monotheism; but ill-feeling developed as a result of rivalry between Greeks and Jews in Alexandria and was aggravated by the Jewish tendency to support Roman policy. Further offence was caused by the aloofness of the Jews in religion and social life. So from Alexandria came a stream of anti-Jewish literature, which at first spared Jewish religion, but later seized the opportunity furnished by the mystery surrounding the *δέντρον* at Jerusalem to introduce the slander that the shrine enclosed the figure of an ass.

Dr. H.-J. next turns to the references to the Jews in Latin Literature and concludes that the Romans were in general favourable but that some authors (for instance Horace, Martial, and Juvenal) mocked or ridiculed the Jews.

Consideration of the relations of Jews to Greeks and Romans raises the question of the Jewish *Sibyllina* and their Messianic prophecies. Tacitus as *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* would have had access to these or at least to those included in the official collections. Indeed his interest in the priesthood may have depended on this fact.

Philo and Josephus had very little influence on non-Jewish authors: nor is there any evidence to suggest that the Septuagint was known to any Greek or Roman author of this period.

Ch. II deals with Tacitus as ethnographer and historian. Ethnography as a literary genre was no new thing, but can be traced back to Herodotus and the Ionians. It comprised three elements:

- (a) the early history of the people with special reference to their origin;
- (b) a description of the land;
- (c) the religion and customs of the people.

Tacitus had already used this form in his accounts of Britain and Germany.

In the *Historiae* Tacitus refers to three earlier writers, Vipstanus Messalla, Cluvius Rufus, and Pliny the Elder: there is no evidence to suggest that the first two wrote on the Jews, but the Arados-inscription as restored by Mommsen does suggest that Pliny served in Palestine, so that he may be a source.

Tacitus clearly consulted official documents which may be assumed to have included reports on the Palestine campaigns. Moreover, his detailed knowledge of incidents in the campaigns suggests that he knew also the *commentarii* of Vespasian.

In ch. III Dr. H.-J. makes a careful study of the text of Tacitus section by section and attempts to determine the source of each one. The relevant passages from other ancient authors are quoted in full. Her general conclusion is that Tacitus did not rely wholly on any one source, but used several eclectically: this has led to the inclusion in his account of contradictory statements on the nature of Jewish religion. Her detailed conclusions are that Tacitus relied on Alexandrian anti-Jewish sources for the early history of the Jews and on Hellenistic Stoic ethnography (in which Posidonius' influence is important) for his description of Palestine. No source can be suggested with any certainty for the more recent Jewish history, but for the campaigns of the Jewish Revolt Vespasian's *commentarii* and possibly those of Titus and other eye-witnesses were used.

The thesis concludes with a lengthy summary in English, lists of editions consulted and passages cited, and a bibliography.

Frequent misprints mar a book that is otherwise well produced.

A. TRELOAR.

Archaic Greek Art against its Historical Background. G. M. A. RICHTER. Pp. xxv + 226; 337 figs. New York (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege): Oxford University Press, 1949. 63s.

'When I received President Park's invitation to give the Mary Flexner lectures at Bryn Mawr for the autumn of 1941, it did not take me long to decide my subject; for I had been working for several years on *Kouroi* and was eager to expand the extensive notes I had accumulated on archaic Greek art into a more general work. This book is therefore really a sequel to *Kouroi* and many of the findings there set forth are here adopted. But whereas *Kouroi* was addressed chiefly to archaeologists, *Archaic Greek Art against its Historical Background* is intended also for the general reader.' The archaeologist as well as the general reader may be grateful to Miss Richter for expressing herself in so readable a form, without abating any of the apparatus of scholarship—accurate references, bibliographical notes, and so on. The subject gains from the effort required for clear expression, and the archaic art of Greece receives its due as something which is worth the attention of all cultivated persons.

The art with which Miss Richter is most concerned, as her reference to *Kouroi* indicates, is sculpture. There are many pictures of coins and vases, some of bronze reliefs, metal vases and ivories. But most of the objects illustrated are sculptures in marble, bronze or clay, and sculpture, primarily in marble, stands in the forefront of the text. This emphasis has some far-reaching effects on the plan of the book. The period of archaic art is taken as 650 to 480 B.C., the earlier date being chosen as that at which monumental sculpture in stone began in Greece. There are indeed strong arguments against supposing, as has been thought by some scholars, that there were life-size statues in Greece much before the core of Nikandre. But it is perhaps a pity to omit the smaller works which preceded her, some of which have certainly a monumental character. The ivory women from the Dipylon would have been a good starting point. Another effect of this opening date is that, if it were applied strictly (which happily it is not always), the development of seventh century, so-called dedalic, sculpture, as established by R. J. H. Jenkins on the basis of both small and life-size works, is cut in half. One would have liked to have Miss Richter's opinion on Jenkins' scheme of chronology and development.

The plan is regional. Within each of three periods (650-575, 575-525, 525-480) the monuments are discussed region by region, beginning always as is proper with Attica. Miss Richter, as is well known, is sceptical of regional styles of art and attributions to 'schools', so that some well-known works appear under their place of finding, not the centre to which they have commonly been attributed. In the case of Olympia and Delphi this is abundantly justified, for it is more important historically that so many of the finest works of archaic art were dedicated at these pan-hellenic sanctuaries than that they can with more or less measure of agreement be ascribed to an often hypothetical artistic centre. None the less, it is to be hoped that in years to come it may be possible to reach more solid ground for distinction of regional or other groups, and it may be that further study of workshop groups will prove fruitful. Given the ease with which great artists, and humbler ones also, moved from place to place, and the speed with which, as Miss Richter has demonstrated, technical improvements were adopted in all the more progressive centres, it should perhaps be possible to trace the influence of the great masters through groups of works attributable to their following, though not necessarily found in the same place. A beginning has been made in Attic works, with the Sunium group of early *kouroi*, which express a single strong personality, and groupings of *korai*. But there is still a long way to go, even in Attica where the material is relatively abundant.

A few particular points. The remarks on the influence of Greek art in neighbouring provinces, Lydia, Persia, Etruria, and Spain, are welcome. It is good that Boeotian art of all periods receives its due; though perhaps Boeotian vases are here over-rated. There are many illuminating passages in which new or little-understood monuments are evaluated; the appreciation of the metopes from the

Heracum near Paestum is especially important. There are also many passages in which a controversy is briefly summed up and, it may be, solved, or a new opinion is expressed. For instance, Miss Richter adduces new evidence to put the metopes of Temple C at Selinus about 540, and adds 'to explain them as the work of a provincial or conservative artist is hardly possible, for we should then expect a mixed rather than a consistent style'. The ascription of the earliest heads of Athena on coins of Athens to the time of Solon may meet with less general acceptance. Some other useful datings (it will be observed that Miss Richter is not afraid of a high date and ignores many recent heresies): Prusias sculptures, third quarter of seventh century; Hera of Olympia, around 600; Lion Tomb at Xanthos, not later than first quarter of sixth century; pediments of archaic temple of Apollo at Delphi, 'last decade or so of sixth century'. Of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, she asks, in the hope of reconciling contradictory elements which have led to dates twenty years apart, 'Is it possible that the building was begun soon after 506 . . . but was interrupted for some reason and not completed until after Marathon?' Lastly, she shows proper scepticism about the person of the Aiaces who dedicated a seated statue to Hera of Samos. This is dated in the last third of the sixth century. Why not go the whole way and reject the identification with Polykrates' father, whose activity should have ceased before the beginning of his son's tyranny, which fills the first half of this period of a third of a century?

It is perhaps expected of a reviewer that he shall find some points of disagreement, but my bag is a poor one. Bathycles' throne at Amyclae should belong to Miss Richter's last period, not about 550 as put on p. 87 (see Buschor, *AM* 1927, 21). It is surprising to find no mention under Cyrene either of the Temple of Apollo and its early archaic marble reliefs or of the late archaic korai, nothing in Ch. VI on the late archaic sculpture found on Paros (but see p. 100). Alxenor of Naxos seems to be over-rated; he was surely a journeyman repeating a common theme; the importance of his signature is that it proves that not only great artists but also lesser men travelled. The metope from the Sicyonian Treasury at Delphi (fig. 148) is in limestone, not marble. Cambyses ruled 529-522 (p. 132). One may protest against a few eccentric spellings, which need however cause no difficulty.

In a book like this the pictures are half the story, and here we are richly favoured. There are 107 pages of plates, many of them of objects not previously made known to such a wide public. Especially valuable are the many excellent photographs of objects in New York, previously published only in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*. Many of the kouros are illustrated from G. M. Young's photographs, and it is gratifying that in some cases the reproduction is more successful here than in *Kouros*. If one may express a single regret, it is that there are not more pictures of smaller works in gold and ivory, bronze reliefs and so on, which are less commonly and accessibly illustrated than the great sculptures.

Finally, a word of gratitude is due from the historian. Miss Richter says in her introduction: 'There is, unfortunately, no up-to-date account of Greek history during the archaic period.' But a book such as this is the indispensable preliminary of any attempt to write a history of archaic Greece, and in itself a great part of the work. It is good to have a book like this to put into the hands of students, discouraged by formal references to 'archaeological evidence' but quick to enjoy the beauty of archaic Greek art.

T. J. DUNBAIN.

Das Musikleben der Griechen. By M. WEGNER. Pp. 232; pl. 32 + 22 text figs. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1949. DM 9.80.

Writers on Greek music have, inevitably, concerned themselves largely with post-classical treatises and melodies. Wegner, in this very welcome book, sets out to record what the contemporary evidence tells us about the classical period. The literary evidence is notoriously inadequate and tantalising. W. includes it in his survey, but devotes most attention to the monuments and especially to the

vase-paintings. Therein lies the chief value of his book. For, although this type of evidence has of course been used before, few students of Greek music are fully equipped to handle it; and with the increase in our knowledge of vase-paintings the time was ripe for such an inventory to be compiled.

The evidence is collected under various headings, e.g. Myths, Instruments, Song, History—a method which is convenient, though it involves a good deal of repetition. The text is without references (except to the reproductions), the documentation being contained in an alphabetic register, in which is recorded, under appropriate headings and sub-headings, the ancient literary and monumental evidence, together with some modern works. Thus, under *Aulos* and *Barbiton* is found a list of seven RF vases on which the two instruments appear together, under *Kithara-Herakles* a list of eight BF vases, and so on. Valuable though this is, the absence of references from the text to the register is a disadvantage, since, although any vase mentioned in the former can be identified in the latter, it may take a matter of minutes to do so. The illustrations—53 on 32 plates—are well selected and excellently reproduced. The amateur would, however, have been grateful for approximate dates.

In dealing with literary evidence, W. makes some ill-considered statements. Iphigeneia's paeon at *Agamemnon* 246 is not addressed to her father. In Plato, *Lysis* 700b Διονύσου γένεσις (if the text is right) can hardly mean that the dithyramb had its origin from Dionysus. *Clouds* 1355 ff. does not imply that singing to the *lyre* was the old-fashioned feature, nor *Iliad* 10. 12 f. that Agamemnon found the music of auloi strange as such (did he also find the watch-fires strange as such?). These are unimportant details in a book whose value lies in the handling of monumental evidence. From this W. builds up a picture. Is he entitled to call it 'the musical life of the Greeks'? Within limits the answer is yes. It is a commonplace that the life of the Greeks was pervaded by music: a reading of this book brings home the truth of it impressively. Yet the picture is necessarily devoid of sound and movement. Nor is this type of evidence always easy to assess. A large part of it is concerned with musical instruments, the representations of which are clearly governed by conventions, while their accuracy of detail is often doubtful. The vogue and conjunctions of instruments appear to vary from period to period: but how far can we depend upon conclusions which are based upon counting vase-paintings? One fact recorded by W. should put us on our guard. Representations of the syrinx disappear, if he is right, for a hundred and fifty years, and yet no instrument is likely to have had a more continuous and uniform employment. W. is generally aware of these limitations, but sometimes, e.g. when he passes a sweeping judgement on late-fifth-century music, it is well to remind oneself that, except for one papyrus fragment, every note of classical Greek music is now lost.

In conclusion, this is a valuable book. Much work still remains to be done, especially in applying the evidence of vase-painting to the problems of ancient instruments—a field of research which could be commended to any student of Greek art who is also interested in music.

R. P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM.

The Greeks and their Gods. By W. K. C. GUTHRIE. Pp. xiv + 387. London: Methuen, 1950. 21s.

'The primary aim of this book,' says the author at the beginning of his preface, 'is to serve as a kind of religious companion to the Greek classics.' It is not, then, an introduction to the subject for the general public, and it is not certain that it would succeed in that function, to judge by a recent review of it in a not contemptible weekly paper, by a journalist less ignorant than some of his kind, in which the characteristic features of the work were entirely missed. For students, however, of various grades who know something of Greek style and thought in general and want to make sense for themselves out of the innumerable references and allusions to religious matters which occur throughout classical literature, it is likely to be very useful and generally a perfectly safe guide; in a notice to appear in *C.R.* I have mentioned some trifling slips and some disagreements

with the author on controversial points, but do not intend to discuss either here.

Evidently an interpretative work of such modest size must limit itself in subject-matter, and Mr. Guthrie has chosen to do so by selecting some characteristic cults and some outstanding religious ideas and handling these in comparatively full detail. After a chapter on the history of the study of Greek religion, he devotes his second to 'The Divine Family', giving an account of eight principal deities, with a short appendix on the Twelve Gods. Chap. III deals briefly with 'a central problem', viz. which is the more characteristically Greek idea, that the gap between men and gods is unbridgeable, or that man has something divine in him? In Chap. V Homeric religion is briefly treated, Chap. VI handling 'the contribution of Ionia'. Dionysos and Apollo are then given each a chapter, after which a brief chapter on 'Heaven and Earth' handles very sanely the different ideas connected with Olympian and chthonian religion. This leads up to Chap. IX, 'The chthonioi', in which, after a short general introduction, the author treats of a typical chthonian god, Trophonios, Herakles as the best-known hero and Asklepios as a doubtful and therefore interesting case. 'Hopes and fears of the ordinary man' fill the next chapter, and include such things as religious organisations, the general attitude towards witchcraft, and not least the feelings concerning death and the dead. Mr. Guthrie's special subject, Orphism, is allowed a chapter of but moderate length and most modest and reasonable tone, and very properly, since he is dealing with Greek religion generally, not simply with cult and ritual, philosophy is given a hearing in a final chapter on Plato and Aristotle. The whole book is interestingly written, the author's opinions set forth moderately and contrary views handled courteously.

H. J. ROSE.

Platon Vivant. By G. MÉAUTIS. Pp. 360. Paris: Albin Michel, 1950. 480 fr.

The emphasis of this attractively-written book is upon the dramatic element in Plato's life-story and his abiding message as poet and artist. His philosophical thought as such is set aside, and the appeal is to the non-classical reader. Copious excerpts are given in translation; the book would be of more use to students if the page-references to the original texts were indicated. The chapter on Plato's life dwells mainly on the Sicilian episodes, with dramatic reconstruction and psychological interpretation which though often speculative are interesting and suggestive. His portrait of Socrates is elicited from descriptive study of the *Apology*, *Crito*, and *Phaedo*. Socrates was, the author insists, an initiate of Eleusis; he is made to speak with prophetic insight throughout, and the agnostic tone of the *Apology* is somewhat ignored. Discussion of Plato's treatment of the Sophists includes the interesting suggestion (p. 194) that Callicles in the *Gorgias* represents Plato himself if he had not followed Socrates. The *Republic* is found to exhibit throughout the influence of Socrates, and Plato's struggle against his own poetic instincts. In the last chapter the topic of Love is fully treated from the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, with special study of the character of Alcibiades; the 'transpositions' (the author's word) necessary for modern application are adroitly made. The enthusiasm which pervades the book makes it pleasant reading, and it contains much valuable interpretation.

D. TARRANT.

Pan ! Sur l'Ion de Platon. By L. ROUSSEL. Pp. 121. Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1949. 240 fr.

The author of this small book accepts the authenticity of the *Ion*, and argues from it with much invective Plato's complete ignorance of the subject-matter and the nature of poetry, his inability to criticise, his general lack of taste and much besides. At the outset the dialogue is described as badly written (examples are given, pp. 18-19), whereas later (p. 107) the excellence of the style is used to prove that it is genuinely by Plato. The humour is found poor (pp. 14-15) and the character of Ion an insolent caricature (it is suggested on p. 61 that Plato was jealous of the actor's costume and crown); the inexact quotations from Homer are taken seriously and used to indicate Plato's stupidity.

Socrates is found to show (here as elsewhere) bad faith in argument and 'aucun savoir-vivre' (p. 94). The author's motive begins to appear in the reference to 'plusieurs hellénolâtres' (p. 97) who have tried to save Plato by calling the *Ion* spurious, and becomes clearer in his violent attack (pp. 113 ff.) on an unnamed French Hellenist with whose literary opinions he disagrees. The reviewer cannot resist quoting Professor Roussel's closing sentence: 'Il ne reste qu'à condamner un ouvrage qui, pour ailleurs, serait absolument insignifiant, s'il n'était, dans sa petitesse, un monument d'ignorance, d'erreur, et de félonie.'

D. TARRANT.

Pindari carmina cum fragmentis. Ed. A. TURYN. Pp. xiii + 403. Cracow: Academia Polona litterarum et scientiarum, 1948.

Professor Turyn's edition of the epinicians, published at New York in 1944, has already been reviewed in this journal,¹ and since in the present work the part containing the epinicians is reprinted without change, I am concerned only with the part of the new edition that contains the fragments. To the establishment of the text of these the book makes no particularly important new contribution: its main advantage over its predecessors lies in its incorporating the results of Professor B. Snell's important article on the Paean in *Hermes* lxxiii (1938). Not that any blame attaches to the editor on this account; in dealing with the fragments preserved by quotation Schroeder did his work too well to leave much scope to his successors, and any advantage which T. might have derived from a re-examination of the papyri has been denied him by the war. T. deserves credit for approaching more closely than many continental editors of lyric fragments to a Lobelian severity in relegating to the apparatus criticus all supplements that are not certainly or almost certainly correct.² But the main value of his work upon the fragments consists in the great mass of subsidiary information which he has assembled. Not only does he offer one full and accurate apparatus criticus containing variants and another containing cross-references to Pindar's own work and testimonia from other ancient writers; but the source or sources in which each fragment is preserved are fully and clearly set out and the modern works which T. considers most helpful in its interpretation are exhaustively enumerated. T.'s assemblage of mediaeval quotations is by far the most complete yet made, including several items that eluded even Schroeder: he is particularly assiduous in ensuring that it is always to the latest edition of the author he is quoting that he refers.³ He also appends to each poem long enough to make this possible a useful conspectus metrorum: though perhaps the names by which he calls the cola are less useful than the lines of longs and shorts by which he describes them.⁴ It is a pity that T. has thought it necessary to change the order of the fragments; any advantage which may be got from placing together any separate fragments which may be conjectured to come from the same poem is easily outweighed by the inconvenience which the reader suffers in having to cope with yet another rearrangement. For, invaluable as the new

¹ By Professor E. S. Forster (*JHS*, lxxiv, p. 121).

² One might find fault with T.'s handling of some of the fragments of doubtful authorship. He does not print Bowra's F 341, nor (in spite of Snell's remarks at *Hermes* lxxv (1940), p. 184) Bowra's F 342; he does print (as F 237) Bergk's Lyr. adesp. 85, cutting the perplexing knot presented by the genitives in -ω by changing them to -ου with an irritatingly complacent 'correxì'.

³ But Professor Forster's complaint that English work on Pindar is neglected by comparison with continental must be reiterated; for example, references to Sophoclean fragments in Nauck TGF² might well be supplemented by references to Pearson. In dealing with his F 137 (133 S.), T. quotes Dieterich's 'Nekua', but makes no reference to Professor H. J. Rose's contribution to 'Greek Poetry and Life' (Oxford, 1936).

⁴ At F 118 (111 S.) he scans τροχὸ (occurring before ῥόπαλον) as an iambus, saying of the ὕ 'notabilis est prosodia', a comment which seems equally applicable to his scansion of the first syllable of this word.

edition is, its appearance does not mean that one can do without Schroeder's editio major and its supplement. Not unnaturally, T. has only found room for the great mass of fresh information which he offers by the omission of much in Schroeder that has still some value, consisting for the most part of quotations of and references to earlier work on Pindar since the revival of learning. And T. does print Schroeder's numbers and brackets and a table of references to them at the end. Unfortunately he does not accord the same privilege to the Oxford text. The print and the paper of his book leave nothing to be desired; the binding, which is of paper, does. There are remarkably few misprints; though on pages 294, 356 and 360 the names of scholars appear wrongly spelt, and on page 281 the compositor has added an unnecessary 'c' to 'Oxyrhynch'.

HUGH LLOYD-JONES.

Homeric Researches. By J. TH. KAKRIDIS. Pp. viii + 168. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1949. 15 Kr.

This Swedish publication presents in English the results of the work of Professor Kakridis on the Homeric poems; it incorporates material previously published in Greek, which has been added to and revised. The clarity of expression and the neatness of the English translation reflect the greatest credit on all concerned.

K.'s approach (for which he uses the term 'neo-analysis') is that of a unitarian who is concerned with the discovery of Homer's sources by literary analysis. He differs from the extreme unitarians in his willingness to look for sources, and from the older analysts in insisting that a single poetic genius has put the *Iliad* into its present shape. 'Thus the purpose of neo-analysis is not to disintegrate the Homeric epic into so many small pieces and then to rejoice in attacking the "bungler", the "incapable botcher", the "foolish compiler" and all the other names which have been applied to the poet of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The main purpose of neo-analysis is, even when it tries to distinguish the sources and models of Homer, to understand Homer himself better, to appreciate the art and technique of our *Iliad* and our *Odyssey* as they are given to us. In this manner, the theory reconciles the two warring parties, the separatists and the unitarians, bridging the chasm which separated them and created such violent disputes.' Modern scholarship, recognising that the battle of the separatists and the unitarians has in the past caused the whole Homeric Question to be seen in false perspective, tends to concentrate on this reconciliation. Thorough-going separatists are in a minority; uncompromising unitarians are few; there is a general insistence that the conflict is resolved at last. But the precise nature of this resolution is explained with very different emphasis by different authors: for example, E. Bickel in his recent book *Die Lösung der Homerischen Frage* (Bonn, 1949) lays stress on 'Elementenanalyse', but differs sharply from K. in his views on the personality of Homer, for he regards our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as the product of many poets of the 'Homeric' school. 'Die Suche nach der Persönlichkeit Homers als Dichters von Ilias und Odyssee Dunst erzeugt statt Klärung des Problems'. K. on the other hand speaks of the personality of the poet emerging objectively from a study of his work, and says of the personal Homer, 'He does not ignore the old tradition, nor does he imitate it blindly, but he uses the material bequeathed to him and assimilates it in order to create something new.' This is the sound and balanced conclusion of K.'s admirable and concise introduction to his book.

K.'s method of analysis depends primarily on regarding the poems as works of art. We can discern certain poetic contradictions (K. rightly pours scorn on the old separatist argument from logical contradictions); there are places where some of the motives do not precisely fit in, or where some aspect of a scene clashes with its general poetic effect. He uses this method for the story of Meleager, and by a close literary analysis of the speech of Phoenix in *Iliad* IX, and by the use of comparative folk-lore, he gives his account of the early versions of this story, showing what elements of it were present in Homer's epic predecessor, and how Homer adapted the story artistically to suit his own purpose. The same method is applied to the scenes between Hector and Paris, and Hector and Andromache, in *Iliad* VI, and

K. argues that the story of Meleager is one of the sources here too, and certain poetic contradictions in these scenes are thus explained. In an interesting passage K. attributes Schadewaldt's disinclination to accept the Meleager story as Homer's model in *Iliad* VI to his preconceived idea that such great poetry cannot but be a completely free creation of Homer. 'That Homer', says K., 'was inspired by the Meleagris to compose this scene of leave-taking, I am convinced that we may regard as certain. This by no means implies that he was a blind imitator.' Some will feel that K. has not fully made out his case for such certainty, but it would be incorrect to subscribe to the idea, as so many of us can so easily unconsciously subscribe, that the greatness of poetry such as that of *Iliad* VI is somehow contaminated by the discovery of its sources. Let the impression be gained that K. sees the *Meleagris* too often in the *Iliad*, I quote his footnote on page 60: 'As to the problem of the connection of Meleager's wrath with Achilles' wrath, I do not even now dare to express a view'.

In the course of his analysis of the influence of the Meleager story, K. deals with the development of two conflicting folk-lore themes. The first places the love of a sister for a brother above all else, in connection with which K. makes some interesting suggestions about matriarchy, and (in Appendix III, where he returns to the subject) about the famous disputed passage in Sophocles' *Antigone* (905 f.), where he argues that the thought expressed is not necessarily Indian in origin, but quite probably Greek: he adduces modern Greek folk-songs as parallels. The second theme places conjugal affection above all else; K. has carefully developed sections about 'the ascending scale of affection', and to this theme also he returns in Appendix II and Appendix III, dealing especially with 'the Alcestis motif'. The combination of these two conflicting themes goes far to explain the poetic inconsistencies in those parts of the *Iliad* which are based on the Meleager story.

K. proceeds in Chapter III to apply his method of analysis to scenes in the *Iliad* concerning Patroclus, and he maintains that the story of Patroclus, which is Homer's own creation, is modelled on an earlier tale of Achilles, and is based either on the *Aethiopis* or its predecessor. He argues that the poems of the epic cycle may have preceded the *Iliad*, maintaining that at all events chronographic epics of this type must have preceded the dramatic epic of the *Iliad*. K. does not claim to have proved this contention about the epic cycle, and he expresses the hope that the problems may be reconsidered in the light of the questions he raises: at our present stage of knowledge it is certainly easier to accept Schadewaldt's suggestion of a common source for parts of the *Iliad* and the *Aethiopis*.

After an examination of the myth of Niobe in *Iliad* XXIV, there follows a chapter on elements of popular style in Homer's poetry. K. begins here by making it clear that for him the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are 'individual creations that stand clearly apart from impersonal popular poetry'. He will not allow Homer to be 'the embodiment of the self-made and anonymous old popular poetry which develops among the people'. He goes on to analyse the influence of popular poetry on Homer, stressing style rather than content, and illuminating his argument with many parallels from modern Greek popular poetry. This is a fertile field for investigation; K.'s contention is that modern Greek folk-lore sometimes represents a continuity of tradition that reaches back to ancient times, and is largely free from literary influence. The same fascinating method is used in Appendix I, where K. gives instances of the Meleager story in modern folk-tales of the Eastern Mediterranean area.

Many of the conclusions to which K.'s neo-analysis leads him are necessarily tentative—there is still much work to be done in this comparatively neglected field of Homeric study, and much of Homer's material can never be known to us. But our appreciation of the *Iliad* is enriched by poetic analysis of this kind. K. insists, very rightly, that 'we do not depreciate the poet by admitting that he was stimulated by older epic scenes into creating scenes of his own'. K.'s keen and always carefully reasoned search for the sources, his literary sensitivity, his wide knowledge of modern Greek folk-lore, and his ability to expound com-

plated subject-matter in a clear manner combine to make this an important and attractive work.

R. D. WILLIAMS.

Dura-Europos. Final Report IV, Part I, fasc. 2: The Greek and Roman Pottery. By D. H. COX. Pp. 26; pl. 5 + 92 text figs. New Haven: Yale University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1949. 5s. 6d.

This is a carefully documented account of a group of pottery disappointingly meagre in its content, as the author herself admits. Neither the individual pieces nor their context contribute anything material to our knowledge of the development of Greek and Roman glazed wares of the sigillata type, to which class belongs the bulk of the pottery included in the volume.

The several attempts which have been made to classify Eastern Sigillata fabrics have been shipwrecked on the uncompromising fact of the absence of any evidence for a local attribution, except in the single case of Tschandarli ware. It still remains true that finds of kilns or definite evidence of manufacture are necessary to place their study on a firm basis, as in the case of Western fabrics. The present Report retains the old names 'Pergamene' and 'Samian' for the two most common groups of Eastern Sigillata: of these 'Pergamene' only is said to occur at Dura. This practice is partly responsible for a mental confusion by which 'Pergamene' is classified here as an 'imported' ware, just one of the points at issue. It is not perhaps very likely, but for all we know not impossible, that some 'Pergamene' was made at Dura: and almost certainly somewhere in Syria. In either case the term 'imported' would seem to need revision.

The Report consists of a very brief introduction of three paragraphs, followed by a Catalogue of types of vessels illustrated by section drawings, and divided into Imported and Local Wares. The former includes Black Glaze, Red Glaze and Late Roman wares, the latter Grey, Red Wash, and Red Burnished wares. A two-page conclusion relates the evidence of the various wares to events in the history of Dura as known from other sources.

There would appear to be some uncertainty in the author's mind concerning the technique of these Roman sigillata and allied wares. However poor the glaze or slip with which they were covered, it was a glaze and cannot be described as a burnish, which is the polishing of a slip or other surface. On p. 15 (Late Roman A Ware: Group 1) the author speaks of 'tool marks . . . these combined with the thin glaze covering the vessel, give the pottery the appearance of being burnished', with *ref.* to Waage, *Hesperia* II p. 294, Pl. IX, 116, and Technau, *Ath. Mitt.* LIV (1929) pp. 6-64, Fig. 41. There is no mention of 'burnishing' in Waage's article referred to (p. 15, n. 85): only the thinness of the glaze in some cases is stressed. There would seem to be a confusion between glazed and burnished ware. The two techniques are as different as chalk and cheese. Again, p. 16 (Local Wares) the following occurs: ' . . . the local potters found in red burnished ware a more effective imitation of red sigillata. Although a good imitation of red glaze, the red burnish soon died. Some three centuries later . . . it was revived . . . copying Late Roman A ware types.' Does the author really mean 'burnished', i.e. having a slip (not a glaze) polished with a stone, shell or similar instrument? In view of her remarks on p. 15 above quoted as to the similarity of glaze and burnish, one is tempted to suspect a confusion here. This is reinforced by the further application (p. 16) of 'Pergamene' to 'red wash, red burnished, and common wares'. However widely the term 'Pergamene' may be applied, it has never to my knowledge been stretched to include any type of burnished or 'common' ware, whatever exactly this term may mean. Not having seen the sherds in question, however, I can only suggest the query. Combined with the reference to Minyan in the same paragraph (p. 16) these remarks give one an uncomfortable feeling that the author is perhaps more at home in the field of prehistoric than of classical wares. At all events there can be little in common between Minyan and the grey ware with black or dark-grey slip from Samaria which is quoted as an analogy in this connection.

The above criticisms have to do with details, over many of which a fog of obscurity still hangs; they should in no way detract from our gratitude at the care which has been expended on the book. The issue of a Report such as the present is a sign of a more intelligent and systematic approach to the study of excavated sites, which should include a workmanlike treatment of all types of remains, however apparently insignificant. It is a praiseworthy piece of work, and to be welcomed as a useful member of the series of Dura publications, although its contents are less dramatic than those of some other Dura volumes.

J. H. ILIFFE.

Inscriptions minoennes quasi-bilingues. By V. GEORGIEV. Pp. 86; 32 text figs. Sofia: The University, 1950.

In this supplement to previous papers (*Vorgriechische Sprachwissenschaft*; (Jahrb. Univ. Sofia xxxvi 6: 1941): ii (xli. 1945)); *Déchiffrement des inscriptions minoennes* (xlv. 1949) Professor Georgiev applies his own phonetic values for Minoan signs, and his belief that the Minoan language belongs to an 'aegeo-asiatic' group of indo-european, to selected Minoan texts, quoting signs according to the system proposed by Ventris in *The Languages of the Minoan and Mycenaean Civilizations* (1950). Like Hrozný he freely identifies different signs (pp. 8, 9, etc.). He compares carian, etruscan, sanskrit, gothic, prehellenic, and other vocabularies; he establishes the phonetic value of the sign ω = 'palace', which looks like a building anyway, but occurs also (fig. 14) as the first syllable in ω va (ω va). The double-axe sign is read ω va but its phonetic value (where it suits) is ϵ or $\tilde{\epsilon}$. There is a fresh translation (p. 17) of the long-suffering Eleusis-vase, in which the 'palace' sign means the whole of ω va, and ω -ko-na is χ o-vi. Another 'palace' sign, equally obliging, appears on fig. 25 to qualify ω -ni 'the Minoan name of Zeus'. These examples illustrate the linguistic agility of Professor Georgiev, and the variety of his equipment.

He goes on to compile a list of nineteen Cretan deities also 'quasi-bilingual', unearthing a minoan (Hittite, lycian) dative by the way (p. 25), and half a page of Minoan words (p. 27), and concludes that the Minoan language is 'definitively deciphered'. It is not easy to share his confidence, or his reliance on 'quasi-bilinguals' of this sort, as a substitute for ordinary bilingual texts.

There follows a list of Minoan phonetic values (pp. 28-38), with a reproduction of Ventris' table of signs, and a list of supporters for each equation. Unlike the UN, there is no veto here.

Pages 39-54 are concerned with vocabulary, and especially with the replacement of Kretschmer's etymologies by indo-european such as are collected by Ventris. Much use is made of etruscan. So long as the phonetic values of Minoan signs are uncertain, these corollaries are insecure.

J. L. MYRES.

The Folklore of Chios. By P. P. ARGENTI and H. J. ROSE. Pp. xiv + 1199. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949. 147s.

The two large volumes by Dr. Argenti and Professor Rose on the folk-lore of Chios constitute a valuable contribution to our knowledge of that interesting Greek region. The information on most branches of popular activity in the island has been collected just in time; the increasing inroad of Western civilisation in the last twenty years is rapidly effacing or altering many of the traditional customs and sayings included in this book. *The Folklore of Chios* contains chapters on a great variety of subjects, on popular occupations, social customs, folk-medicine, folk-songs, folk-tales, proverbs, riddles, locutions (wishes, curses, oaths, etc.), etc. A lot of this valuable material comes—as the authors tell us—from the researches of the Chian school-master Stylianos Vios, who for years has been working on the folk-lore of his native island. The accuracy and value of the different chapters vary. Some are excellent, for instance that on popular occupations, in which the agricultural, pastoral, and sea-faring life of the island is perfectly illustrated and many excellent drawings of the various implements described accompany the text; other chapters are less complete and less accurate, as for instance the one

on the folk-tales (in which the Greek texts are not given), or the folk songs and especially the one on proverbs and proverbial sayings. In these hardly any references are given to standard books like Politis' *Ἐθολογία* or his *Παραδόσεις* and Παρρωσία, or Passow's *Carmina popularia*, or Hesselung and Pernot's *Erotopaegnia*, etc., which would have been a great help to the reader, and there are many errors and misconceptions. For instance the first folk-tale, 'Hadji Nicholas' daughter', is certainly not 'a patch-work of themes which has been somewhat mutilated', but is the same story Sir William Halliday studied in Professor R. M. Dawkins' *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* under the title 'The beautiful girl sweetmeat maker'; in γαρουφαλὰς θὰ γενῶ γιὰ τὰ οἶ δαιμονίω in p. 701, it is not the flower but the colour that interests the poet—pink and fresh, as opposed to the κερνίσιω of the previous line; or p. 847 no. 40 τὸ παίρνει μὲ τὸ βαμβάσι as a proverb does not mean 'he takes it together with the cotton', and is not said 'of a person who takes everything seriously', but means 'he wipes it off (or gets hold of it) with a piece of cotton-wool' and is said of a person who proceeds gently (but firmly) towards his ends.

The English translations which accompany the Greek texts are often inaccurate and inelegant. Errors, and some of a grave nature, occur, e.g. p. 724 no. 8 καρφὰ γυαλιά νὰ τοῦ μπηγοῦν is translated 'may nails of glass pierce him', which of course means 'may nails and bits of broken glass pierce him'; or p. 926 no. 2 λωλόδα is translated 'stupidity' instead of 'madness'; or p. 708 T τὰ μάτια σου εἶναι πύλας κι' ὅπου τὰ κολυμπήσῃ, πρέπει νὰ συλλογίζεσαι etc., which is rendered into English as 'your eyes are a sea in which, wherever you swim, you must remember', etc., but κι' ὅπου τὰ κολυμπήσῃ means here 'and whoever swims in them', etc. Moreover there are various other errors in many parts of this work, some rather startling, as for example the statement that the Easter of the Orthodox church is not a movable feast (p. 288)! The book ends with appendices on children's games, dress, flora, fauna, etc., and a useful and comprehensive index.

C. A. TRYPANIS.

The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law. By J. H. OLIVER. Pp. xiv + 179. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1950. 40s.

The present work is not the first in which an attempt is made to trace the origin, functions, organization and influence of the Athenian ἐξηγηταί, but it marks an important advance on its predecessors and rests on a much larger basis of evidence than was previously available, especially in the epigraphical field, in which the author is an acknowledged master. He starts from the Oriental eagerness, attested for the late seventh and the sixth century B.C., to recover the authentic text of the ancient religious literature, an eagerness which in Greece led to the collection of the works of Homer and Hesiod, Orpheus and Musaeus. Hence he passes to the unofficial, yet influential, χρησμολόγοι and μάντιες, such as Lampon, Hierocles and Diopithes, who were not priests and had no clearly defined function. Chapter II discusses the exposition of the sacred law of Eleusis before the fourth century by the Eumolpidae; not until 329 have we a clear reference to a college of exegetes composed of members of that γένος. Chapter III deals with the origin of the exegetes, showing that the earliest mention of an Athenian official ἐξηγητής (Eupolis, calling Lampon οἰσηγητής in 424, uses a general description, not an official title) occurs in Plato's *Euthyphro*, the dramatic date of which is 399 B.C.; hence Oliver infers that the office was probably created in the revision of Solon's laws at the end of the fifth century, when the χρησμολόγοι suddenly and completely disappear from public and religious life. The next chapter inquires into the number and types of Athenian exegetes, authoritative priestly exponents of the sacred, but not of civil, law, elected by the δῆμος from the eupatridae or appointed, with the special title πυθόχρηστος, by Delphian Apollo, determines their status within the framework of Attic law, and gives (p. 44) a list of the 25 known holders of the office from ca. 305 B.C. to ca. A.D. 312. Chapter V examines in detail the passage in Plato's *Laws*, 759 d, e,

proposing exegetes for the new colony, and the inferences which may be drawn therefrom regarding the selection of Athenian exegetes, and in a specially interesting and original passage (pp. 65-72) reviews the political development of Attica down to Cleisthenes' legislation and traces the importance of the early division into three regions, each composed of four Old Attic trittyes. In Chapter VI the author discusses the high priesthood of the Imperial cult at Athens, studying some leading families of the period—the Claudii Herodes of Marathon, the Flavii of Diomeia and the Claudii of Melite,—and gives a list of the known high priests (pp. 81-4) and notes on the hoplite general in relation to the Imperial cult, the lifelong priest of the Emperor, and the honorary title φιλόκτισσαρ καὶ φιλόπατρις. In the last chapter he deals with Greek terms used to represent Roman offices, notably by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and by Herodes Atticus, 'the most influential of the Atticists', whose title ἐξηγητής is, in Oliver's view, a translation of *XV vir sacris faciundis*. The chapter ends with a suggestion that the Attic ἐξηγηταί may owe their origin to the example of Rome, mediated by 'the Greeks of Southern Italy', possibly through Lampon. An invaluable appendix contains the ancient references to the ἐξηγηταί τῶν ἱερῶν at Athens, 33 of them literary (I do not know why, as Thuc. VIII. 1. 1 is included (T 22), Thuc. II. 8. 2 and 21. 3 are omitted) and 54 epigraphical (in I 5 and 45 the brackets need revision), and the book closes with a general index and an index of 'passages discussed', among which are 140 inscriptions. The value of this list would have been enhanced if, following the example of some American scholars, Oliver had asterisked those inscriptions—and they are not few—of which the present work offers new readings or restorations.

It is in his survey of early Attic history, the least fully argued and documented section of the book, that I find it most difficult to follow Oliver. Here I confine myself to one point. He accepts chap. 4 of the *Ἀθ. Πολ.* as giving a true and reliable account of the 'Draconian' constitution, though for him 'Draco' means 'the anonymous statesmen [sic] of the seventh century, the period just before Solon' (p. 68). But he fails to mention Aristotle's assertion (*Pol.* II. 9. 9) Δράκοντος δὲ νόμοι μὲν εἰσι, πολυτέλει δ' ὑπαρχούσῃ τοὺς νόμους ἔθηκεν, or to draw attention to the almost (or, in my view, wholly) insuperable objections to the acceptance of this chapter as a genuine record of a historical constitution. On this basis we are told that 'Draco gave active citizenship to the hoplite class, i.e. the Zeugitae. Alongside of the Council of the Areopagus . . . he created another Council in which the big majority would be plebeian hoplites. This was to be a legislature over which the Areopagus had certain powers of review. . . . In our text of Chapter 4 it is said that the Council created by Draco consisted of four-hundred-and-one members, a number divisible neither by four nor by three. Now it is not likely that Solon reduced the membership by only one, and the notice is clearly no doubt because a corruption of the word for four-hundred into the phrase for four-hundred-and-one is palaeographically improbable. On the other hand it was very easy to mistake τετρακοσίους καὶ ἓνα for πεντακοσίους καὶ ἓνα. Thus emended, Aristotle in Chapter 4 says that Draco established a Council of Five Hundred and One. The unremovable words "and one" now make sense; the number was the nearest possible approach to five hundred with a system in which three groups required equal representation' (pp. 68-9). I quote at such length lest by summarizing I should inadvertently weaken the force of the argument. But this view (i) rests on the trustworthiness of Chap. 4, (ii) proceeds to alter the number 401 to 501 in order to secure a multiple of 3, (iii) postulates a Council of 501, surely far too large a number to be at all probable for Athens at this early period, (iv) fails to take into consideration the possibility that the odd number was intended to provide against the contingency of a tie in voting, and (v) does not explain why, if the factor 3 was a fundamental necessity and a near approach to a multiple of 100 a desideratum, Draco did not institute a Council of 300, a number which is a multiple of 3, 4, 12 and 100. Surely it was more natural for each of the three equally represented groups to appoint 100 than 167. βουλευται, and we should then

have had, with the rapidly expanding population of Attica, a Council of 300 under Draco, 400 under Solon and 500 under Cleisthenes. Similarly Oliver's account of the 51 *ἐβέρων*, whose number was chosen as being a multiple of three, fails to convince me. If 3 had been the decisive factor, would not 30 or 60 have been a more natural choice, and in the light of the numbers recorded for Athenian juries—201, 401, 501, 1001, 1501, 2501 (Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, II. 1158)—is it not likely that the avoidance of a tie in voting was the reason for the choice of 51 rather than 50?

Despite the exemplary care shown in the preparation of the book by the author and those whose assistance he so generously acknowledges, a few errors, omissions and inconsistencies have inevitably escaped detection. Accents and breathings are occasionally omitted or wrongly inserted, punctuation is sometimes faulty, words are misspelt (e.g. ἀριδείκτα for ἀριδείκτα on p. 5, Σύνάρεως for Σύνάρεως on p. 126, νόμου for νόμους on p. 135, Oreum for Oreus on p. 127, *Quindecimviri* for *Quindecimviri* on p. 178), and personal names incorrectly written (e.g. Heraeus for Hecaeus on pp. 5, 175, though correctly spelled on p. 168, Bernadakis for Bernardakis on p. 137, Janoray for Jannoray on p. 161). On p. 142 the exact reference to Amandy's discussion of the *πύλων* is B.C.H. LXIII 1939, 190-2. I deprecate the phrase 'of the Thoric deme' (p. 98), especially in view of the co-existence of the demes Thoricus (here in question) and Thoriae. But the very triviality of these criticisms must be taken as a tribute to a remarkable book, valuable in content, lucid in expression, usually cogent in argument, dealing with an important aspect of Athenian and Roman public and religious life, and based upon a comprehensive collection and exhaustive examination of the relevant evidence, alike literary and epigraphical.

M. N. TOD.

Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies. By A. C. JOHNSON and L. C. WEST. Pp. viii + 344. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege: Princeton University Press, 1949. 27s. 6d.

It would be easy to damn this book, for its faults are very obvious; but it would be unfair, for its authors have done some useful spadework. It will perhaps be best to clear the ground for constructive criticism and appreciation by warning readers of its defects. It bears signs of hasty compilation and insufficient revision. Facts are piled together higgledy piggledy and there is much repetition and overlapping: the account, for instance, of how the many diverse legal categories of land which existed in the Roman period disappeared in the fourth century, leaving only private land, is repeated in very similar words on pp. 18 ff., under 'the Land', and on pp. 94 ff., under 'the People'. The authors are naively ignorant of the general history of the period. Readers will be surprised to find that 'Egypt followed the Arian theology in general, and so remained outside the pale of the churches of Rome and Constantinople' (p. 6). More serious, since it affects more closely the subject of the book, is the ignorance shown of the administrative and financial system of the empire. On p. 222 it is stated that 'in A.D. 541 the actuary of the numeri certified the needs of the troops to the tribune of the praetorian notarii'. The reader who, puzzled by the unusual function here performed by a tribune and notary, looks up *P. Cairo Masp.* 67320, will find that the *actarius* communicates perfectly normally with *praeses* of the Thebaid, who enjoyed the honorary rank of tribune and notary. Again in note 1 on p. 172 a *πραξιγίτης τάξιως προϊστάτης* is dismissed with the remark that he 'may be a private banker'. This interpretation does violence to the Greek language, and when on looking up *PSI*, 310, one finds him paying for silver supplied *ὕπὸ τοῦ διαση(μοτάτου) βασιλέως*, who can be none other than *v.p. magister rei privatae per Aegyptum*, it seems certain that he is the official cashier of the *officium rei privatae*. The commentary on Justinian, Novel VIII, reveals extraordinary misconceptions. The Novel actually sets out the *συνθήματα* or fees which are to be paid by various grades of governors to palace officials for their letters of appointment. But on p. 291 it is asked 'whether *συνθήματα* means salary or whether it is the regularisation of the gifts from the provincials', and on

p. 228 the fee of 9 *solidi* payable for each appointment to the chartularies of the sacred bedchamber is spoken of as a yearly salary and compared with a soldier's *annona*.

It would be easy to multiply such instances, but enough has perhaps been said to indicate that the authors have embarked on an undertaking beyond their powers. The time has perhaps not yet come to attempt to weave together the bits and patches of the papyri with the tangled skein of the Codes and Novels. Many preliminary studies are needed to straighten out pieces of the pattern, and the task requires not only an intimate knowledge of the papyri, but a thorough grasp of the legal and literary material. Lacking the latter qualification the authors would have been better advised to content themselves with a more modest objective, that of tabulating and elucidating the scattered and in many cases rather fragmentary papyrological evidence.

This task they have performed over a number of fields. Not only are there tables of sales and leases of land, exports and imports, prices and wages, natural products and industries, but the evidence on some other topics, such as the *annona militaris*, is assembled, though less methodically, in separate chapters. One could wish that the authors had given a more detailed presentation of the evidence. In the tables a fuller description of the transactions involved would often have been helpful; it is for instance misleading to quote an official rate of *adaeratio* (*P. Leipz.* 63) as if it were an actual market price, as is done on p. 176. Students, however, will be grateful for the labour which the author has expended on assembling material of this kind. Very helpful also, especially to those who are not papyrologists, are the abstracts of financial documents, which make intelligible to the layman these forbidding labyrinths of figures, symbols, and abbreviations. Here again one could wish that the analysis had been more detailed and more careful. On p. 223 for instance the authors, following the editors of the documents, give a table of *annona* payments as follows:

	Wheat.	Barley.	Wine-Meat.
Sept.-Dec. . . .	243½ <i>modii</i>	—	2916 <i>sextarii</i>
Jan.-Apr. . . .	240 „	958½	1934½ „

They are justifiably puzzled by the large quantity of barley, and suggest that the abbreviation (which one finds on consulting *P. Lond.* 1663 is quite clearly *κρ*) should be read as chaff. They fail to observe that $958\frac{1}{2} + 1934\frac{1}{2} = 2893\frac{1}{2}$, which bears roughly the same relation to 2916 as does 240 to 243½. This suggests that the Jan.-April account specifies separately the units lumped together as *ὀλκον* in the Sept.-Dec. account, and that accordingly *κρ* stands for *κρίος*; this conjecture is confirmed when one finds that in the papyrus the letters following the second figure read *ὀλκον*, not *ὀλκον*.

It may further be observed that the number of units of meat is about half the number of *sextarii* of wine. In another document, the great Antaeopolis tax register referred to below, the *annona* payments of wine are exactly double those of meat (212,358½ wine units; 106,179½ meat units). This relation must surely be linked with the fact that the normal ration of a soldier (as shown in *P. Oxy.* 1920, analysed on pp. 225 seq.) included one pound of meat and two *sextarii* of wine *per diem*. It would seem then that the payments of military *annona* in kind imposed on the cities were calculated on the ration strength of the units receiving them, and that the unknown units of 'wine-meat' must be *sextarii* of the former and pounds of the latter. If this is so, it is for a study of prices worth noting that for purposes of *adaeratio*, pounds of meat and *sextarii* of wine are equated in value at 200 to the *solidus*.

Another document which would have repaid more careful analysis is the great sixth century taxation account of Antaeopolis (*P. Cairo Masp.*, 67057, discussed on pp. 275 seq.). This is a particularly valuable document, since it is virtually complete, and appears to contain all the year's payments, classified under *ἐμβολή* (the wheat for shipment to Constantinople, reckoned in *artabae* of wheat), the *annona* in gold and in kind, the *canonica*, the *συνθήματα* or gratuities of officials, the account of the pagarchy (more fees to local officials), and the *ναύλα* and other transport charges (the last four headings all reckoned in gold). The

document further gives the area in *arurae* of the district, classified according to the quality of land, and the rate of wheat tax levied on each *arura* of each category to make up the *ὑβολή*. This register is the only document which might yield a figure for the rate of Byzantine taxation, both in kind and in gold, including fees and gratuities. It would therefore have been expected that the authors would have scrutinised the text with very great care and reproduced the figures in full. But in fact the statement they produce is faulty in several points. In the first place they omit from their tabulation (though they take account of it in their subsequent calculations) the last, and not inconsiderable item in the papyrus, 862½ *solidi* for transport charges. Then in analysing the *annona* payments in kind they leave it as an open question whether the figure for barley represents *artabae* or *modii*. It clearly is *modii*. It is preceded by the symbol read by Maspero as π , and the same symbol recurs above in the item which apparently refers to wheat, where π β,κα seems to be equated with 6,500, that is, 22,021 of the unknown units equal 6729 *artabae*. The unknown unit stands therefore to the *artaba* in the relation of about 3½ to 1, and is the *modius*; π may be a misreading of a Roman 'm'. Furthermore they fail to appreciate, as noted above, that the units of meat are pounds and of wine *sextarii*. On the basis of this analysis it is possible to put a money value on *annona* in kind (except for the chaff, whose price is unknown). If barley be reckoned at half the price of wheat, the *annona* works out at official rates of *adaeratio* to about 2650 *solidi*, at real prices (as indicated in *P. Oxy.*, 1920) to nearly 3600 *solidi*.

Despite its fulness the document is not altogether easy to interpret. The classification as given in the papyrus is as follows:—

λόγ' ὑβολῆς σίτ'	61,674	<i>artabae</i>
εἰς λόγ' ἀννωνῶν σὺν		
τῷ ἀνεκταί	6072	<i>solidi</i> 21 carats (details follow)
κανονικ'	3707	" 14 " (details follow)
συνηθ'	339	" 9 " (details follow)
(ὑπὲρ) τῆς παγὰρ	301	" 22½ " (details follow)
	10,421	" 18½ "

There follows an analysis of the different categories of land, with the rates of corn tax on each, and the yield of this tax, which totals 62,433 *artabae*; the excess of 759 *artabae* is deducted, leaving the amount of the *ὑβολή*. Below this, under the heading ἀνεκτ' is a column of amounts of wheat, meat, wine, barley and chaff, and finally: ναύλ' (καὶ) φάετ' (καὶ) ἑμετ' καὶ ἄλλ'. 862½ *solidi*.

The editors, in attempting to assess the annual rate of taxation per *arura*, apart from minor adjustments, write off the *annona* payments in gold as a non-recurrent item due to military operations in the neighbourhood. This is a quite unjustifiable proceeding. The Byzantine government was at times arbitrary in its financial methods, but it did not go so far as to charge up the expense in gold of maintaining troops to the city where they happened for the time being to be stationed. The actual supplies for troops were as far as possible obtained locally. Taxation in kind was so calculated as to yield the requisite amount for permanent garrisons. Supplies for troops away from their regular stations were obtained by *συνωνή* or compulsory purchase, the value of the requisitioned goods being entered on vouchers or *recapta*, against which deductions were made from the gold taxes of the suppliers (see *Cod. Just.*, X, xxvii, 2 (Anastasius) and Justinian, Nov. 130). In no circumstances would a city pay more gold taxes because additional troops were stationed in it; it would on the contrary pay less. Having cleared away this misconception we can now ask what is the relation of the *annona* reckoned in gold to the *annona* reckoned in kind. The heading σὺν τῷ ἀνεκταί should mean that the statement of the *annona* in gold includes the *annona* in kind (which is called ἀνεκτ'), or rather its value in gold at official rates of *adaeratio*. In that case the statements of the amounts of species will be an explanatory memorandum to the *λόγος ἀννωνῶν*, as the analysis of land categories and wheat taxes which precedes it is to the *λόγος ὑβολῆς*. The word ἀνεκταίος is apparently otherwise unknown, but Gelzer

adduced parallels to suggest that ἀνεκταίος was sometimes used as an equivalent of *delegare*. The word should therefore mean 'not on the *delegatio*', and might describe supplies levied by *συνωνή*, as opposed to supplies ordered to be paid in kind in the regular *delegatio*. If the rules laid down in the laws were kept the price of these levies should have been deducted from the gold taxation. It may have come off the *annona* in gold, in which case it has left no record in the account, but it may be suggested that in the entry under κανονικά, λαργίαισ' (sic) τίτλ' μετὰ τὸν κοῦφ', the κοῦφισμός is the rebate in compensation for *συνωνή*. Some support is given to this view by the summaries of taxation from Aphrodito (tabulated on p. 283). These are like the Antaeopolis account classified under *canonica*, *annonae* and *συνηθείαι* (all in gold; the summaries do not record any payments for ὑβολή and ναύλα), and in one year the *annona* payment shows a marked increase and the *canonica* a marked reduction; the editors in this case, rightly as it seems, suggest that the reason is special levies for a local expedition. Be that as it may, it would seem certain that the total of 10,421 *solidi* 18½ carats recorded in the papyrus, less a payment of 963 *solidi* 15 carats for arrears of *canonica*, plus the 862½ *solidi* for ναύλα, that is, roughly 10,322 *solidi*, is the normal gold assessment of Antaeopolis. In this particular year the city would have been mulcted of a further 1000 *solidi* or so, the difference between the official prices credited for the ἀνεκταί and their real value. To the gold total must be added the value at current prices of the ὑβολή, which comes to 6167½ *solidi*, and the grand total, 16490 *solidi*, must be assessed on the total area, 51,655 *arurae*. Even with the corrections made above, the rate per *arura* does not work out at a startlingly high figure, about 3½ *artabae* if the whole tax burden is calculated in wheat, about 7½ carats if it is reckoned all in gold. If one year's record for one pagarchy is a sufficient basis for a generalisation, the authors would seem to be justified in claiming that in the sixth century Egypt was not grossly overtaxed.

Students of the Byzantine period will find this book useful as a collection of evidence, which, if it is not ideally arranged, seems fairly complete; and in this connection the reviewer records with gratitude that the innumerable references are, so far as he has checked them, accurate. They will also find helpful the arithmetical analyses of the more complicated documents. The authors would have produced a more useful book if they had confined themselves to tabulating in full, analysing in detail, and, in many cases, re-editing the documents, a task which is a necessary preliminary to any historical or economic study of Byzantine Egypt, and for which their wide experience of the material would qualify them.

A. H. M. JONES.

The Unwritten Philosophy and other Essays. By F. M. CORNFORD. Pp. xix + 139; pl. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950. 12s. 6d.

This well-produced little volume is an attractive memorial to a great scholar and teacher of ancient philosophy. Mr. Guthrie's excellent introduction should go far to give those who did not have the privilege of working with Cornford some idea of the quality of the man, of how, as Mr. Guthrie says, Φίλος τ' ἦν αἰσθητός τε, and why those who studied under him, even if later their work has gone in very different directions or their lines of interpretation of the ancients have diverged in some points from his, feel the beneficent influence of his teaching and example as continuingly the source of anything good in their work.

Mr. Guthrie praises Cornford, rightly, as a historian and a poet (and a historian, it should be added, the delicate accuracy of whose scholarship was in no way blurred by his poetry). The essays collected in the present book illustrate very well this combination of historical scholarship and poetic insight and power of expression. It was very apparent in Cornford's interpretation of Plato, which was probably the most lastingly valuable part of his work: his mind seemed to fit Plato's with a closeness attained by few others of the distinguished line of Platonic commentators. In this volume Plato is the theme of two relatively slight but very satisfying essays, and makes an appearance in several of the others. What was, as Mr. Guthrie points

out, Cornford's predominant interest, the relation of ancient philosophy to its background of traditional thought, is the theme of the essay which gives its title to the book, *The Unwritten Philosophy*, and the same sort of theme recurs again in *The Unconscious Element in Literature and Philosophy* and elsewhere in the book. *A Ritual Basis for Hesiod's Theogony* illustrates Cornford's speculations in the field of early Greek religion. In *The Harmony of the Spheres* the union of poet and historian is seen to perfection; it is a little masterpiece of art, scholarship and original thinking. *Greek Natural Philosophy and Modern Science* talks much sound sense in a small space about a subject not always treated very sensibly. The volume ends with a very courteous and balanced, but quite devastating, refutation of Marxist views of ancient philosophy in general and Plato in particular.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

Bacchylidis carmina cum fragmentis, post Fr. Blass et Guill. Suess, sextum edidit B. SNELL.

Pp. liv + 142. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1949. \$4.75.
In the last decade Bacchylides has profited from the discovery of new material. Lobel has noted an Oxyrhynchus papyrus giving more fragments of 14; and the Florentine fragments discovered by Norsa have considerably improved our text of 4 and 12. These, together with the inclusion of Pindar fr. 341 Bowra among the doubtful fragments, are the principal respects in which this sixth edition of the Teubner Bacchylides marks an advance on its predecessor, published in 1934. The earlier edition has deservedly become our standard text; and its successor is worthy of it. S. gives a very full and careful account of the papyrus readings, and his judgment is sound; one feels, however, that he might have been more hospitable to good restorations. For instance, at 1. 146 Housman's ἀπόλαος gives so exactly the sense required that it deserved at least the mention accorded it in the apparatus of the earlier edition; and at 9. 13 R. A. (not R. F.) Neil's ἀπώσονται surely deserved to stand in the text. The apparatus is well constructed, though there are one or two doubtful points, as at 14. 10 where S. mentions the restoration he prefers last (unless there is a misprint in the text). Occasionally we should welcome more critical information than we are given, as at 17. 38 and 109. The attribution of emendations is well done, and there is an excellent bibliography; but in dealing with Jebb's corrections S. should have distinguished those which he included in his edition of 1905 from those he contributed to Kenyon's edition in 1891 and later abandoned, sometimes tacitly, as at 5. 67 and 11. 30, sometimes explicitly as at 13. 94. Sometimes the author of a correction is not

named; the 'Corrigenda' tell us that this means the restoration is by Kenyon, but such a system involves a considerable loss in clarity for the sake of a negligible saving of space. One final point before we leave the text; S., like so many modern editors, confuses breathing with coronis and prints at 3. 22 ἀγλαϊζέω for -ῶ and at 9. 94 (following Jebb) χῶ: see Housman's review of Pearson's *Sophocles*, C.R. 39. 80.

Perhaps the most valuable feature of this book is its treatment of metre. The section on metre in the preface is admirable, and careful metrical analyses are prefixed to each poem in the text. There are very occasional inaccuracies; for instance, the analysis of 11 should begin —D—E—||, as it does in the preface, p. 21*; and in the preface p. 18*, 6 should be added to the list of poems not in dactylo-epitrites. The frequent marking of final anapests as long may cause some confusion, and there is some inconsistency in the admission of conjectures to the metrical analyses.

The preface begins with very full descriptions of the papyri, and the impression of completeness which this section and the apparatus convey is scarcely affected by the very occasional slips (e.g. p. 10* l. 12 5. 70 is inconsistent with the note ad loc. and seems to be a false reference). The next section 'de Bacchylidis studiis quae inveniuntur ap. script. vet.' and a section 'de poetis quos B. imitatus est' (two sections which one might have expected to be placed consecutively) are, however, highly questionable, because of S.'s over-keen eye for imitation; Brahms's remarks on 'plagiarism' in music are not without their relevance for the classical scholar. Few readers will accept as significant the equation (p. 14*) 'Plat. Phaed. 58A = Bacch. 17. 2' or the description of B. as 'Pindari imitator', especially when S.'s authority Wilamowitz contradicts him (Pindaros 316, 336-7). And is it true to say (p. 18*) 'Mimnermi verbis (fr. 7 D) B. usus est 3. 83'?

The sections on B.'s style, diction and prosody contain a wealth of valuable material, though now and then the arrangement leaves something to be desired; passages like 3. 64, 3. 92, 16. 5 should have been mentioned under 'hiatus' rather than under 'digamma', as indeed S. himself seems to feel.

There are occasional misprints e.g. p. 8* n. 3 for scriptis read scripsit; 3. 37 adnot. for Pl. read Bl.; and several page-references to the preface have not been adapted to the pagination of the new edition.

But all in all this is an excellent book; the sort of book whose mistakes a reviewer seizes on in order to help, not to carp.

D. MERVYN JONES.

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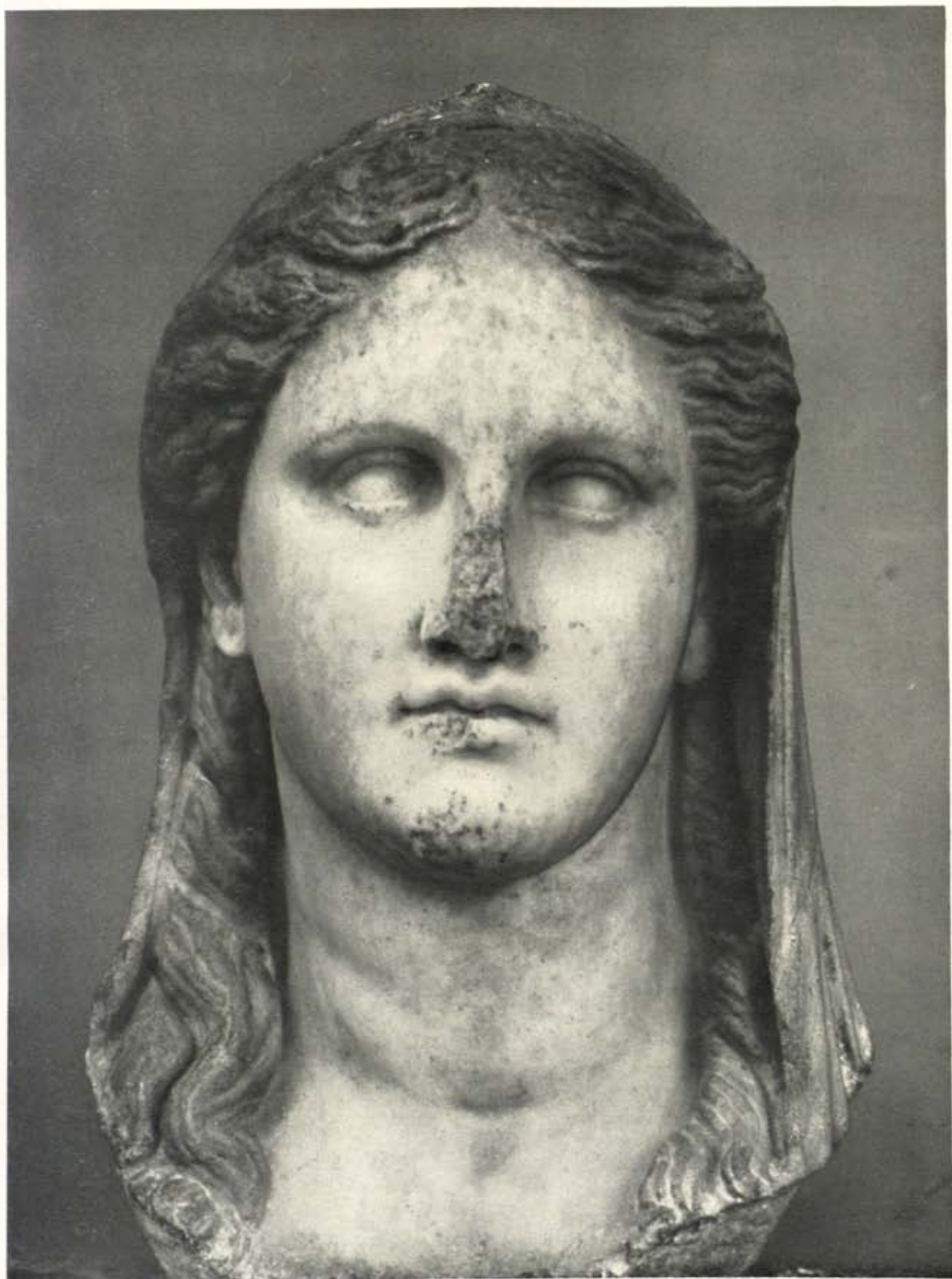
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DEMETER OF CNIDUS. (*British Museum*, no. 1300.)



DEMETER OF CNIDUS.



b



a

DEMETER OF CNIDUS.



a



b

DEMETER OF CNIDUS.

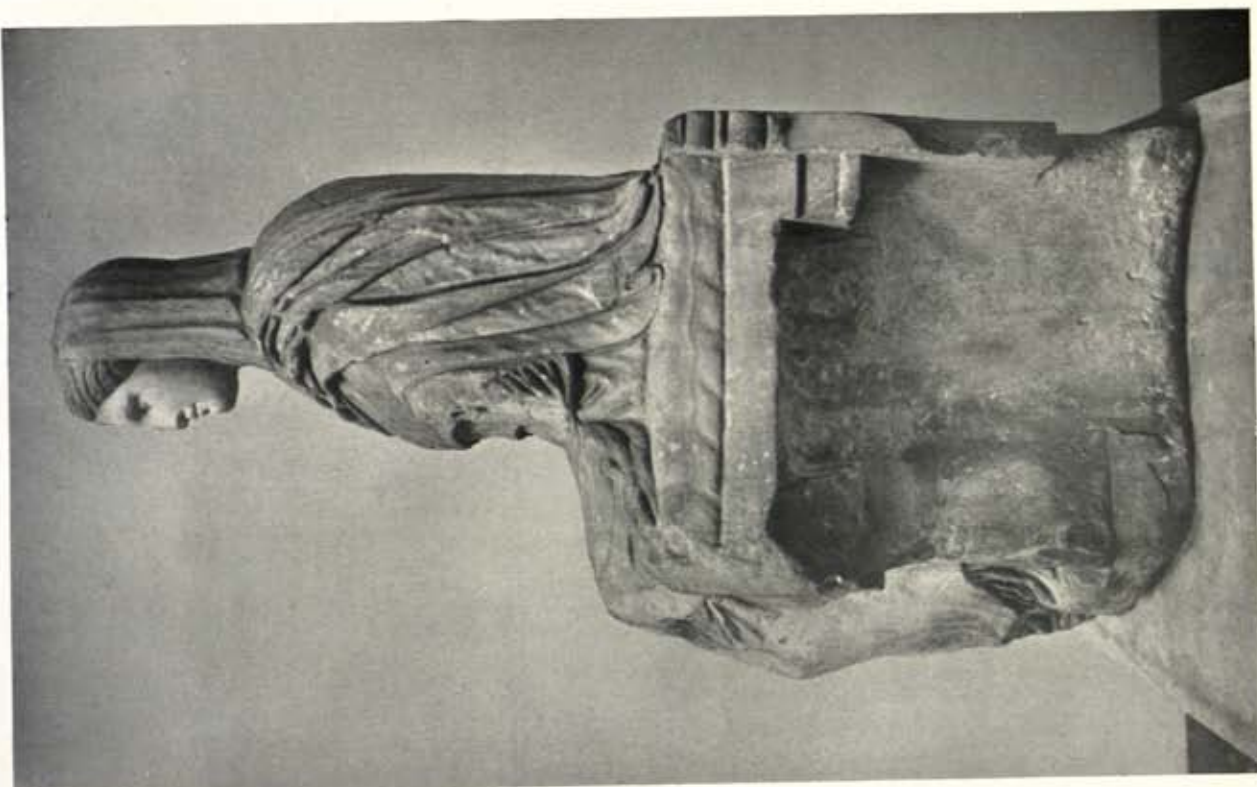


b



a

DEMETER OF CNIDUS.



b

DEMETER OF CNIDUS.



a



DEMETER OF CNIDUS (*back view, with head removed*).



a



b

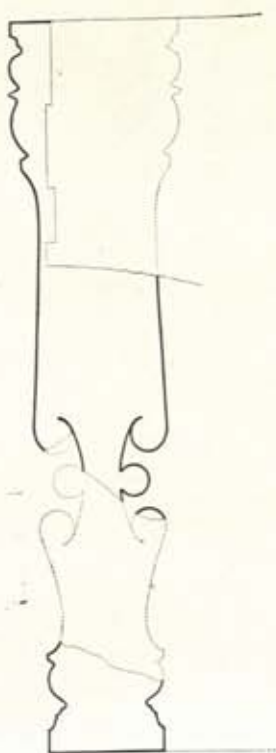


c

FROM TEMENOS OF DEMETER, CNIDUS. (*British Museum*, no. 1308.)



d. LEG OF THRONE, GRAVE OF AIRIPPE (after *AM* XXVI, pl. XIV).



e. RIGHT BACK LEG OF THRONE, DEMETER OF CNIDUS. Ht. 63.5.



f. ERMITAGE, no. 248 (after WALDHAEUER).



g. PERSAE VASE (after *FR* pl. 88).



d. TERRACOTTA FROM TEMENOS OF DEMETER, CNIDUS. HT. 23 CM.
(British Museum.)



a



c



b

DEMETER OF CNIDUS.



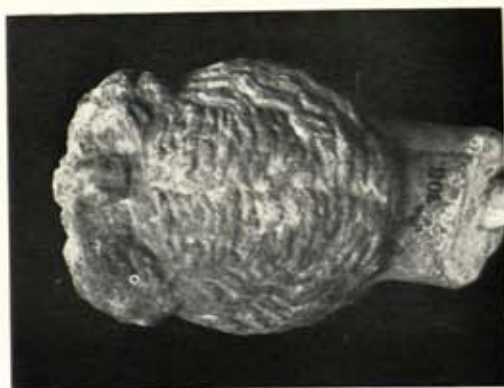
a. MARBLE HEAD FROM TEMENOS OF DEMETER, CNIDUS. (*British Museum*, no. 1315.)



c. BRONZE COIN OF CNIDUS. (*British Museum*). 1 : 1.



d. TERRACOTTA FROM TEMENOS OF DEMETER, CNIDUS. HT. 15.5 CM. (*British Museum*.)



b. BACK OF *a.*



e. MARBLE STATUETTE FROM TEMENOS OF DEMETER, CNIDUS. (*British Museum*, no. 1302.)



a. ALEXANDER. (*Acropolis*, no. 1331.)



b. ALEXANDER. (*Acropolis*, no. 1331.)



c. DEMETER OF CNIDUS.



a. ALEXANDER. (*Acropolis*, no. 1331.)



b. DEMETER OF CNIDUS.



c. ALEXANDER. (*Acropolis*, no. 1331.)



d. DEMETER OF CNIDUS.



a. MAUSOLEUM. (*British Museum, no. 1013.*)



b. MAUSOLEUM. (*British Museum, no. 1014.*)



c. MAUSOLEUM. (*British Museum, no. 1015.*)



a. MAUSOLEUM. (*British Museum*, no. 1016.)



b. MAUSOLEUM. (*British Museum*, no. 1037.)



a. DEMETER OF CNIDUS.



b. MAUSOLEUM 1015: AMAZON ON RIGHT.



c. MAUSOLEUM 1014: AMAZON IN CENTRE.



d. MAUSOLEUM 1014: AMAZON ON RIGHT.



a. DEMETER OF CNIDUS.



b. MAUSOLEUM 1015: AMAZON ON RIGHT.



c. ALEXANDER. (*Acropolis*, 1331.)



d. MAUSOLEUM 1037.



a



b



c



d

- a.* LOUVRE G1 (ANDOKIDES).
b. MUNICH 2301 (ANDOKIDES).
c. LOUVRE G42 (EUKLEO GROUP).
d. MUNICH 2305 (EUKLEO GROUP).



a



b



c



a. LONDON B339 (ANDOKIDES).
b. MUNICH 2421 (THE RING-FOOT POTTER).
c. LONDON B314 (LEA-WORKSHOP).



a



b



c



d



e



f

a. MUNICH 1480A
c. MUNICH 1486.
e. LOUVRE N1020.

b. LONDON B226.
d. LONDON B220.
f. MUNICH 1541.



b. BOXERS PRACTISING.

ATTIC BLACK-FIGURED PELIKE.
NEW YORK 49.11.1.



a. THE AMBUSH OF SILENOS.



a. BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALLERY 48.1925.



b. BOULOGNE 412.

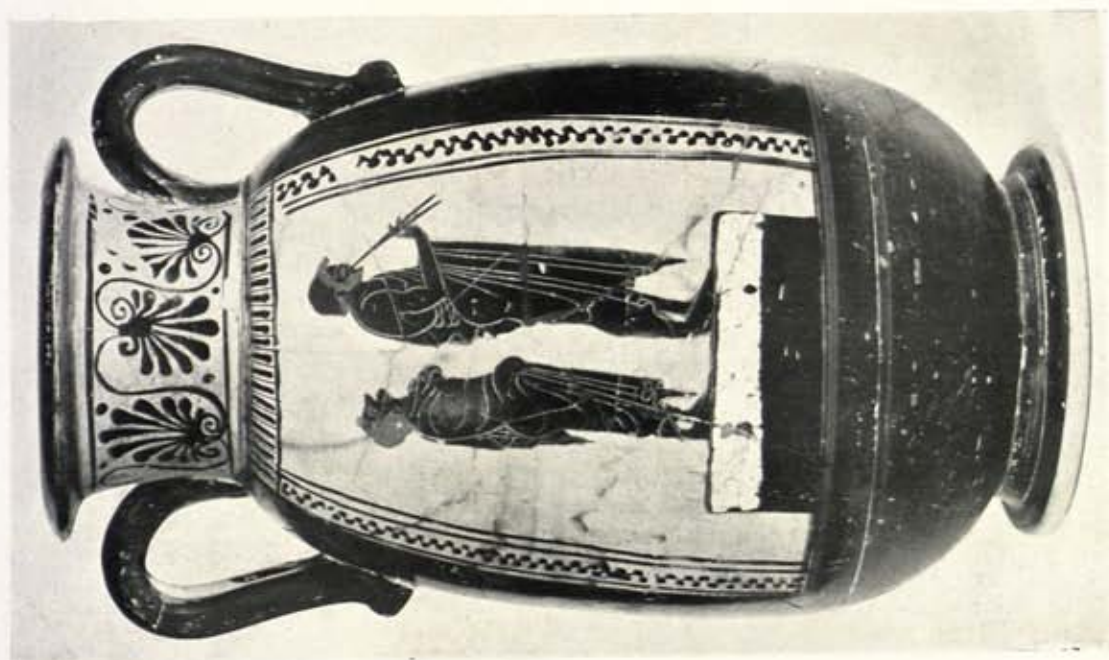


c. SAN SIMEON, HEARST.



d. BOSTON 76.53.

ATTIC BLACK-FIGURED PELIKAI.

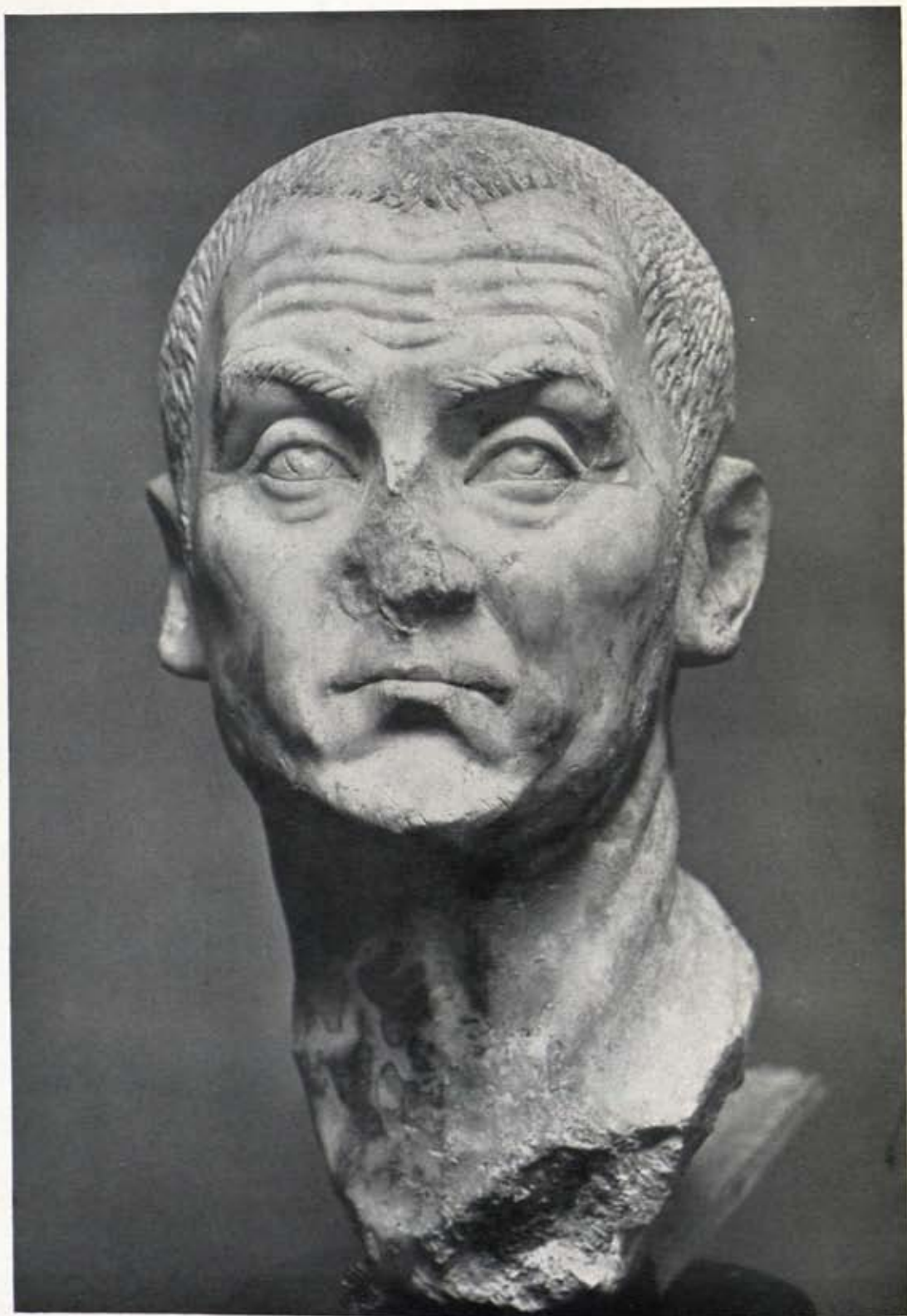


1

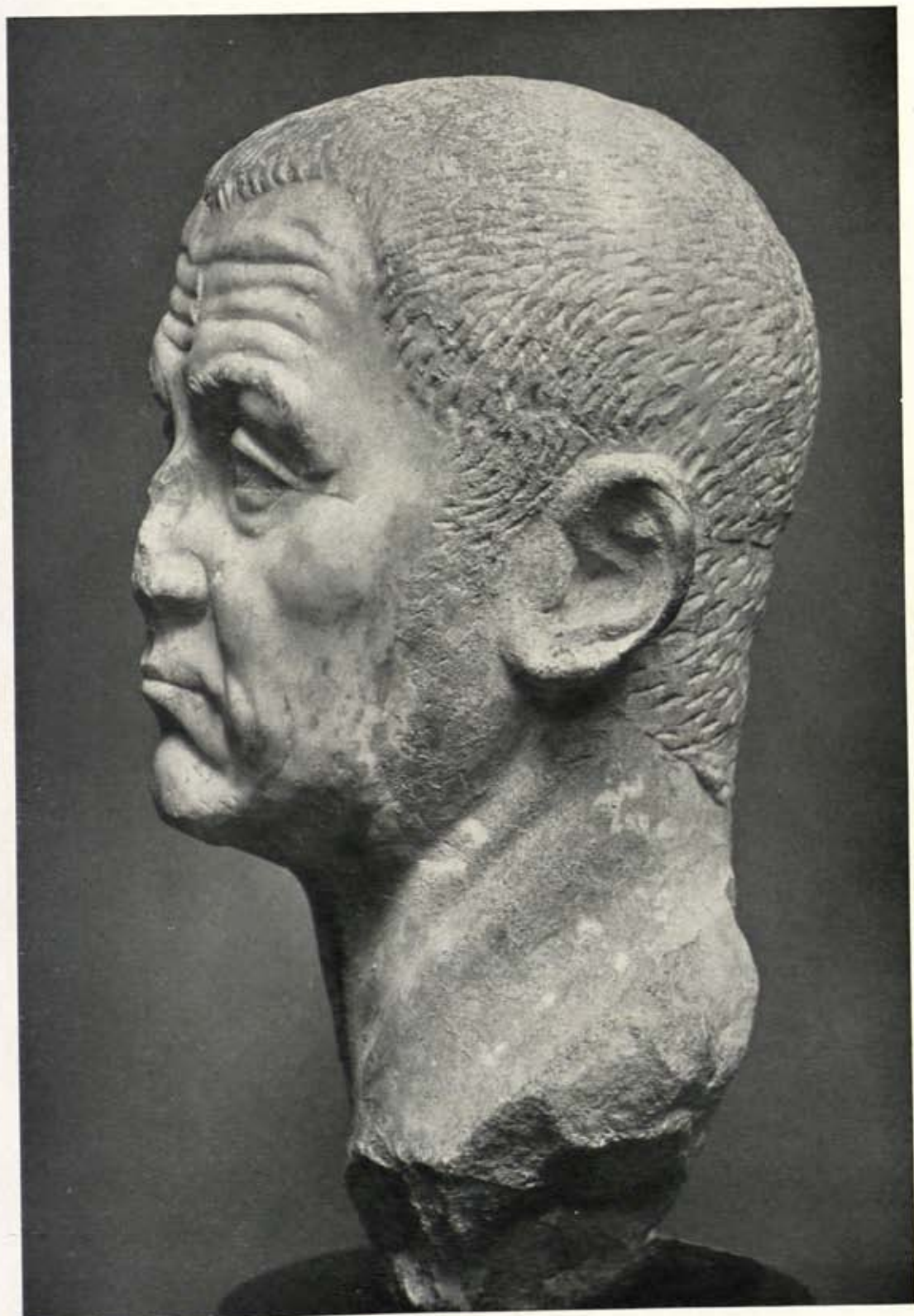
ATTIC BLACK-FIGURED NECK-PELIKE.
NEW YORK 07,386.72.



2



PORTRAET DER TETRARCHENZEIT.



PORTRAET DER TETRARCHENZEIT.



A



B

CRATÈRE DE LYON.



A



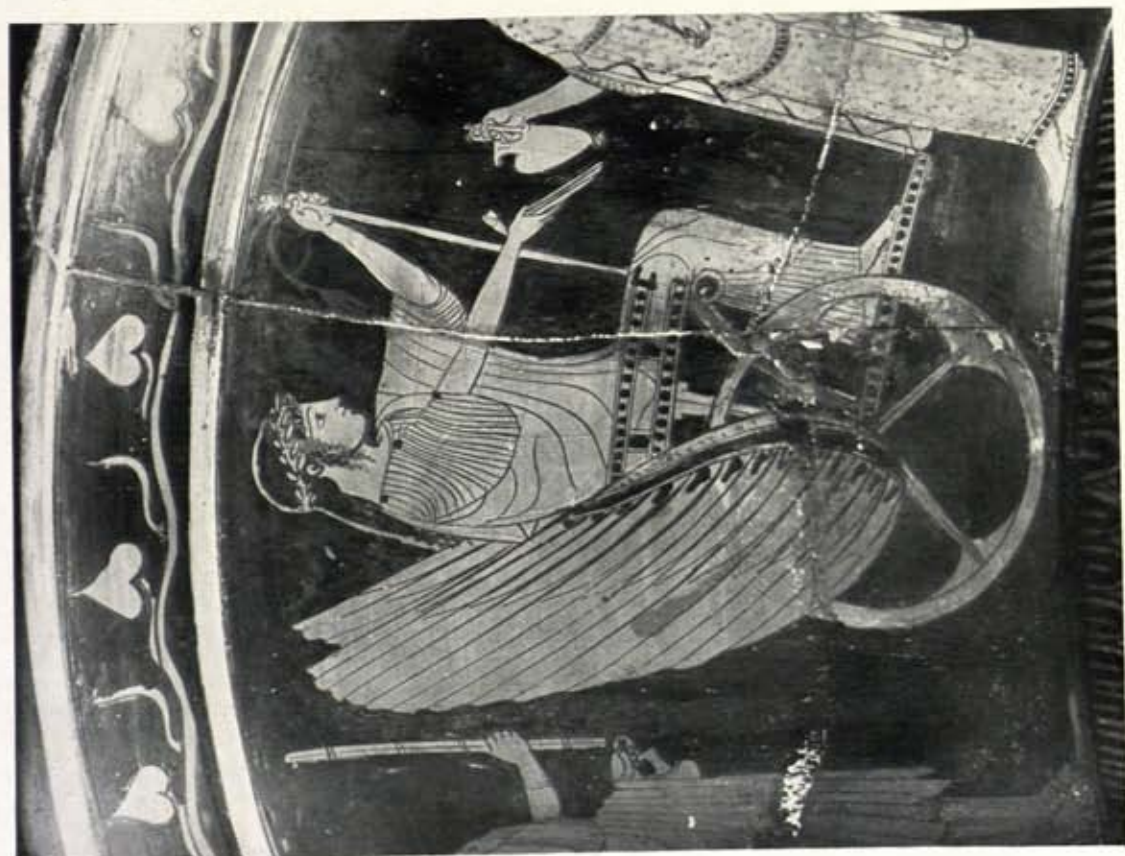
B

STAMNOS DE LYON.



b

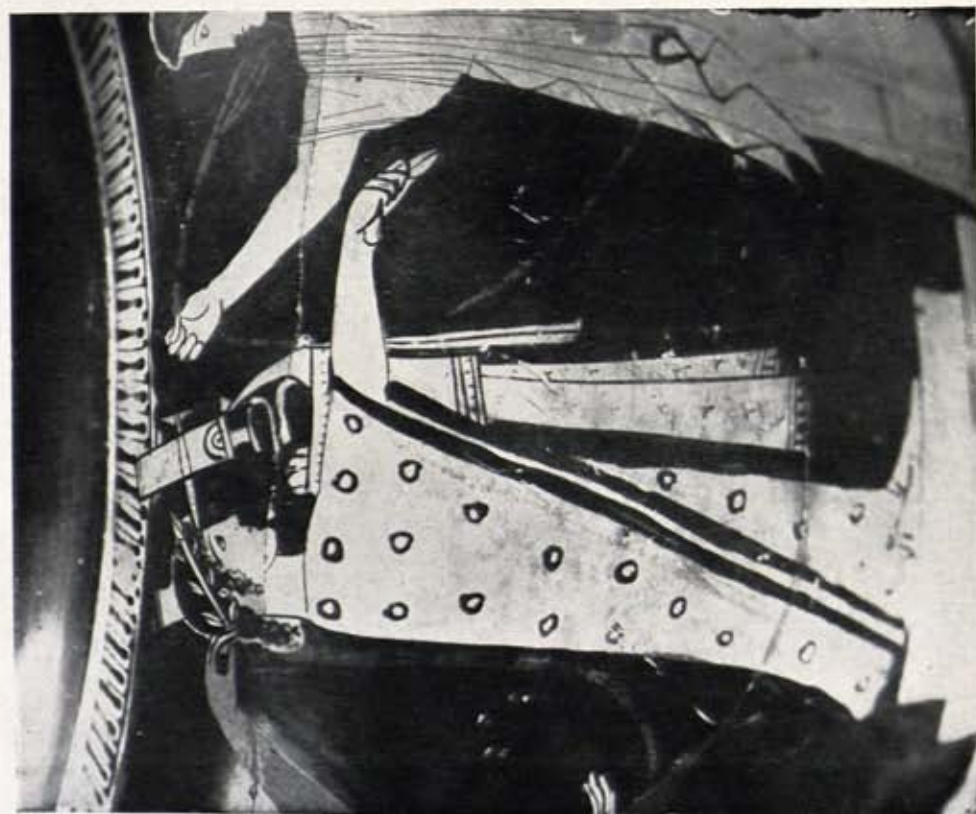
CRATÈRE DE LYON.



a



b



a

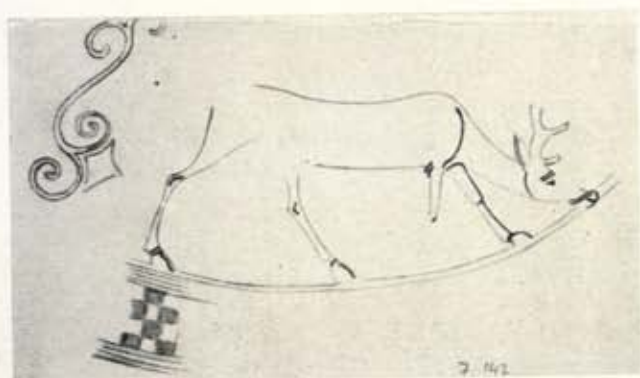
STAMNOS DE LYON.



a



b



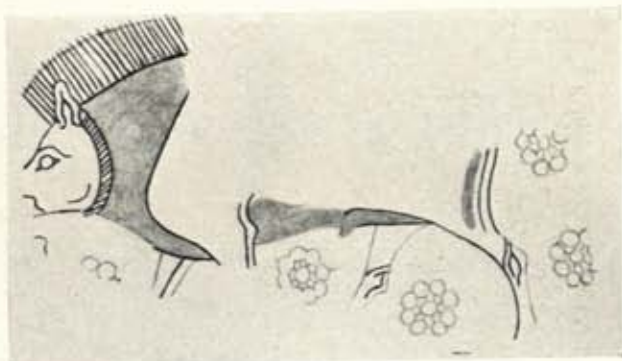
c



d



e



f



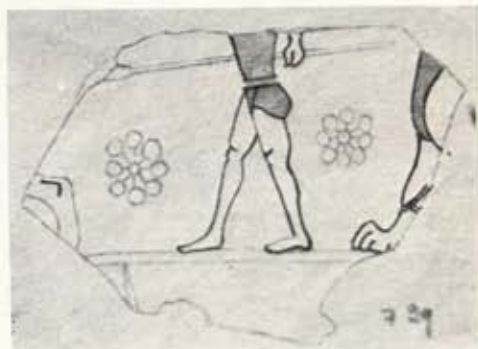
g



h



a



b



c



d



e

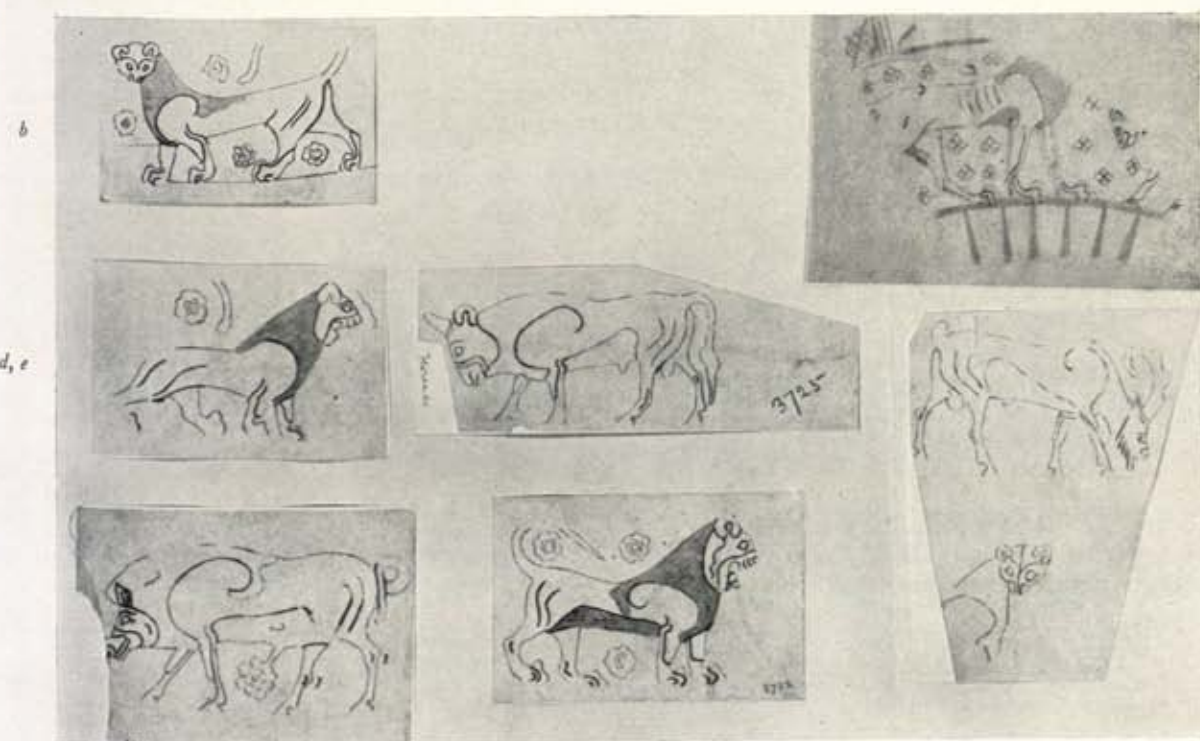


f

HUMFRY PAYNE'S DRAWINGS.



a



f

g

h

HUMFRY PAYNE'S DRAWINGS.



a



b



c



d



e



f

- a, b. ELECTRUM RELIEFS FROM EPHEBUS.
 c. FROM A LATE GEOMETRIC ATTIC KANTHAROS IN COPENHAGEN.
 d. BRONZE FIBULA IN BERLIN.
 e. GOLD FIBULA FROM EPHEBUS.
 f. GOLD QUATREFOILS FROM DELPHI.



a



b

a. BRONZE HEAD OF A LION SURMOUNTED BY A FROG, FROM SAMOS.
b. LION CUBS IN THE CHESSINGTON ZOO.



a



b



c



d



e



f



g



h



i



k

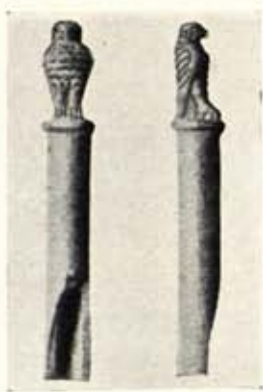


l

a-f. GOLD AND ELECTRUM ORNAMENTS FROM EPHEBUS.
g. ELECTRUM FIGURINE FROM EPHEBUS.
h, i. IVORY FIGURINE FROM EPHEBUS.
k, l. ELECTRUM BUSTS FROM EPHEBUS.



a



b



c



d



e



f



g



h

- a.* HAWK AND POLE OF IVORY 'HAWK-PRIESTESS' FROM EPHESUS (FROM A CAST).
b. IVORY HAWK AND FRAGMENT OF POLE FROM EPHESUS.
c. IVORY HAWK FROM EPHESUS.
d, e. GOLD HAWKS FROM EPHESUS.
f-h. IVORY STATUETTE FROM EPHESUS.



a



b



c



d

a-d. IVORY STATUETTES FROM EPHESUS.



a



b



c



d



e



f

a-f. IVORY STATUETTES FROM EPHESUS.



EARLY CLASSICAL RELIEF FROM MELOS.



COINS FROM THE EPHESIAN ARTEMISION: Scale 2 : 1.



a. SYDNEY 13.



b. SYDNEY 33.



c. CANTERBURY MUSEUM 431.1.



d. AUCKLAND 12964.



a. SYDNEY 46.40.



b. CANTERBURY MUSEUM AR430.



c. CANTERBURY MUSEUM AR430.



d. CANTERBURY MUSEUM AR430.



a. DUNEDIN E48.68.



b. DUNEDIN E48.220.



c. MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY V19.



d. SYDNEY 50.01.



a



b

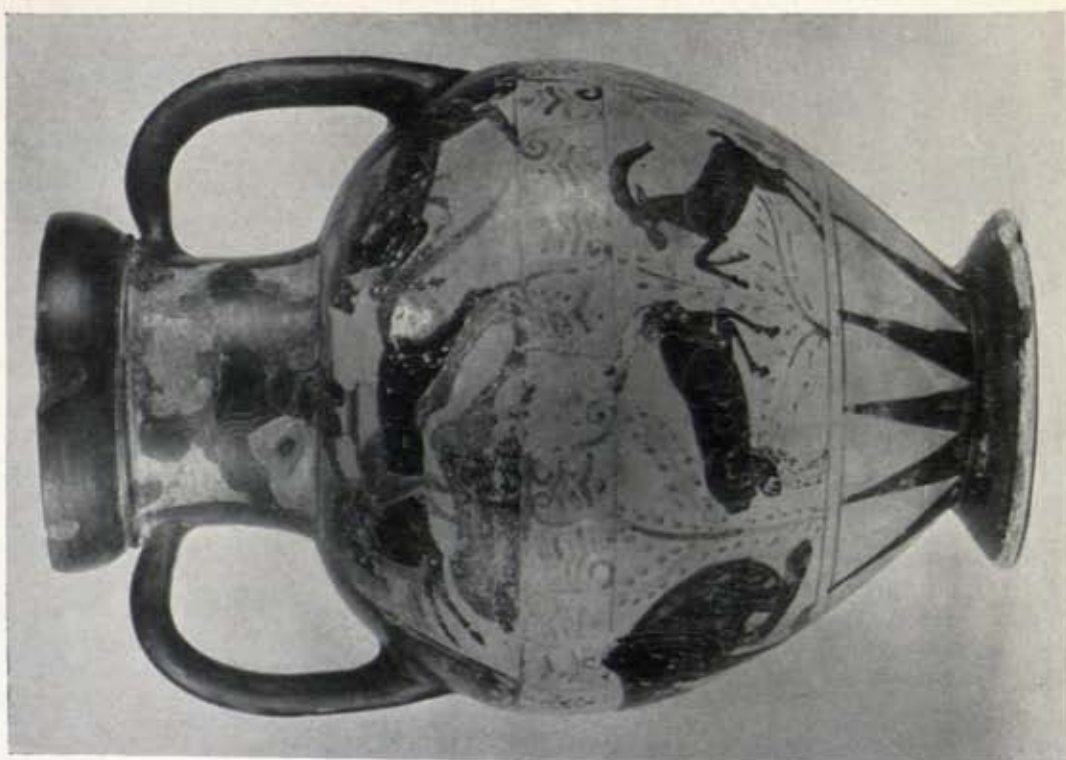


c



d

a-b. KANTHAROS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.
c-d. KANTHAROS IN READING.



a



b

AMPHORA IN READING.



b



d



a



c

AMPHORA IN READING.



a



b



c



d



e



f



a



b

MINOAN SEAL-STONES FROM EPIDAUROS.



c

MYCENAEAN STONE
HEAD FROM NAXOS.



d

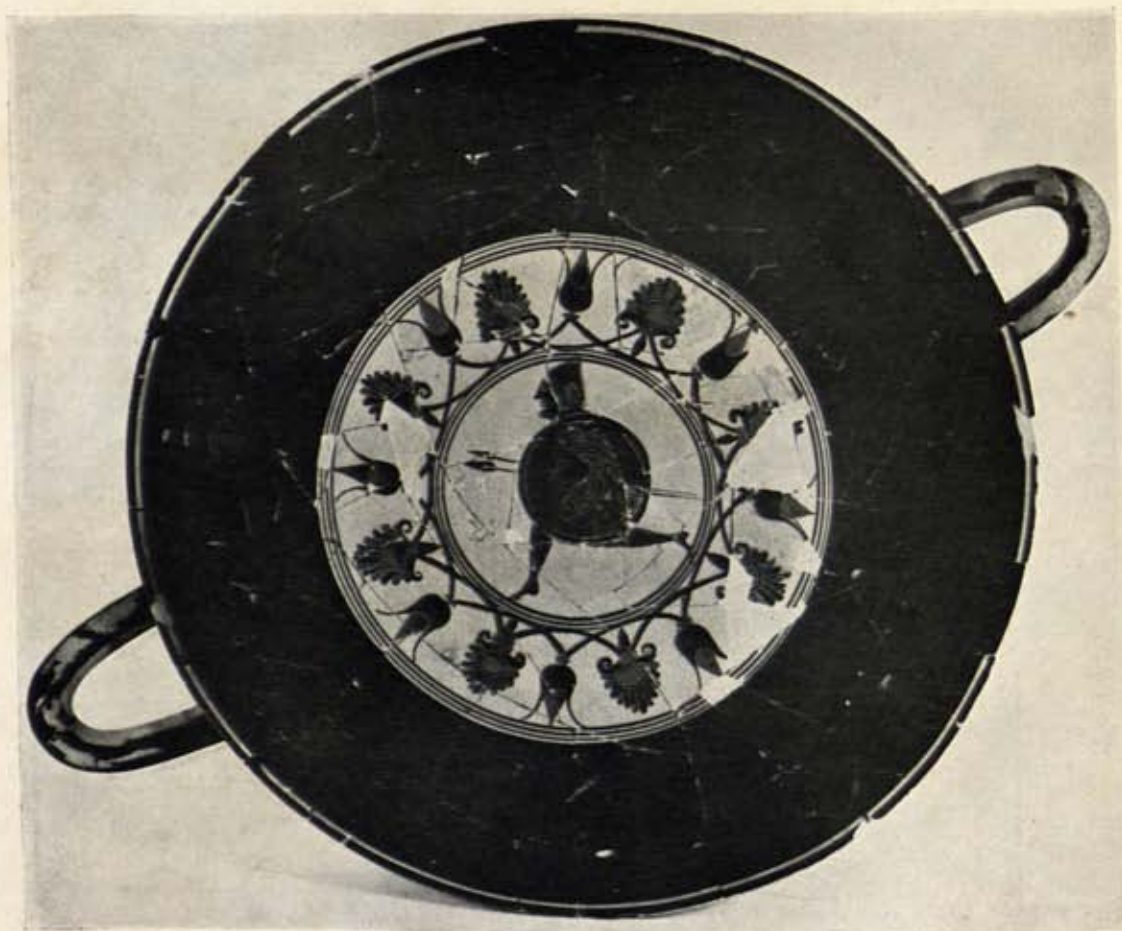
BRONZE MIRROR-COVER IN NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS.



a
MOSAIC IN PAREGORITISSA,
ARTA.



b
CYPRUS. CYLINDER SEALS.



c
B.F. CUP IN AGORA, ATHENS.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

50 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1950-51.

THE Council beg leave to submit their report for the session now concluded:—

Finance.

The accounts for 1950 reflect the change in the constitution of the Joint Library. It will be seen that for the first time the Library has its specific accounts set out separately from those of the Society, drawing block grants from the two Societies on the agreed basis. The Balance Sheet of the Hellenic Society is now confined to items arising from the administration of the Society and the issue of the *Journal*.

The disappearance of the deficit in our Expenditure Account was achieved only through the sale of £1,000 of our investments, the fortunate stroke of exceptionally large sales of back numbers of the *Journal* (£580 in 1950 against £90 in 1949), and the issue in one binding of volume 69 and 70. Clearly, the future solvency of the Society must now depend directly on the result of the new subscription rate. It will be recalled that, while new members entering the Society are required to subscribe at the new rate of £2, the Council left existing members free to accept the increase voluntarily. It was, however, expected that in the great majority members would recognise the fall in the value of the pound as reflected in the steadily rising costs of administration and printing and would accept the change as unwelcome but inevitable. It is disappointing to note that, of over 1,000 members, only some 250 have as yet met this appeal.

The Society cannot meet its obligations to members on this basis. Members are further reminded that they may help the Society by undertaking a Covenant on the Society's behalf. We now hold 255 Covenants.

In June last year members were invited to contribute to a Special Fund to provide for the extraordinary expenses to be met on the termination of our present lease in 1952. The Appeal was made by the Hellenic and Roman Societies jointly; as a result the Joint Fund which was set up has reached the figure of £1,700. Members have contributed with great generosity, and we have had the much appreciated support of several Universities and Colleges; but we estimate the need at £3,000.

Membership figures as at December 30th, 1950, are shown below, together with comparable figures for 1939, 1948, and 1949:—

	Members.	Life Members.	Student Associates.	Libraries.	Total.
1939	1003	141	222	325	1,691
1948	965	141	186	390	1,682
1949	975	133	188	384	1,680
1950	987	137	183	377	1,684

Journal exchanges 70

Obituary.

The Council record with great regret the death during the session of Miss M. Alford, who rendered generous services to the society for more than fifty years, of Miss C. M. Knight, a member of the Council, and also the deaths of: F. Poulsen, G. P. Oikonomos, and A. Wilhelm, who were Honorary members of the Society, and of Professor L. F. Anderson, Miss A. Bruce, C. O. M. Campbell, Rev. M. P. Charlesworth, Professor E. S. Forster, Hon. Mrs. Horsfield, Miss K. Jex-Blake, Miss N. C. Joliffe, Loizos Philippou, Montague Rendall, and Howard Slater.

The Joint Standing Committee of the Hellenic and Roman Societies.

Meetings have been concerned with the future of the Joint Library. There seems no chance of obtaining suitable premises in the British Museum area at a price which the Societies could contemplate when they have also to face greatly increased expenses in performing their primary task of publishing their Journals. It is hoped that it may be possible to enter into some form of association with the University of London, which would ensure the continuation of the Joint Library in Bedford Square and secure members their present rights in using it, while enabling the Societies to devote a large share of their resources to their other activities. Negotiations cannot be completed until the University's own position for the quinquennium 1952-7 is known, but it is understood that the University is willing to consider making a guarantee of up to £1,000 to safeguard the Societies against loss for the session 1952-3, if the Societies obtain an extension of their lease of 50 Bedford Square for that period.

Journal of Hellenic Studies.

Now that we have caught up with the arrears due to the war, the year 1951 sees the issue of volume 71. This is a special volume, as tribute to Sir John Beazley, and its production has been made possible by generous contributions from individuals and institutions. At the same time a Bibliography of his writings will be published by subscription.

International Federation of Societies for Classical Studies.

At the Meeting held in Paris in August 1950 the Society's delegate was Professor A. W. Gomme.

Meetings.

The following communications have been made at Meetings of the Society during the session:—

November 7th, 1950. J. S. Morrison on 'Knowledge and the Community in Archaic Greece'.

February 27th, 1951. Professor R. P. Winnington-Ingram on 'A Religious Function of Greek Tragedy'.

May 1st, 1951. Dr. Rudolf Pfeiffer on 'The Odyssey: some Problems of Structure'.

June 19th, 1951. Professor T. B. L. Webster, Presidential Address, 'Art and Literature in Plato's Athens'.

Provincial Meetings.

Meetings were arranged in collaboration with branches of the Classical Association at the following centres: Manchester, Sheffield, Reading, Durham, Nottingham, and papers were read by Mrs. A. M. Webster, Professors L. J. D. Richardson, T. B. L. Webster, and H. D. F. Kitto.

Administration.

The resignation of M. S. Thompson, who has served as Hon. Treasurer since 1934, was received early in the session. The Council's very good wishes go with him for his future in Australia. The Council is fortunate in securing as his successor Sir Richard Nosworthy, K.C.M.G.

M. S. Thompson is also one of the Society's Trustees; in his place the Council have nominated B. Ashmole.

Two vacancies occurred in the Council and were filled for the remainder of the session by the co-option of W. Hamilton and M. S. Thompson. Eight members retire under rule 19: A. Andrewes, J. K. Brock, Professor R. J. H. Jenkins, J. S. Morrison, E. S. G. Robinson, Professor R. P. Winnington-Ingram, A. M. Woodward, and Professor E. A. Thompson.

The Council have nominated as Members of their body for the next three years: R. D. Barnett, V. L. Ehrenberg, Professor H. Frankfort, Professor A. H. M. Jones, W. Hamilton, H. L. Hudson-Williams, Professor H. D. F. Kitto, Professor L. R. Palmer, C. A. Rodewald, Professor F. W. Walbank.

Professor D. L. Page has been elected to the Standing Committee for the next triennial period; T. J. Dunbabin has been appointed Review Editor, and Professor H. D. F. Kitto, Professor J. Tate, and A. G. Woodhead have been appointed to the Editorial Committee.

The Council thank C. T. Edge, F.C.A., for acting as honorary auditor and have pleasure in nominating him for re-election.

The Joint Library.

Professor D. Tarrant has been elected a member of the Library Committee in place of Miss M. Alford, who had resigned after many years of valuable service.

The following figures show the work done during the last three sessions:—

	1948-9.	1949-50.	1950-1.
Books added	271	271	343
Books borrowed.....	4,395	4,005	4,559
Borrowers	608	610	664
Slides borrowed	6,118	5,503	5,035
Slides sold	137	245	517
Film strips borrowed.....	30	32	21

During the past session efforts to fill war-time gaps in foreign periodicals have been continued. In the last year, some or all of the missing parts of the following have been received: *Die Antike*, *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, *Archaeologia Hungarica*, *Praktika* of the Archaeological Society of Athens, Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, *Annales du Service d'Antiquité d'Égypte*, *Emerita*, *Epigraphica*, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, *Gnomon*, *Jahreshefte*, *Klio*, *Il Mondo Classico*, *Philologus*, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, *Studi Etruschi*. The Library now takes 159 periodicals, 111 of which are exchanges. A list of periodicals received each month is posted in the Library.

Limited resources still make large-scale purchases of books impossible, but nevertheless it will be seen that the number of books added to the Library shows an increase this year. A complete survey of the Library, with a view to filling in gaps, is being undertaken, organised by the Honorary Librarian, Professor E. G. Turner. At present the classical texts are being examined, and some gaps have already been filled. It is a great help to the Library Committee if members call attention to gaps in all subjects by recording them in the Library Suggestions Book.

The Library Committee is much disturbed at

the number of books which have disappeared from the Library recently. More than sixty books are known to be missing. Members are asked most earnestly not to take books away from the Library without entering them in the proper way.

Three new sets of lantern slides have been added to the Societies' collection during the past year—*Greek Drama in Pictures*, by Professor T. B. L. Webster, *Greek and Roman Architecture* by Professor R. E. Wycherley and *Prehellenic Greece* by Dr. F. H. Stubbings. These can be hired by members on the usual terms.

Additions to the Library during the year include:—

General: Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 20, part 2 and Supplementband 7; *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*.

Texts: Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, ed. Fraenkel; Aristotle, *Physics* ed. Ross; Caesar, *Civil War*, ed. Klotz (Teubner); Cicero, *De Officiis* ed. Atzert and *De Virtutibus* ed. Ax (Teubner); Cicero, *Correspondence* vol. IV (Budé); Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, II (Teubner); Euripides, *Helen* and *Phoenissae* (Budé); Gaius, *Institutions*, ed. David, I; Herodotus, Book VII (Budé); Horace, ed. Klingner (Teubner); Tacitus, *Histories*, ed. Koestermann (Teubner); Theocritus, ed. Gow.

Literature: Hadas, *History of Greek Literature*; Lucas, *The Greek Tragic Poets*; Nestle, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*; Schmid and Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* I, 5 (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*); Webster, *Studies in Menander*.

Language: Ernout and Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue latine*, 3rd ed., vol. 1; Schwyzler, *Griechischer Grammatik*, II (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*); *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, V, 2, fasc. XII and VIII, fasc. V.

Philosophy: Nelson, *Socratic Method and Critical Philosophy*; Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*; Zafiropoulos, *L'École éléate*.

Religion: Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, I. *L'Astrologie et les Sciences occultes*, 2nd ed.; Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*; Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, II (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*).

History: Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte von den Anfängen bis in die römische Kaiserzeit* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*); Bury, *History of Greece*, 3rd ed.; Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta*; Gagé, *Huit Recherches sur les Origines italiennes et romaines*; Kornemann, *Weltgeschichte des Mittelmeer-Raumes*; Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*; Scullard, *Roman Politics*; Vasiliev, *Justin the First*.

Law: Westrup, *Introduction to early Roman Law*, IV; Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the*

Sacred and Ancestral Law; Vogt, *Forschungen zum römischen Recht*, 3.

Music: Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen*.

Warfare: Launey, *Recherches sur les Armées Hellénistiques*, II.

Modern Greek; Dawkins, *Forty-five Stories from the Dodekanese*.

Archaeology: Blegen, Caskey, Rawson and Sperling, *Troy*; Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, Vol. I; Fremersdorf, *Neue Beiträge zur Topographie des römischen Köln*; Kunze and Schleif, *Olympische Forschungen*, I; Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*; Otto and Herbig, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, IV and V; Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIII; Schaeffer, *Mission de Ras Shamra*, V; Ugaritica II; Stewart, *Vounous*.

Architecture: Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*; Kähler, *Hadrian und seine Villa bei Tivoli*.

Theatre: Beare, *The Roman Stage*; Bulle & Wirsing, *Szenenbilder zum griechischen Theater des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*

Art: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Deutschland 5 and 6, France 11; Bandinelli, *Storicità dell'Arte classica*; Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement*; García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal*; Kähler, *Das griechische Metopenbild*; Kraiker, *Aigina. Die Vasen des 10 bis 7 Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*; Richter, *Archaic Greek Art*; Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit*.

Inscriptions: *Inscriptiones Graecae*, II, III; *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII, Supplementum; *Inscriptiones Italiae*, vol. IX, Regio IX, Fasc. 1; *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, XI; Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. III.

Numismatics: *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, Vol. V; Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues*; May, *Ainos, its History and Coinage*; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Vol. III, part 2, Vol. V, part 1.

Papyri: Casson and Hettich, *Excavations at Nessana II, Literary Papyri*; David, Van Groningen and Van Oven, *The Warren Papyri* (*Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava*, I); *Papiri Greci delle Collezioni Italiane*, 3; Roberts, *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, part 1; Schubart, *Griechische literarische Papyri*.

The following periodicals are now taken by the Library: *Chronique d'Égypte*, *Doxa*, *Historia*, *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung*, *Karthago*, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, *Museum Helveticum*.

The Councils of the Hellenic and Roman Societies wish to express their thanks for gifts of books from the following:—

Authors: E. Akurgal, B. Ashmole, F. Benoit, Freiherr F. W. von Bissing, D. T. D. Clarke,

D. S. Colman, P. Corder, Prof. J. M. R. Cormack, R. A. H. Farrar, Sir William Gowers, R. W. Hutchinson, Mrs. P. T. L. Justesen, S. P. Kyriakidou, F. Maroi, J. M. F. May, Prof. A. Momigliano, Dr. G. Murray, Prof. A. D. Nock, G. Papantoniou, Dr. A. Rumpf, G. Webster.

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Thompson, Prof. E. G. Turner, Prof. T. B. L. Webster, Dr. S. Weinstock, Ashmolean Museum, Bodleian Library, British School at Athens.

The two Councils wish to thank Mr. C. E. Ansell Clayton, Prof. R. E. Wycherley, and Prof. Clarence Young for gifts to the photographic collection, and also the following, who have helped in examining the classical texts in the library catalogue: Mr. R. Browning, Mr. A. J. Dunston, Mr. D. J. Furley, Mr. S. A. Handford, Miss E. M. Jenkinson, Dr. H. H. Scullard, Miss E. Thomas, Prof. T. B. L. Webster, Prof. R. P. Winnington-Ingram.

ACCOUNTS

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 30, 1950.

Following on the change in constitution it has been decided to write off the former estimated capital value of the Library and Photographic Department, and accordingly the value of the Society's share of the Joint Library is not included as an Asset in the above Balance Sheet.

I have audited the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account and in my opinion the same exhibit a true and correct view of the Society's financial position according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Society.

LONDON, April 11, 1951.
CYRIL T. EDGE, *Chartered Accountant*.

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JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 30, 1950.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Cost of Vols. LXIX and LXX—						
Printing and Paper	1,061	19	6			
Drawings and Engravings	84	10	3			
Editing and Reviews	105	0	0			
Postage and Packing, etc.	154	5	4			
<i>Less</i> advance included in 1949	1,405	15	1			
Accounts for Vol. LXIX	550	0	0			
				855	15	1

THE JOINT LIBRARY OF THE HELLENIC AND ROMAN SOCIETIES

(A) PREMISES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 30, 1950.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Rent	700	0	0			
" Rates	226	16	10			
" Repairs	15	9	5			
" Insurance	28	6	8			
" Gas	15	0	0			
" Legal Charges	57	10	0			
	<u>£1,043</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>			
By Rent from Sub-tenants				799	19	4
" Rent from the British School at Athens				80	0	0
" Hire of Council Chamber				7	17	6
" Balance transferred as follows—						
Hellenic Society, 50%				77	13	1
Roman Society, 50%				77	13	0
				<u>155</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
				<u>£1,043</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>

(B) LIBRARY MAINTENANCE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 30, 1950.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Salaries and State Insurance	618	19	0			
" Lighting and Heating	180	1	11			
" Cleaning and Caretakers Wages	142	6	0			
" Printing and Stationery	119	9	5			
" Postage and Telephone	60	19	3			
" Sundry Expenses	59	17	8			
	<u>£1,181</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>			
By Receipts from Sales of Catalogues, Duplicate Books, etc.				51	14	2
" Balance transferred as follows—						
Hellenic Society, 60%				677	19	5
Roman Society, 40%				451	19	8
				<u>1,129</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>1</u>
				<u>£1,181</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>

(C) JOINT LIBRARY BOOKS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 30, 1950.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Purchases and Binding	177	8	0			
" Balance carried forward	22	12	0			
	<u>£200</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>			
By Grants—Hellenic Society				100	0	0
Roman Society				100	0	0
				<u>£200</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

(D) LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 30, 1950.

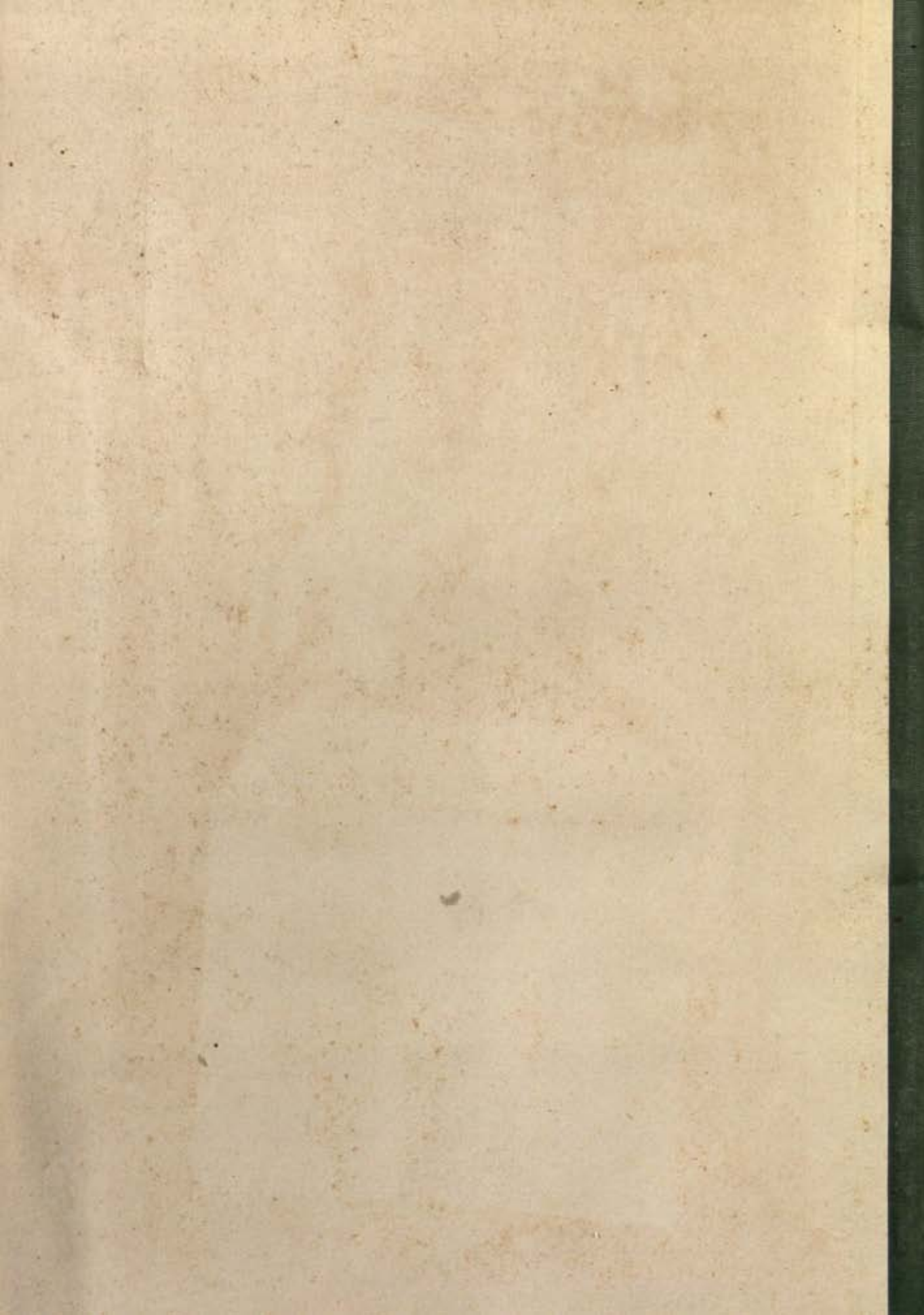
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Purchases	75	3	6			
" Balance carried forward	140	14	8			
	<u>£215</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>2</u>			
By Grants—Hellenic Society				25	0	0
Roman Society				25	0	0
" Receipts from Sales and Hire				165	18	2
				<u>£215</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>2</u>

(E) SPECIAL FUND (JOINT HELLENIC AND ROMAN SOCIETIES) FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 30, 1950.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
On Deposit Account with the London Trustee Savings Bank				1,001	11	3
Balance held by Hellenic Society	212	14	6			
Roman Society	291	16	3			
	<u>504</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>			
	<u>£1,506</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>			
By Proceeds of Appeal				1,506	2	0
				<u>£1,506</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>

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